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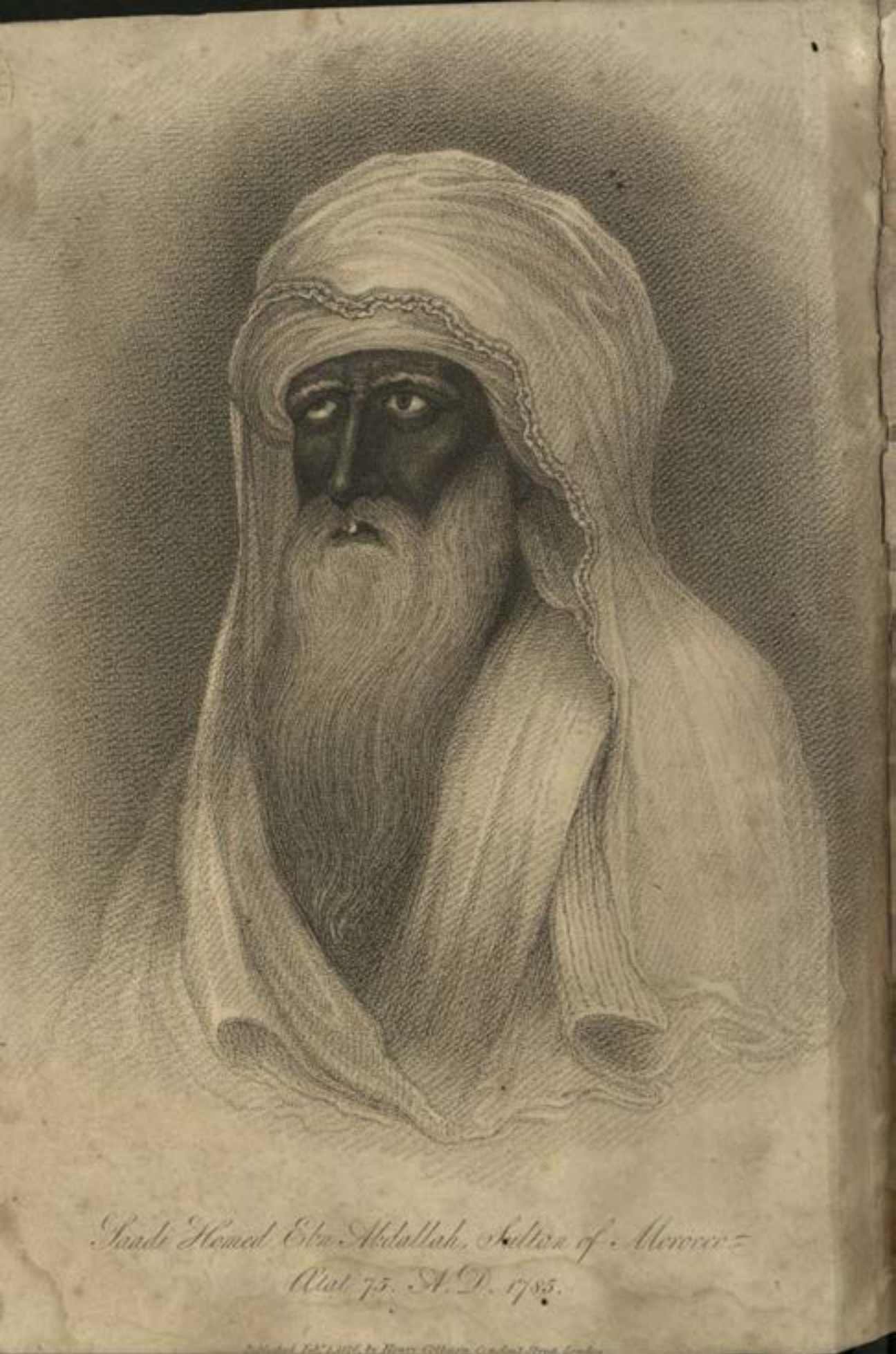

Saadi Hamed Ebn Abdallah, Sultan of Morocco
Aet. 75. A.D. 1785.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE AND AFRICA

BY

COLONEL KEATINGE:

AUTHOR OF, A HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO, FROM THE SPANISH,

EIDOMETRIA, OR OPTIC MENSURATION, ETC.

COMPRISING

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A JOURNEY

THROUGH FRANCE, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL,

TO

MOROCCO:

WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THAT EMPIRE.

ALSO

A SECOND TOUR THROUGH FRANCE IN 1814,

IN WHICH

A COMPARISON IS DRAWN BETWEEN THE PRESENT AND FORMER STATE

OF THAT COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS PLATES OF SCENERY, ANTIQUITIES, AND COSTUME,

FROM DRAWINGS MADE BY THE AUTHOR.

" Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

" Multorumque hominum vidit urbes, et mores cognovit."

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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS,

WILLIAM FREDERICK,

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, K.G. ETC.

WHOSE DISINTERESTED AND MANLY EXERTIONS

IN THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY

HAVE ENDEARED HIM TO THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE,

THESE TRAVELS

ARE, WITH PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

As there are different kinds of history, so are there various species of travels. The most important of the former are certainly those which recite the public actions of nations, cities, and kingdoms; since they naturally attract and fix the attention of political readers, and, by supplying them with the knowledge of past events, afford the best instructions for the regulation and proper conduct of human life, without either the trouble or danger of experience. And it will readily be allowed, that the most profitable and useful of the latter are of that class which contain true and correct statements of a moral, political, geographical, agricultural, commercial, and geological nature, together with a just account of the institutions and customs in different climates and countries, which chiefly influence the manners and conduct of their inhabitants, as well as some of the measures of their governments.

In several instances of literary compilation, where much is submitted to be read, or rather, as some will call it, to be toiled through, it is found, that in a few pages the author could tell us all he has to say: for moral matter is perhaps condensible in the ratio of its ductility. Thus we see in history a fact diffused through successive sheets, which in the column of a chronicle occupies but a few lines. The subject matter, or narrative, or series of events, or chain of circumstances, to constitute

a book, may probably in the instance now before the reader be soon unravelled. And as to the present work itself, should it be said that it possesses but little interest, the author consoles himself with the reflection, that he has studiously avoided all means of giving such to it at the expense of moral principle.

Should the dissertations in the present work be considered by some persons as dry, or too diffuse, the reader may depend on their not having been introduced for the purpose of constituting what is commonly called a made book. Candour, however, requires it to be declared, that both the digressions and dissertations were made by the author, whatever judgment they may deserve to have passed on them, as much for his own instruction as that of his readers. He should have considered his time, both in travelling and writing, miserably misapplied indeed, had he not fully elicited the results of his labours, had he not bestowed all the mental effort he was capable of, on what presented itself to his senses. More reasons than one may undoubtedly exist for a man's writing. Among them stands, first in rank, the fostering of that spirit of independence which typical property cannot alone confer, and of which the full enjoyment is felt by its possessor, while he exercises his mental resources untainted and unalloyed by the wretched frivolities of miscalled society. The cultivation of thought is unquestionably that occupation of man, which is most worthy of his nature in the eye of Him who bestowed the faculty of thinking; and in no way can it be more effectually done than in literary composition.

But let us ask, What can induce a man to sit down to write—for publication? Lord Chesterfield's leading maxim is, "*Tachez à plaire,*

et vous plairez: We believe, had his lordship applied this principle to the labours of literature, instead of those of gallantry, it would have disappointed him grievously. But men still do write and publish. Before the art of printing, such morbid effusions were solved into *cacoëthes scribendi*: but the expenses of the regimen in the present day seem to have extinguished that malady; or it has, as is the case physicians assure us in our mortal constitutions, assumed some other denomination. Avarice and vanity, then, money and fame, will, in all probability, be considered universally the stimuli to this species of action in the present world. So be it. A man will be found here and there, in mountain or in city, resolved to think and act for himself. When, to be sure, there is for him no more of what is called getting on in the world.

There is reason enough to suppose an impression is universally diffused in the present day, by no means dissimilar to that which the Inquisition (in its placid intervals) makes locally in Spain. Every man feels the existence of a somewhat with the spirit whereof he must comply in order to succeed. On the other hand, one of the greatest mental gratifications our nature is capable of receiving, is that consciousness, not of mere existence, but of free-born existence, derived from the unrestricted development of our moral faculties to good purpose and effect. Those whose thoughts take this direction, will of course remain unhumiliated by any imputation they may be aspersed with, wrapped as they are in an impenetrable cuirass of mental armour. They have a right, however, to disclaim all scheme of pleasing, leaving that point entirely to work out itself. Those to whom this view of the subject may be new, will be perhaps inquisitive

what can be the sequel of such thoughts in the mind of him by whom they are possessed. It is possible to imagine, without being disappointed, an incitement in human nature to do that from which good may result:—an impulse in man to leave things better than he found them. He may fail; he cannot, like Providence, ever and invariably effect ultimate good out of immediate evil; yet he may wish to ameliorate the lot of life: the writer, however, be it understood, is of all men the most independent of the world and its opinions—one who does not write for bread.

A man in the progress of his writing acquires that independency of mind which puts him beyond the reach of the smiles or frowns of association. He has a moral intercourse distinct from society; and an action of mind, in this obtained scope, beyond what simple reading can give. The reader does not, like the penman, hold commune with himself, so is fain to recur to society to rub the wrinkles from his brows; whereas solitude is the society of *him* who composes:—and for solitude the Spaniard, too, says "*mas vale ser solo, que mal acompanado.*" But he who writes, differently from others, marshals, connects, deduces, and collates his thoughts; and thus preserves to himself the distinction of rationality: that privilege for which he was put in existence; that possession which alone ought to make existence a matter of value. This is the true, the self-satisfactory impulse to writing.

Much less thinking will do for a man to read than to write: hence the mental gratification, in the exercise of faculty, preponderates to the side of the latter. Writing, too, is a process which effects what is similar

to that which the moneyed man calls *realizing*. It fertilizes, while it fortifies, the mind; and, by insulating the habits, renders him who exercises his faculty independent of society.

There will be a great difference, however, between the written travels of a man who travels *to write*, and one who does not, merit apart. The former notes what he thinks will interest others; the latter only what interests himself. Some would fain confine the writer of travels to the dramatic unities. On the other hand, he claims the privilege of feeling. Thus a poster of roads will write rapidly; a sick man querulously; a tired man, scantily; a contemplative one, diffusely; a wise man, rationally; a shallow one, frivolously; a fool, absurdly. Be all this as it may, however done to please him, who does it:—one sole motive of publication is legitimate—that is, to serve mankind.

In regard to the efforts at scientific elucidation, in the present work, the author will certainly attempt no apology:—he would have toiled to very little purpose indeed had he totally neglected them. Perhaps the article Geology may fill some pages; he is not inclined to throw doubts thereupon, it being a subject so agreeable to his mind. The outlines of this grand science are the delight of reflection: they are the link which unites earth to heaven, as etymologies are those which connect man to man, however remotely dispersed over our planet. Here be it observed, the great objects of nature, the awful considerations which impress the mind from their contemplation, will, as they expand thought, if the inconvenience be not vigilantly guarded against, inflate expression; for who is made of such stuff as to be able to view all nature through a sheet of ice?

To conclude:—Though it be generally allowed, that an historian or narrator should endeavour to please (though never by the sacrifice of truth), as well as faithfully to instruct, the author can without the smallest departure from veracity assure his readers, that in what he has delivered, more attention has been paid to a true and correct statement of facts, than to the setting of them off with unnecessary ornament; as he is fully sensible, that if truth and accuracy be withdrawn from narrative, what remains, let it be dressed in terms and diction ever so flowery, can amount to little more than an amusing fiction. He trusts, however, that his language will be found to be sufficiently adapted to the subjects he has treated of, and the circumstances he has related.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

PART THE FIRST.

FRANCE AND SPAIN.

INTRODUCTION ..... Vol. I. 5

Journey from Calais to St. Omers.—French and English agriculture compared.—The city of Laon and its castle.—Lyons.—Economics and statistics.—Nismes, its antiquities.—Entrance of Spain by the way of Montpellier.—Roman antiquities at Narbonne 33

Romantic scenery of the Pyrenees.—Luxuriance of Mediterranean scenery.—View of Catalonia and its inhabitants.—Scythian customs amongst them 51

Spanish historians, and the state of literature in Spain.—Montserrat, the elevation, &c.—Geological feature of that mountain.—Its convent, and hermitages. 73

Barcelona, its importance.—Cæsar's Camp.—The Ebro.—Sierra Molina, and the courses of its waters 85

Spanish ignorance and superstition.—Arrival at Madrit, and reflections on its importance to Spain.—Its manufactories, public spectacles, pictures, &c.—Spanish character and domestic habits; public mode of living at the sitios.—Segovia.—Spanish sheep.—Disadvantages of the shepherd system.—The drama.—True interest of Spain.—State of the clergy.—Influence of the Inquisition.—Religious ceremonies—Cruelties towards the Jews. 137

La Mancha, its geological features.—View of civil society.—Picture of a Spanish country-gentleman.—Honorary distinctions.—Abstemiousness, a leading feature in the Spaniard.—Cavalry the fittest troops to be employed in Spain.—Its military importance 167

Route from Etruria to Bagdat.—Fecundity of the soil.—Cadix, its bay, shipping, &c. 171

PART THE SECOND.

AFRICA.

Voyage to Mogodor in South Barbary.—Ignorance of the Moorish pilots.—Arrival of the embassy at Mogodor.—Its inhabitants, fortifications, shifting sand-hills in its neighbourhood.—Religious customs.—Ceremony on approaching the emperor.—Reception of the embassy 191

Historical reflections.—Embassy quits Mogodor.—Route from Mogodor to Morocco.—Ornithological peculiarities.—Mount Atlas.—Geological errors corrected.—Geological conjectures.—Morocco ..... Vol. I. 227

Compliment paid the embassy.—Contentions for the sovereignty of Morocco.—A resident European found there.—Ceremony on delivering credentials.—Residence at Morocco.—Its politics, and peculiar modes of punishment.—Charity of the sultan.—Singular mode of warfare.—Objects of the British mission.—Objections to a British resident.—Hints to future diplomatists.—Trade of Morocco 265

Magnanimous conduct of the British consul.—Court politics and prejudices.—Amusements, &c.—African jugglers.—Serpent-tamers, an extraordinary sect of enthusiasts.—The sultan's palace, and its gardens.—The population of Morocco.—Its great magnificence.—Lepers.—The architecture of Morocco.—Degraded state of the Jews there.—Moorish hatred to study and reflection.—Their hospitality.—Hours of prayer.—Belief in spirits.—Consequence of the harem system of education.—A Moorish wedding.—Their soldiery, pay, &c.—Paternal government of the shiks.—Taxes among the Arabs.—Topography.—Tafilet and its produce 343

VOL. II.

Route from the city of Morocco to Tangier ..... Vol. II. 1

The river Tensift.—Soil of the country, trees, &c.—Mode of travelling with an escort.—Treatment of the horse.—On the management of the camel and dromedary.—Singular mode of passing the Morbeya river 23

Arabs and Moors compared.—Observations on the Great Plain, soil, corn, &c.—Arrival at Rabat, a Carthaginian station.—Its architecture, trade, &c.—Local peculiarities.—Salee, richness of the pastures.—Al Kasr, where Don Sebastian fell 43

Arab camps, lions, &c.—Trade of Tangier.—Passage from Tangier to Tariffa.—Sea voyage.—Current up the Straits.—Tunny fishery at Xenil.

RETURN TO SPAIN.—PORTUGAL.

Journey from Tariffa to Cadiz.—The Rosario, a singular religious procession.—The Guadalquiver river.—The grand amphitheatre at Santi Ponce.—Seville.—The muslin manufactory of Spain.—Famous paintings of the old Masters.—Cathedral.—Spanish etiquette.—Andalusian women.—Xeres, its trade, soil, &c.—Merida, Roman antiquities there.—Its amphitheatre, and basin for a naumachia 77

Circus, Temple of Mars, and arches of a grand aqueduct.—Convent of St. Juan de Dios, &c. 83

Badajos on the banks of the Guadiana.—Mode of farming, soil and produce.—Military force of Spain.—Its political connections.—Moral characteristics of the Spaniards.—Portugal.—Its capabilities of defence, &c. 95

The earthquake there.—Spanish and Portuguese bull-fights.—The statues at Belem.—Pombal and Carvalho's conspiracy and massacre.—Policy of France as to Spain and Portugal.—Return to England 120

PART THE THIRD.

SECOND JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE IN 1814.

Descent of the river Rhone, in the journey from Calais to the Pyrenees.—Lyons, its deserted state and wretched aspect.—The quays, ramparts, &c.—Lithology ..... Vol. II. 141

Agriculture in the north, fuel, &c.—Paris, general reflections on its importance.—Its architecture, menagerie, and botanic garden.—State of learning and the fine arts.—The National Institute, &c. 149

The Loire, immense stone bridges 163

Montpellier, the climate, soil, collieries, currency, trade, change in manners and sentiments, &c. 181

Remarks on the cultivation of the soil.—Corn-land, sheep-walks, vineyards, and vines.—Expenses attending agricultural labour.—High price of land.—Few tenants occupying land.—Causes why tilled by the freeholder, and expenses of improving land 199

Properties of the olive-tree.—Process of pressing olives.—Method of making olive oil.—Weights and Measures.—Manufactures, prisons, workhouses.—Jurisprudence, forms of trial, &c.—Former and present church establishment.—Plans in view to better the condition of France 221

Narbonne, improvements in its vicinity.—Salus, its ancient fortifications.—Plain of Perpignan, Prat de Mello, &c. 231

The Pyrenees.—Geology.—Composition and formation.—Their approach indicated by the cork tree.—Belgarde, improvements in its neighbourhood.—Moorish castle, &c. 238

ITINERARY THROUGH FRANCE IN 1814.

No. I.

Belgarde, on the frontier of Spain, to Toulouse, on the Garonne ..... Vol. II. 239

No. II.

Descent of the Garonne, from Toulouse to Bourdeaux 240

No. III.

Bourdeaux to Paris 244

APPENDIX—*Containing observations made upon a picture in the Escurial, referred to in page* 101, vol. i. *called La Madonna, or Nuestra Señora del Pez, &c. &c. &c.* 251

NOTES 269

A LIST OF THE PLATES

WHICH ILLUSTRATE THESE TRAVELS.

Plate 1. Portrait of Sadi Hamett Ebn Abdallah, Sultan of Morocco *to face the Title-page.*
2. Distant View of Montserrat, its Convent and Church *to face Page* 58
3. View of Montserrat No. 1. 61
4. No. 2. 62
5. No. 3. 65
6. No. 4. 67
7. No. 5. 68
8. No. 6. 72
9. A Spanish Bull-fight, a Picador, and Matador 97
10. A Spanish Venta at Evening. Arrieros at their Supper. A Catalonian Light-Infantry Man. A Lady going her Evening Round to solicit Chastity . . . 156
11. The Sultan of Morocco coming out to give Audience 188
12. A View on the Plain of Morocco, approaching the City . . . 223
13. An African Juggler 279
14. A Serpent-Tamer. An African Chief 281
15. The Great Mosque at Morocco, and a Modern Building in the Sultan's Gardens . 289
16. A Sanctorium in the Sultan's Gardens 290
17. Moors at Exercise.—The Vault—the Chase 324
18. Western Arabs. Moorish Winter and Summer Costume . . . 326
19. Arabs on their Route 329
20. View of Atlas, with the Range of Hills at the Base of the Mountain, taken from the City of Morocco 332

VOL. II.

Plate 21. View of the Town of Rabat, opposite Salee on the Coast of Africa *to face Page* 32
22. Castle and Ferry on the Route from Morocco to Salee . . . 32
23. Ancient Theatre, now a Plaza de Toros, and the Ground-plan of the Naumachia at Merida 77
24. View of the Grand Aqueduct at Merida . 78

Plate 25. Remains of the Aqueduct which supplied the Naumachia at Merida *to face Page* 80
26. View in the Pyrenees.—The Rhone, opposite Ancone, remarkable in its Geology 170
27. Ornithology, *Macreuse*.—Ichthiology, *Remouge* 222
28. View in the Pyrenees, on the New Road 226
29. View in Prats de Mello, in the Pyrenees, with Mount Canigou 232
30. Buonaparte's winding and inclined-plane Road by the Pass of Bellegarde, viewed Northwards 232
31. A View of Mount Canigou, 30 Miles distant, from the Fort of Bellegarde 237
32. View up the Garonne, near the Pass of Lanet: Upper Pass of the Garonne, where the Duke of Wellington crossed with twenty thousand Men.
A View of the Lower Passage, where the Duke of Wellington crossed with forty thousand Men.
The Duke of Wellington's Head-quarters on the Garonne 241
33. View on the Garonne 243
34. Mount Barau 247

ERRATA—Vol. I.

Page 1, line 2, *for* has *read* having.
6, — 8, *for* blackness *read* bleakness.
7, — 2, *for* travellers *read* traveller.
— 9, *for* deuses *read* dunes.
8, — 27, *for* Bapacerte *read* Bassaume.
11, — 12, (note) *for* even *read* ever.
12, — 3, *for* It *read* If.
— 1, (note) *for* France *read* Ferte.
14, — 2, omit the word *be*.
— 11, *for* sors *read* air.
— 12, *for* here constituted, *read* here is constituted.
16, — 25, *for* requires *read* acquires.
23, — 16, *for* usually some *read* usually seen some.
24, — 13, *for* (.) [illegible] (.)
30, — 3, *for* unaccountable *read* uncountable.
31, — 24, *for* inculpable *read* unculpable.
42, last line, *for* Julius *read* Iulius; and *for* Guibert *read* Guichard.
51, line 4, *for* Capuchin ceder, vying, *read* Capuchin ceder, here vying.
— 25, *for* Mara *read* Mar.
56, — 6, after the word describe it, the reference ‡ is omitted.
64, — 4, *for* principal *read* principle.
100, — 8, (note) *for* Meala *read* Alcala.
112, — 27, *for* place *read* palace.
120, — 18, *for* unfractuous *read* unfructuous.
123, — 20, *for* quisado *read* guisado.

Page 129, line 9, *for* officers *read* offices.
133, — 26, *for* aniero *read* arriero.
141, — 11, omit the word *them*.
142, — 2, *for* vaccalaos *read* baccalao.
144, — 6, *for* lodge *read* ledge.
— 23, *for* Manchegaw *read* Manchegan.
147, — 6, *for* labildo *read* Cabildo.
151, — 8, and 13, *for* Hidalgo *read* Hidalga.
155, — 3, and 8, *for* aniero *read* arriero.
156, — 11, *for* aniero *read* arriero.
163, — 1, *for* December *read* January.
8, *for* fallow *read* sallow.
171, — 27, *for* here *read* there.
176, — 23, *for* towers *read* tower.
187, — 18, *for* millet *read* mullet.
207, — (last but one, note) *for* tunicas *read* Lamias.
214, — 15, *for* mo *read* most.
224, — 2, *for* part *read* front.
225, — 21, *for* hard *read* hand.
233, — 4, *for* Oalani *read* Oatani.
233, — 25, *for* Robah, *read* Robat.
268, — 11, (note) *for* Post *read* Pert.
271, — 16, *for* sow *read* saw.
272, — 21, *for* not be *read* not to be.
300, — 2, *for* bear-footed *read* bare-footed.
— 11, *for* Isaac *read* Tschaow.
314, — 1, (note) *for* none *read* iron.
321, — 19, *for* on *read* or.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE AND AFRICA.

INTRODUCTION.

With an ardent wish to visit foreign countries, especially those of which little has been communicated to the world, an impression is felt that much remains to be learned; and to view those whereof much has been read and heard, induces men who possess the essential requisites of health, time, and pecuniary resource, to roam abroad in search of information, or at least of novelty. No part of the globe at this period, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, presented attractions of either description, more powerful than what were offered by the nations which are mainly the subjects of the present work. Spain has been so much the selected theatre of romantic adventure, the recital whereof delighted our early youth, anxious as the mind is to contemplate the scenes so interestingly depicted by the inimitable Cervantes and Le Sage, that the intervening tracts of Europe seem to be a dull, stale, and unprofitable path. But peculiar motives superinduced and directed the adoption of the route now before the reader.

George Payne, Esq. had been recently appointed consul general in a diplomatic mission from Great Britain to the Court of Morocco; and from former intimacy an opening was now presented to the narrator for

effecting what had been with him, an early wish, the penetration into a country the advanced accounts whereof, from Strabo and Leo Africanus to Windus and Braithwaite, proved that much of what ought to be known yet remained unexplored. Mr. Payne proceeded towards his destination by the way of France, Italy, and the Mediterranean; but the general rendezvous of those who were to visit Africa in his suite, was fixed at Mogodor; a situation particularly adapted, from its proximity to the western extremity of Mount Atlas, to afford a convenient opportunity of exploring a tract hitherto untrodden by European feet, at no great sacrifice of either time or finances. A considerable portion of time notwithstanding, and a still greater proportionate space of the globe intervene, between the first setting out and the ultimate point which it was the fortune of the travellers to attain, however short this last turned out to be of the original destination. And the particulars which presented themselves, and events which occurred during the one and on the other, compose the subject of the ensuing narrative.

Part of the ground has indeed been traced over by subsequent travellers, part remains as yet untouched. The writer is bound to admit that his work makes its appearance in the present day under peculiar circumstances; of which, however, the protraction which has attended it is prominent to a degree that reduces all the rest to insignificance. If that consideration has not had the effect of inducing him to suppress it altogether, it is not from want of due reflection. It would be a crime little short of the plagiarism he trusts he has effectually avoided, to proffer for public attention a thrice told tale; but his opinion remains, that matter may be novel without being recent; and until Mount Atlas be removed from its base, which the author has not heard has taken place; or until moral evil cease to struggle with or prevail over physical good, which he does not believe, he cannot subscribe to a sentence of obso-

leteness which the fastidiousness of criticism may deign to pass on his narrative. As a *post obitum* work, which he has long been much inclined to leave it, perhaps it would come with a better grace; but it must then have failed entirely of what it may still want in a considerable degree,—revisal. He has doubled the rule which Horace prescribes, if that great critic's protection will aught avail him. At any rate the reader obtains one sure benefit, reduction, as the result of procrastination. No defence against censure can be founded on the immaturity of the work, which certainly, however, no where professes to give the news of the day, or the tattle of the Court of Morocco.

The author can safely pledge himself, that in the present compilation of his notes, and the reflections on them, which a considerable period of later life has afforded, he has studiously avoided any subject which he has been able to trace as having previous communication from any other quarter; from such as travelled subsequently to, but commenced authorship before him. The fact is, that such is the variety which nature presents; so infinitely diversified are the moral combinations and their results in life, that there is ample matter for contemplation in the one, and disquisition in the other, to all inclined or able to engage in such pursuits, without risk of intercepting or crossing on each other's views or paths. The traveller's business in beaten ground is to seek out fresh objects; in a new road, it is to ascertain correctly what presents itself; not to deceive others by being himself first imposed on, or allowing his imagination to run away with his judgement; or that more powerful operative indolence, to seduce him to rest satisfied with half inquiries and inconclusive answers. New matter will ever be arising to requite his ardour of investigation; and even though he exert it to the utmost, he may be assured he must still leave much existing matter unmentioned. Indeed, were it not for the full conviction in his mind of this truth, did

not the productions of recent travellers prove how much is omitted of what is of importance to be known, and how much the most assiduous are liable to misinformation and error, it is probable that the present work would never have been sent to the press.

At the same time it must be added, that the author has ever remained firmly convinced how much it behoved a great, enlightened, and commercial nation to advert with due attention to the benefits which, by the intercourse hereafter pointed out, would be received and conferred by a certain political connexion. The turn which the general affairs of the world are at the present moment taking, gives additional force to this impression, and constitutes one of the several motives which concur to his decision on the present moment of publication. Thus much it has been thought necessary to premise upon certain points wherein it was presumed the reader would choose to be informed on taking up the work.

A variety and succession of reasons of the strongest kind called for delay, and under some circumstances might have imposed total silence. These however now no longer exist. Explanation on the subject could only gratify curiosity of an idle description, and such possesses no claim. Even, however, when the obstacles above alluded to were ascertained to be out of the way, the work, from the nature of it, could proceed but by very tardy steps to publication.

PART I.

JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE.

The spring of 1785, ensuing the notification of the diplomatic appointment, being the date of rendezvous on the shore of Africa, scope in point of time was given for visiting as much of the Spanish peninsula as could be taken in one route. The predominant idea in regard to Spain at home in that day was, that the country presented nothing to be learned. Still, however, it possessed an interest even in the obscurity which pervaded it; while France, so much the theme of general observation, was posted through with the haste and indifference which usually prevail upon matters which it is conceived may be taken up at any time that suits convenience; a procedure too often productive of unavailing regret.

It is by noting alone that the traveller can turn his activity to any profit. Indeed he rarely sets out prepared; his plan is adopted on the impulse or convenience of the moment, and few study for the purpose of qualifying themselves for the undertaking; such scientific men as travel usually confining their investigations to one line. The general outlines of a miscellaneous knowledge form the best basis for the foundation of a stock, the accumulation of which depends upon inquiry.

As to France and Flanders, if ever a subject were exhausted of viatorial novelty, this is the case with regard to these countries; yet some

recompense awaits an asssiduous examination even here; and the traveller should never clasp up his note book in despair.

To begin then with Calais, May 1784. Sterne has bestowed some touches of his pencil on this place. It is to be regretted that a man who could paint so well, should not have employed his talent upon serious subjects. The place presents little to be added to his account, slender as it is. A person newly landed, and for the first time from England, is chiefly struck by the blackness which prevails withoutside the walls, by the chill and vapidity which reign within. Yet they encircle a garrisoned town, and a port of national intercourse. The person of the greatest weight here is Mons. Dessain, the proprietor of the principal inn, the extensive precincts and establishment whereof are well worthy of notice; and the traveller is agreeably surprised to find the charges moderate, when fairly compared with the scale of those for similar accommodations on the opposite side of the channel. The value of M. Dessain is so well understood by his government, that it has fortified him with what is here called a *cheval blanc;* a protection for his person and property against seizure for debt; to which inconvenience he would otherwise be continually exposed, by the magnitude of his ideas on these trifling though teasing subjects; and Europe thereby deprived of his aid in her intercourse.

If comfort predominate on the British side of the channel, here there is a something besides novelty which is very gratifying. In winter, indeed, the case is most sensibly altered for the worse; but during the bright part of the year, if the goods of life do not so much abound with the French as with their opposite neighbours, they certainly have the art of disposing and displaying what they do possess to the best possible advantage.

The Rhedarium of M. Dessain's establishment supplies, for twenty-

four louis at the first demand, an excellent and substantial two-wheeled carriage, capable of conveying the travellers round Europe, and highly preferable in any point of view to an English one, unless he prefer the being subjected on the road to the surcharged taxation of national estimate. For such a carriage two horses ought, and do suffice; but the traveller is very fortunate who wholly escapes the post-tax levied under the name and form of an appendant one, nearly as detrimental to him in point of time as in that of purse.

Quitting Calais for St. Omers,—the dcines or sand-hills in the progress of the route begin to yield the face of nature to Vallon fertility. But the towns, at least to one accustomed to the bustle of England, are most remarkable for vacuity. However the country around may smile, all that is within the walls looks dull; the people seen in the streets carry the air *desœuvré* with them, not in the ordinary tendency of human life, or in national character; and of course indicatory of some morbid political principle. It is to be feared, and the printed records confirm it, that the querulous disposition early seizes the traveller on leaving his own country. In mitigation he may allege that this is fostered by the necessity of wrangling whenever he is obliged to have intercourse with mankind; and this is but too true. Public vehicles would be his preferable mode for adoption, in order to preserve his temper; for with them all expenditure is duly regulated; but to such persons, British at least, as have seen these menageries here disgorge, a recommendation of this mode of progress would hardly be successful. Water carriage, wherever it is to be met with, as is the case in these flat tracts, and to the eastward, is by far the most eligible in every respect. This view of the subject may however now be taken leave of, with the observation that, if the science of travelling has not yet reached its perfection, we are, it is to be hoped, far removed from those days when any

one could, on his return home, tender to the world a dissertation on his own peccant humours and call it his Tour, or think that minute details of endured privations should constitute an interesting literary performance.

One very desirable object for the traveller previous to his setting out is, to get depicted on his mind a good idea of the country through which he is to pass, so as to possess, in a knowledge of the spot whereon he stands, a recognition of all its relative objects around, far and near. Military men will most readily comprehend the extent of this idea, and of the clue afforded to the pursuit of it by the courses of the rivers. But the train of ideas, it supplies, ought to interest in some degree all persons; for a knowledge of the surface of a country should naturally precede the investigation of its products.

Those who travel from our country appear little habituated to view matters under this relation; but it is by no means so with the enlightened nations of the continent, more especially with our rivals the French. So much of military habit and speculation enter into the character of the circles of fashion, that the mind is never torpid. But the other pursuits of mental investigation in topography and geology; summit and inferior levels; distinctions of soils; all the grand outlines and minor features of the face of nature are most readily and permanently impressed upon the memory by a due attention to the courses of the running waters, which, however irregular they may appear on first view, one great harmonizing system will be found to pervade. All of which is duly omitted in what is emphatically called the *traveller's* map; which contains only the post towns and the connecting routes; as, for instance, the following: St. Omers—Bethune—Arras—Bapaeume—Peronne—St. Quentin—La Fere sur Oise.

Crecy, Agincourt, and Fontenoy, all objects of interest to a

British traveller, are a *portée* to this route*; but digressional visits, *en chemin*, are objects of cost; and digressional dissertations are too apt to superinduce critical censure.

The first object to the eye of curiosity is of course the circumjacent face of nature. The lover of the picturesque will find little to gratify his enthusiasm here. Nothing will strike him save the difference between what he sees and what he has left, supposing him to have taken his departure from the British islands.

Perhaps no two countries so nearly geographically contiguous differ so essentially in their superficies as England and France; more particularly in these parts. The upper district of Oxfordshire, however, and a tract about Buxton, no very flattering specimens, considerably resemble what is seen here. Open fields, remotely scattered villages of scanty population, and steeples of churches unshaded by foliage, with flat tracts of hungry pasture ground in under proportion to the tillage, altogether compose a close affinity of appearance. But this resemblance, it is repeated, is confined to a very small proportion of England.

Here the prospect too may improve as it is advanced upon. One circumstance is very striking in regard to the towns of this district; the stability which appears inherent in them, equally remote from aggrandisement or dilapidation, and thus they seem to have remained for a century past. No gay populous suburbs crowd round the parent site: hence it is to be concluded here is no capital to expend in improvement, no industry to create capital, no demand to excite industry.

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* Maubeuge, on the left, is now an object of interest as the scene of those national energies which Europe, to her astonishment, in later years called out. In regard to the famous battle of Fontenoy, it is a matter very little understood. The fact is, both sides were beaten. M. Voltaire, in his pompous statement, gives the description of it as a picture is seen reflected with additional glow in a mirror. He celebrates the English to enhance the valour of the French.

Thus too, none of that mutual action and re-action of circulatory wealth upon landed property; of population upon produce, which mark the approach to a considerable or thriving town in England. The crop at the edge of the glacis of the town here is as hungry as any beyond the reach of its shells. Indeed, if we recur to history for information to guide us through the present tract of country, a person would be led thereby to suppose that the places all around him were built for no purpose but to be besieged. Yet these were once the seats of industry and manufactures, which long ago frightened by the ravings of ambition from Arras and Cambrai, have obtained the security they require under ungenial climates. The government of France has ever been bad, operatively, though not morally; for it certainly did not meditate a national suicide. But its system has been attended with all the effect of one; and when it decided for manufacture (which it could not keep) in preference to agriculture, (which, perhaps, under its system it could not obtain,) the intended superstructure, whatever height it reached, was raised by the exhaustion of its shallow foundations; this statistical edifice resembling herein the national metropolis, though not in permanency.

One word as to the picturesque of this country. The fore-ground is poor, and the outlines are hard. In a word, the reverse of England: those who have a taste for the beauty of nature will understand this, and the disappointment conveyed in it.

At La Fere sur Oise a principal river is touched upon, and gives the traveller an opportunity of revising his topography.

Laon.—This place is marked in an extensive horizon by its situation on a high bluff hill*, resembling a head-land at sea; one of those frag-

* It is not requisite to be of a peculiarly dissertative turn, to employ the leisure which the solitude of a *voiture de poste* supplies, in allowing reflection to run in various directions. A traveller, and, *à fortiori*,

ments of a wreck of nature which afford so much scope to thought, and where it is very probable geological investigations would reward those who have time for them. The superficial soil hereabouts is powerful; a deep argil, tinged with ferruginous substance, and capable of producing heavy crops. It appears to have been the palladium of the Latobrigii a powerful Keltic clan of the primitive population of Europe.

Bac sur d'Aire, a post station on the little river Aire.—On this route the inns, not situated in the principal towns, are small; their supplies light; still the traveller will find sufficiency to satisfy his wants; perfectly clean, and the neatness with which things are served up compensates for the absence of redundancy. The wine that is produced is grateful to the palate, and no apprehension need be suffered, from its body, of danger to the head or constitution. The walls of the apartments are bare.

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a narrator of travels may be told his mind is not allowed to digress any more than his post-horses are. —Are men to be found who will subscribe to this dictation? This place is a residue of a wreck of nature. It is a proof-patch of former level. But who would have thought it should have presented the interest it does at the hour, March the 18th, 1814, that these additional notes (dissertations an it please so to call them) are written. By the coincidences of chance to be sure, but true it is, this elevated mass bears a strong resemblance to a lion couchant, (there is a feature on the Wye which is considerably like it,) and here, on the 19th of this instant, couches the Prussian lion Blücher, after a continuous battle of forty-two days and nights in a foreign country. Has the human mind broken the shackles of superstition to harness on those of virtue? If it has not, let disquisition be free! There is no point of view in which a country, new to an observer, can present itself destitute of interest or unworthy of record.—As for the talent of him who plays the recorder, that is another question. But let the military man's description be here taken of the local features of a place which must even now have celebrity in history; which must class with Crecy, Agincourt, Fontenoy, and Maubeuge.

"The city of Laon is situated on an elevated *plateau*, with deep [steep] shelving banks, which command an extensive plain around; the town covers the greater part of the *plateau*, the remainder is crowned by an old castle and by several windmills, built on high terrace walls." This now occupies a situation, as distinguished in nature, as in the military history of Europe. Twenty thousand men occupied the post (it does not amount to a position), which this bold and *escarpé* hill affords. "The remainder of F. M. Blücher's army was posted on the plain below, to the right and left of the town, fronting towards Soissons, and the cavalry was in reserve in the rear."

"The villages of Semilly and Ardon are close under the town, and may be regarded as its suburbs." By M. Blücher's letter of the eighth, conveying information of the concentration of his whole force of ninety thousand men on that day, "his left occupied Laon, and his right was at the small fort of La

One procedure which an English traveller can hardly bring himself to think superfluous, it is hardly possible to imprint any idea of upon the French; the airing of bed-linen. It it be aksed, "Is it clean?" "*Touchez la,*" is the reply of *la fille*, the sprightly *chambrière*; a pithy answer.

The drowsy traveller who had formed his plan to be away before the sun rose, finds his sheets within the hour of bed-time wringing wet, for this is the explanation of the test of cleanliness. At the inns, if the traveller must make up his mind to endure extortion, here he may at worst count upon civility: but it is far otherwise out of doors. The arrogance and insolence of the postillion tribe is of an extent to astound

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Fere." The battle of Laon took place on the day after Bonaparte had forced the Allies from France on the Aisne, the French advancing on the Allies by the routes from Soissons and Rheims. The scope of the action was between Laon and Corbigny. The force the French brought forward amounted to sixty thousand. The report adds, "the efforts of all the enemy's force have been broken against and recoiled from the bulwark which this fine position has afforded."

In point of time, place, and action, this is one of the most interesting and instructive events in the military history, confined in point of time to eight days, from the events at Soissons on the third, to the final retreat of the French on the eleventh; and in point of space to the arena, bounded by Rheims, the Aisne, Soissons, and Laon. And these noble efforts were made under the hardship and pressure of forty-two days incessant marching and fighting, and a winter's campaign in an enemy's country. The emigration of the children of Israel, or the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, present nothing to be compared to it in the honour of human firmness and talent.

The statement here quoted describes the adjacent country as covered with hamlets and interspersed with small copses of woodland. Such then it has continued, and such is the accurate picture of a favoured spot. As to the post itself, it cannot but possess a powerful interest when Bonaparte declares it impregnable.

The French ate three dinners dressed for the Prussians, the latter four dressed by the French. Bonparte's system was too technical. Something is requisite beyond the skill of the mere gladiator, to conduct war itself. It is to be hoped, however, the world will have the campaign of 1814, between the Aube and Marne, in its minute details, as a master-piece of instruction in its way. The insult offered to fallen greatness produces disgrace only where it recoils, as it must, on the offender's head. None is intended in the term gladiator applied to Napoleon. France cannot but be aware how much she owes him. That he should have abused the greatest power that ever devolved on man is the fault of human nature. Still how completely are talents, how completely are military fame eclipsed by the spectacle so rare as to have left hardly a trace on the general mind that such a thing ever existed! A philosophic monarch, a philanthropist wreciled by politics, an Anacharsis on an imperial throne!

one not prepared for it, by the recollection that these important personages qualify themselves, by virtue of the royal livery, as the servants of the crown and not of the public; what is in reality the badge of servitude, being by them perverted into a commission of privilege to insult all who come within their reach. This is, it is true, occasionally seen softened down and cooled by the proud indignant spirit of the French peasant, who perhaps may in his day have carried a firelock, and has no relish for their insolence. Considerable power is certainly given this corps by the regulations or *ordonnance* over those who commit themselves into their hands; but this power, wherewith they are so endowed, they considerably overstep. To set this very *ordonnance* at defiance, to exchange their horses contrary to its regulations, or the consent of travellers, to revile and abuse, nay even to exercise their tremendous thongs over the shoulders of a Croix de St. Louis, are outrages too demonstrable to be doubted of; and if so, what has a stranger in the country to hope? save to extricate himself out of their hands as speedily as circumstances will permit.

Rheims.—The celebrated cathedral of this city is an important object to those scrutinizers into architecture who have true taste to admire that delightful branch of it to which our Anglo-Norman ancestors have the best claim for the invention, or at least adoption; for controversy shall be kept clear of, on this subject.

Chalons.—Upon the Marne, a river respectable by its length of course: the traveller, proceeding up by its bank, reaches St. Dizier, and at its head

Langres*.—Hence a person traversing a summit level of France, decorated with more woodland than first impressions would lead him to

* The little river Aire runs by this bold hill. On it is the post-house at Bac sur d' Aire.

expect, covering tracts of bold uneven heights, which in no country would be considered mountains, he thus comes to the head of the SOANE, the current whereof flows in the opposite direction, towards the Mediterranean, and descending southwards by the course of this river, halting at the respectable towns of CHALONS and MACON, he proceeds to LYONS, seated at the confluence of the sister streams.

LYONS.—This is a place where manufacture has obtained a more permanent footing than any where in France; nor is it to be wondered at, considering how admirably it is situated for water-carriage in three directions, a most fertile vicinity, the happiest of temperatures, healthy airs, and plenty of fuel. The town has some handsome features in it, but like most ancient towns here, constituted in a great measure of crooked, narrow, and generally dirty streets, without due accommodation for foot-passengers. It differs, however, from the generality of French towns, by the air of bustle which pervades it. Notwithstanding the advantageous situation in which it is placed, as above described; the results of the advantages which may be justly attributable to them, do not appear upon the vicinity as would unquestionably be the case under more genial governments, as, for instance, in England or Holland.

The skirts of this town are partly bordered by a tract of river-meadows of the most luxuriant fertility. Upon them the fog remains long, as the exhalations are considerable. It seems very extraordinary, but it is a fact, that the French continue, and have long done so, to send hither all their *poitrinaires*, those whose lungs are delicate, as to the most favourable atmosphere. These meadows are the well-known scene of a most distressing fatality, detailed in the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.

That garrison system, so galling to every sense of free agency, an inheritance of barbarism, and clung to by prescription and absurdity, in

defiance of reason and sensation, of compelling the unfortunate inmates of a town, when once it has been environed in dingy masonry under the name of ramparts, to immure themselves (a foretaste of the horrors of monkish executions), at the most delightful period of the twenty-four hours in the country, and in this climate especially, sun-set, was, is, and probably will long continue the law here. The whole population of the city was on a holiday in these charming meadows, enjoying the freshness of the evening after a sultry summer's day, when the enormity of the crowd struck the speculative mind of the unfortunate serjeant of the guard at the town-gate, and time and all things seeming to him to combine for his purpose, the most fatal and afflicting project was with precipitation dashed upon. It was the custom to ring a bell a short time before the shutting of the gates, to give notice to the people on the outside to return*. To earn a few livres for himself, from such as should be too late, this unfortunate man rang the signal a quarter of an hour before the time. All he saw in the consequences of the action was a few loiterers to extort upon; this was the whole front of his offending, so far as the *malus animus* extended, but far different were the results. The multitude crowded all at once to the gate and draw-bridge, insomuch that it became impossible for the latter to be lowered; and thousands, young and old, in a few minutes perished miserably by suffocation, or by being trodden under foot. Whole families sunk to rise no more; and none in the city escaped without having the loss of some relative to mourn over. Perhaps the importance of

* Man is deficient in that unerring animal-guide instinct. The domestic animals, cattle, and birds, belonging to the villages in Germany, know to a minute, unwarned by any signal, when the gates are to be shut, and calculate their range and return according thereto, and their own respective resource of action. The return of one of these columns, in an evening, to each town-gate, their clamour, and the eagerness for entering and to reach their *domiciles*, furnish an idea little short of the storming of a town, and woe to him who stands in the way of the charge!

the event may have been the cause of this custom ceasing; but as it throws light upon the system of French jurisprudence, it is somewhat pertinent to the views of him who goes abroad in quest of information. Perhaps too it may be difficult to say what ought to be done to the author of such a catastrophe. Any one who has ever so little adverted to French legislative proceedings, will have no scruple to conclude that they decided wrong. The wretch was broken alive on the wheel with horrid torments, as if the evil could in any degree be mollified by his sufferings, or as if the crime required a formidable example to be inflicted as a warning to prevent its repetition.

Fuel, that *desitleratum* in the north of France, where the rousing of a handfull of embers into glow every half hour by a blaze of brush-wood, cannot be sustained through the twelve hours at a less expense than of five or six livres, is here both in plenty and conveniently at hand. What an Englishman deems, very justly, comfort, the houses, the windows, and indeed the habits of the French, (for shutting of doors is a practice little known here) all militate against; and throw the comparative balance of a winter sojournment considerably on the other side.

In regard to woodlands, a considerable proportion whereof is seen on the left of the road to, and south of Lyons, although this important branch of statistics does not here appear to have occupied the national mind duly, and all is public property; some things in their system are very well worthy of adverting to, and principally amongst them that of barking the bulky timber for the navy while standing, the branches or main head being left on. It thus remains for some years, and requires its seasoning in a manner which is so different from the ordinary procedure, and so superior, that its advantages upon the timber cannot but be important. In fact it becomes so hard that the axe seems hardly able to bite into the white coat or sap-wood. It is well known that a

British ship is always outsailed by a French one, nay, that one built upon a French model in our docks is still outsailed by the other. May not this hitherto unaccountable circumstance be thus explained? Very sufficient judgment appears in the due distance at which their standard trees are left; but so much herein depends on exposure, prevalent winds and climate, that no criterion can be formed equally adapted to all. To revert to the situation of this town, it is perhaps unique in point of selection. Its connexion with Switzerland, and even with Lower Germany, with the Mediterranean, with the vineyards and silk groves of the South and corn-tracts of the North, with the fertile pastures immediately adjoining it, forms a combination of advantages hardly elsewhere to be met with.—What might it not be? On the state of agriculture in these parts, of which a tolerable estimate may be formed by the time that the traveller reaches Lyons, and which the route here laid out enables him to survey, under every disadvantage which exists in it, he may now combine, and indeed close his observations, for what remains of the journey.

It is very plain that the progress of improvement in France is checked, in every point save literature, by something. What that something is, lies far beyond the eye of a cursory observer, though probably not one ever existed who did not flatter himself he had discovered it, and some indeed have communicated their exultations to the world in having done so. Be this as it may, certainly it continues as yet unrectified. The clergy, the land proprietors, the king's mistresses, have all come in for their shares of inculpation. A stranger has no right to be very sanguine in his hopes of elucidation on this point; for although a people feel the grievance, it by no means follows that they see it. He must therefore be contented with chiefly ministering unto himself. For a mischief to be of such extensive operation, it must be political. The

statesman may exclaim, like Pharaoh of old, "Ye are idle! ye are idle!" but the radical fault is, where it never will be acknowledged, in him.

Economics, Statistics, all bow under the pressure of political evil. Agriculture is the basis of national aggrandizement; any other, naval, manufacturing, or mercantile, is fallacious. It was intended that men should live by each other; not by plunder, but in association: by the earnings deduced from supplying reciprocal wants; the balance of demands, to the common benefit of the whole. As social life advances these wants multiply, *pari passu*, through all their gradations acquired, fanciful, and capricious, but all calling as loudly for gratification as the most early wants of nature, disbursing, and thus, inadvertently, compensating and inviting industry. How erroneously then do those reason or calculate, who would infer that the world can be over-peopled! With the immutable decree that man should labour, comes the benevolent dispensation that he need not want. If debarred from the former, or subject to the latter, it is a proof that a fault exists somewhere, and where is it so likely to be lodged as in the heads of mankind*?

A check to the operative powers of man is obvious throughout this great country. Statistics and Economies are notwithstanding favourite subjects of reflection here, as is well known to all conversant with French literature; and copious extracts from their Encyclopædias and Maisons Rustiques might be appropriately transcribed, the insertion whereof would make a most respectable book. This ambition, however, powerful as it may be deemed, shall not stimulate the invasion or plunder of these massive compilations.

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* In fact, if the hearts of mankind were as bad as their heads, the whole race would have been extinct long ago. But time is merely wasted where one reasons to bring men's actions to a law of consistency, with which law they are ever at variance.

The cure, *if* by the knowledge of the disease they were half way, in the commonly accepted idea of it, by no means follows. And yet the malady is by no means incurable, for the *stamina vitæ* are possessed by the patient in uncommon energy. The first light thrown upon this interesting subject to an English eye is furnished in the details supplied in the fourth volume of the Travels of Mr. Marshall, whoever he was, for this does not appear to have been ever duly ascertained; and a very particular circumstance it is, that this said fourth volume, containing such satisfactory and compendious notices, has disappeared from circulation in England.

The general opinion of this and of former days there, is, and has been, that gross neglect of their true interests, apathy to the claims of human nature in general, and contempt for commonalty, swayed the minds of the great of this country. Nothing can be further from the truth.

The people of the higher classes, the land proprietors of France, were endowed with the best, the most benevolent intentions. They occasionally visited their estates, habit and political ties and restrictions prevented their doing any more, (this was the government system); they flattered themselves that when there, they were making every one around them happy. When the peasant sought the climax of family ambition, to launch his son in a splendid livery into the rotten luxury of Paris; it was to his seigneur, as his natural protector, that he presented him for the purpose. The young French nobleman was always gratified by, and acknowledged with kindness, the entry of a vassal's son into his regiment, and when the nobility visited their estates it was "*pour faire du bien.*" Such were the daily incidents which presented themselves even to the cursory eye of the stranger.

The subversion of the upper classes in latter days resulted from causes which did not depend on them. Mankind view things around

them with different optics, according to their situations. These ill-fated people were in a complete delusion. Their habits of life debarred them from a correct view of the truth, from reflecting sufficiently on what presented itself, from drawing any just conclusion from the whole. Perhaps such impressions are more extensive than known. With their eyes directed merely to the court for nineteen-twentieths of their lives, with habits acquired solely in a luxurious capital, nay, even the admirable refinement of their manners, all contributed to render them pervious to the least shock of life. Then their revenues were barely competent to sustain each at that utmost stretch of expenditure to which and for which the spirit of aristocracy will strain every nerve, and sacrifice every consideration. Under these circumstances, which constituted the soul of the state, how could they look to obscure causes or remote effects? guard against or remedy them? It is expenditure (according as it is judicious or not) which creates influence. As to the rustic department of the state, nothing could be a stronger specimen of wretchedness than the whole *metairie* system. But poverty grows out of poverty. What more crushing to an already heart-broken landholder than the *corvée?* Seignorial claims, confided to callous arbitrary agents, duties imposed ignorantly and selfishly on men whose utmost labours could only enable them to prolong life to themselves and their families! Capital could neither be formed, nor vested in agriculture; not even the pauper's capital—the sweat of his brows! Such details are oftener told than listened to. The result has subsequently made itself heard in a voice of thunder. The splendour of the court operated no doubt as a heavy drain upon an incompetent country: but neither was this, as some are used to say, the radical of the evil; it was no more than what a thriving state, that is, in other words, one governed upon a good system, could have borne. The church establishment here,

too, has been an object whereon to heap condemnation. It was certainly heavy, but the injustice which criminates it is much more so. Certain it is that the very best specimens of agriculture, which France presented, were afforded in the church lands, (not that it is pretended to say that good agriculture alone, like charity, will cover a multitude of sins,) by the occupation and management of those very people, against whom at this period (1784) the charge, a very diffuse one, in every layman's mouth, is, "*qu'ils ne sont bons à rien*," the usual prelude to a crimination upon what constitutes a point of merit to every fair-judging mind—the flourishing appearances around them. Their establishments here supply the most important calls of human nature, and very thankless has been the recompense, as has been since too strongly seen. Their laboratories are the apothecaries' shops of the rustic community, with the difference in their favour, that the profits of the trade are not demanded. The poor receive eleemosynary relief at their gates, the sick are attended at home. All this comes before our eyes. That such establishments are requisite for the community at large, in the present stage of the world's growth, is by no means asserted; but still further off be the injustice of denying them any merit! Be their fate what it may, the behaviour of the laity here to the clergy in the present day is very disgusting to observation. In fact, the wretched fathers are now hunted from all general society, and whither are the unfortunate men to betake themselves? Are they to recur to first principles, and betake themselves to the forests and deserts? Certainly there is no footing for them in social life. Their situation is not now, perhaps it never was, a matter of option; if it were, the ribaldry wherewith they are, wherever they show themselves, assailed by the laity would, one cannot but suppose, preclude all hesitation on their parts in (to borrow an expression from our great Elizabeth) *unfrocking* themselves. Indeed they

evidently feel that they are *hors d'odeur de sainteté*, and either shun society, or, the worst of them, give into the profligacy of the laity.

One great deficiency certainly exists in the statistical relations of France, and, in contradistinction with the Netherlands, where water carriage, that first of internal accommodations, abounds; and this is cross communication, and conveyance in general. Badness of roads, wretchedness of vehicles, and weakness of cattle, constitute a heavy deficiency. It is evident throughout, that whatever capital France possesses is vested in trade, and perhaps principally internal commerce; but in any case the effects are equally deleterious where agriculture has not proceeded in laying a foundation for the superstructure. Great state empirics have adopted each his opposite mode of treatment, and the worst carried the triumph. One maintained the side of the plough, the other that of the sail; but while they discussed the patient sank. In fact, no great national impulse could be given or received in either direction. Thus, among them, France is, as we now see it, denuded and depopulating, in penury, languid and feeble in war, and even incapable of rallying in time of peace. The tract here under consideration is probably the worst specimen that this great country affords. It certainly has many stages to proceed through in order to attain improvement. Population, system, industry, capital, and security in all their powerful combinations, will be unavailing without the fostering hand of time. About Lyons, indeed, the cattle appear better; but this is rather due to the soil than any amelioration in the breed and improvement, which the French landholder is by no means competent to.

It is usual here to proceed southwards by water. It is by no means the best mode for seeing the country; but the conveniences which it presents here are not to be rejected; and while we glide down the stream, the progress appears rather a doze than a journey.

From Chalons hither there is a regular passage-boat with every accommodation. The traveller who feels an interest in observing manners may indeed here gratify it. To any other it is but a dull procedure. A private boat, which will carry a carriage and six passengers conveniently, manned by two boatmen, may be had here on very moderate terms, to descend to Avignon. The boats never remount the stream, but are sold in the south, where timber is of value, to a profit.

Quitting Lyons, the only opportunity the voyage affords of setting foot on shore is at Viviers; and if any objects worthy of inquiry are there extant, the lateness of arrival in the evening, and the anxiety of the boatmen to be away in the morning, debar all effort at investigation, or at least beyond so much of it as relates to supper and bed. The evening congress at one of these grand central points, a table d'hôte, is very amusing,—at least while it has novelty to recommend it. Indeed, it may possess this quality in a permanent degree; for here are usually some personages who, by the complete manner in which they appear to be at home at the table, and occupying, according to privilege, the high places, a matter of some little consequence where, if there is no distinction admitted as to who is *best* served, it is not immaterial to be *first* served. Persons, however, of the above description have here the gratification of seeing, every evening, at their meal, a host of new faces around them; and possess a good opportunity to become citizens of the world. As to the mode of conveyance, as the weather had not yet, by the progress of the heat, notwithstanding the advance to the southward, become sultry, and the boat having a good awning; between that accommodation and what the chaise afforded, the party was very agreeably lodged during the day. But, accommodation and pleasing prospects out of the question, for every other purpose of travelling, all seem to have selected this mode of accommodation as a perma-

nent substitute for domestic menage; the *poste aux ânes*, upon the right bank of the river, would be preferable. The œconomical sagacity of these animals enables them to be trusted to find their way back home without an attendant; and they, with the utmost alacrity, submit to the tax of exertion imposed on them, as long as there is no attempt at surcharge: but such is their pertinacity on this head, that all idea of contesting the point has been long given up; and provided they convey their burthen to their next post, their owner and the traveller are perfectly satisfied. A considerable number of miles may be gotten over in the course of the day by this conveyance, which is more recurred to by those whose route lies up the course of the river*. To the south of Lyons, and more particularly on the eastern bank,

The Rhone, on this noble river, the vine commences its deleterious predominance over the plow, engrossing all the attention, and what capital there is. Indeed this latter article, if not to be found for any thing else, steals into activity by this excitement. Fortunate in their climates are, so far, the countries which can only procure this produce of the soil by purchase. Here manure, which is real wealth, whatever can be made, goes all to the vineyard, where it is absorbed and lost without return. Perhaps were the vine-culture made auxiliary to feeding and the plough, and confined to those situations, for such there are, most applicable to it, and inapplicable to either of the others, it might be a profitable pursuit. But the farmer of every country knows where one interferes with the plough, that it does so to his loss; and the wine countries are the poorest in Europe; as far behind pasturage as

* The pursuits or speculations of industry are not more beneficial to a state than those of œconomy in the sense of accommodation at reduced expenditure. Enough of channels will ever remain open for prodigalities. The author considers himself *safe* in mentioning the *poste aux ânes*, because, if his word is to be taken for any thing, *he* did *not* proceed by this mode of conveyance.

the latter falls short of tillage in sound profit. Our boatmen afford us now a specimen of what the effects to be expected are; every exertion compensated by a pull at the bottle! and its contents a heavy, mawkish red stuff, exciting thirst and fever! But such is the force of habit, and such the result of the labours of the year!

This river is capable of conveying through a vast tract, from the very heart of France, its produce to the sea-coast: little business is, however, seen doing on it. Here, however, the lover of the picturesque will not grow languid for want of objects to admire, or rapidity in their succession; for his progress through them is at the rate of eight miles an hour. The lithological examination of the country on each side is not thus within the reach of those who navigate the stream; but the outlines throughout indicate schist, from their serrated and abrupt edges. The separated rocky heights, crowned with innumerable castles and turrets, in different stages of dilapidation, combine and diversify in most pleasing points of view, at every reach and sweep of the river. The cliffs and crags of the east side, which is the most uniform of the two, are clothed with vines. Those of the west are more gloomy and picturesque. But the former has to boast the famous vineyard of L'Hermitage, distinguished by a small white building towards or about the upper half of the ascent. The whole tract consists of about seventy acres apparently; and hence issues of its produce what supplies all France, beyond which, very little that is genuine ever travels; but much alien produce is affiliated upon a parent of such celebrity, and thereby finds way into the cellars of our *bons vivans*. The French have a great idea of the good disposition of their Burgundy grape to the human constitution; of its juice they say, "*C'est l'ami de l'homme;*" and truly, if so, there seems no love lost between the parties. Their physicians prescribe it in some cases in most comfortable doses. The Montpelier anecdote

of the two medical men, of whom one enforced, and the other forbad the taking of coffee, each according to his own usage in regard to it, will be apt to recur to recollection here. All the wines produced down the course of the Rhone possess the same heating quality, which is there defined, not very luminously, *vineux*.

A considerable deal of bustle usually occurs amongst the fresh-water sailors of these countries; and such was the case at this time, in regard to shooting, as it is called, the Pont de St. Esprit. It is, however, a trifle compared to what is seen done at London Bridge. Indeed this structure on the Rhone seems more precarious to pass over than under, for a wheel is not permitted to roll upon it; sledges being laid there to receive such carriages as have occasion to pass.

AVIGNON, in the Pope's possession, is most remarkable for a spirit of license, to use the milder term, which is its strongest moral feature. Very strongly it certainly appears upon this point in contrast with what is seen of France. This *appanage* of the Holy See affords the grand inlet into the neighbouring country for forbidden publications. Through it, whatever ammunition, of paper bullets at least, that *the church is* attacked with, finds its way.

Before the Rhone is finally quitted, it must not be forgotten that its eastern bank here presents the little territory of Orange, the proprietor whereof made the proud callous despot Louis XIV. tremble on his throne. It may be observed of this little tract, and the man it sent forth to head the armies of Europe, as was said by a great man when shown the house at Medellin in Estremadura, where the illustrious Hernando Cortes was born, "How small a nest for so noble a bird!" for the origin of this little principality, like those of greater states, is lost in the shades of antiquity. Its domination extended over two towns, three villages, and six hundred detached habitations. Its climate and

situation too, are so happy, that it possesses within itself products to satisfy all the wants of man; so far as they are to be calculated.

TARASCON, in which such as are curious on the subject may see annually performed in the principal church a strange ceremony, considerably resembling our Wantley heroics, the slaying the Tarasco; a formidable monster represented under the form of a dragon, *ad vivum*, as we are assured by those conversant in the proper branch of natural history; and

BEAUCLAIRE, celebrated for the wealth, aggregation, and diversions its annual fair brings together, may present, each in its way, an interest to such as make this their summer route; both places being *à portée* to it.

Le Pont du Garde too, a well known piece of Roman antiquity, presents itself to notice on the route to Montpelier; and at

NISMES the traveller will see, some in very perfect, and others in very picturesque preservation, and in actual masonry, those specimens of ancient architecture, representations of which he has probably often turned over with satisfaction in a port-folio at home; and which he will find described in Montfaucon, with an accuracy which even the enthusiasm of Thicknesse (among modern travellers), inspired by true taste, by a genuine relish for the cubic and scalic symmetry of Greece, and the actual view of the maison quarrée here, its most perfect sample on earth, cannot enter into a satisfactory competition with. The ingenuity displayed, under the total destitution of letters, on the inscription upon the front of the *maison quarrée*, by the PRINCIPES JUVENTUTIS, which has been decyphered by the French antiquarians, is worthy of the utmost credit and commendation. The letters were of metal, Roman capitals, and *tenaillé* in the stone work; the holes only remaining. The ground is occupied; nothing of use or elucidation is left to be said on it; and if novelty cannot be produced independent of frivolity or absurdity, the

less is said the better. The traveller's notice should, however, be particularly called to the Tour-Magne; because it is supposed, and the peculiarity in the architecture justifies the inference, that this structure has an origin distinct from the others. Book-making travellers will find a tolerably diffuse description of these things published here collectively, and sold in every shop; where they may increase the solid dimensions of their work much more appropriately than (though this is not vouched for) by recurring to any Encyclopædia.

Montpelier is a name familiar to every English ear. The climate is notedly salubrious. The situation, however, has nothing in it to impress such an idea. Probably much of this general quality depends on the temperature of the climate, as it is situated very little above the sea-level. Salt marshes and briny lakes extend along the coasts of the Mediterranean in the vicinity, impregnating the whole atmosphere with their particles; as is strongly perceived by the taste upon the lips at mid-day, when the exhalation from them, as well as from the sea itself, is strong. This particular Smollett has noticed.

The rural management of the vicinity is divided between the vineyard, producing a heady deep-coloured wine, and pasturage; that is to say, the tending a herd of goats and an equal number of sheep, with a few cows of stunted growth, scattered through them on the heath. As to the vast tracts here in the south, now of no advantage to the claims of man or beast; they could be only rendered productive by a national exertion. What rational pretext can a nation have for entering upon foreign wars, that has ample business for a century to come, to do at home? with the *landes* of the south, the *dunes* of the north, the sterile uplands of the interior upon her hands, to extort an unwilling crop from, by the sweat of the brow?

The government of this country has, at various times, had magni-

ficent plans of internal navigation, the only national improvement adequate to the grand scale in contemplation; but little has resulted from them to this day. The éclat of a paltry conquest is a more vivid gratification to the human mind than the fertilizing a province. The turning the floods of the Alps upon these barren levels would introduce population, which ever follows water-carriage; and, where hands were to be found, agriculture, without which dry wastes are not be redeemed, could be put in practice.

At this present period, there being little to engage public attention, and time probably hanging heavy on hand, the two divisions of penitents here, *pénitens blancs* and *noirs*, had commenced a *bellum internecinum*; and employed the warm days of summer in bestowing on each others backs that discipline which, by the rules of their order, each individual is bound to inflict upon his own. *Pénitens*, it may be necessary to inform some readers, for the simple term is not very accurately applicable, or consequently descriptive, are persons who, in religious processions and some other ceremonies, go disguised in long garments and high conical caps, which mask the face, the eyes only appearing; they, moreover, on requisite occasions, carry lighted tapers in their hands, and perform various duties of similar import. They are divided into orders, which are distinguished by colours; a convenient mode of supplying mankind with something to quarrel about, where there exists nothing to contend for. Whatever was the important cause of the present warfare, certain it is that, in the prosecution of it, these maskers laid aside all disguise, and exhibited themselves in their true colours; and if they did not impart to the town that vivacity it wants, they so far succeeded as to disturb its slumbers.

When flagellation was in fashion in the world (where it at present seems rather on the decline), it was the custom for lovers to avail them-

selves of a procession of the kind here mentioned, to bestow an adequate number of lashes on themselves in honour of their mistresses. But the lady, more provident than Hudibras's widow, or her prototype Dulcinea del Toboso, took care to stand at her balcony to see them inflicted herself. The pink of gallantry was when the lover succeeded in besprinkling his fair one with his blood; and very ingenious modes of increasing the intensity of the operation of the taws were resorted to accordingly. This order, if it aspire to the denomination, appears, like monachism, to have crept into the Christian church from Egypt, that great hot-bed of superstition. However, the *mutatis mutandis* procedure must be adopted here to a considerable extent. The religious principle, innate in human nature and run wild in Egypt, produced in that gloomy people, under the modification of bigotry, seclusion and penance. Here, in the hot heads of the South of France, it assumes that of enthusiasm; from this, no wonder if it degenerates into fanaticism, for there is but a step to go. Hence, in their day, the dreadful transactions of Toulouse, wherefrom Voltaire derives the debt of gratitude his country owes him—"*O si sic omnia!*" The principle of dissent, or spirit of contrariety, or whatever denomination may be given to it, was of course equally tenacious in its hold and vigorous in its growth here. The warfare in support of orthodoxy, in this tract of his dominions, cost Louis XIV. what he could ill spare,—many thousands of his best troops. Under a commander of great eminence they could effect little in a midnight warfare against Camisards, each of whom carried within his own breast his counsel and principle of action, standing to him in the stead of chiefs and supplies. These insurgents had gotten complete possession of the open country, confining the other population within the walls of the cities, between which the communication could only be carried on by caravans and escorts; and this too at a time

when Louis XIV. was at, what he was pleased to term, the height of his glory! This part of France appears never to have recovered the effects of a political sore,—always long in cicatrizing,—an expatriation.

The public work, called the Pirou, of this town has an interest, in so far as the cut stone used in it, a sand-stone full of marine exuviæ, chiefly if not entirely cockle-shells, shows what the interior of the earth is here composed of. This flat tract, down to the shores of the Mediterranean, from its low level, warmth of climate, and exemption from the intrusion of human industry, should present a rich, and, it is probable, little explored harvest to the botanist; but to the geologist its promises are but very scanty. Botany seems as much the national predilection of the French, as the last-mentioned science is of the Germans. Each is good in its way, but perhaps they are not perfectly compatible; at least the same individual could not do justice to both pursuits. The latter requires a bold scope of thought, such as is possessed by the nation which has gone deepest into it, (throwing a cloud of mystery all around,) while the former calls, on the contrary, for the minutest investigations. It is hard, when the mind is impressed with those extensive speculations, to which geological studies (in the great book of Nature) lead, to bring it to bend to the minutiæ of botany; yet it is but just to say, that the stores of the latter are of more immediate importance to human life.

Route from Montpelier to the Pyrenees, by Pezenas, Beziers, Narbonne, and Perpignan.

From Montpelier to Narbonne, aridity on the face of Nature, and the despondency of poverty on that of man, with the uninteresting uniformity of a cloudless sky, as a tax for the enjoyment of an atmosphere

remarkably pure, present themselves to the traveller's observation all around.

The goat is the main dependence for the menage, to the community in general: and the pigeon-house is probably the chief prop of the chateau; for the privilege of this species of domestic stock is most tenaciously maintained here; perhaps chiefly on account of the manure,—a valuable article for the vineyard. Diminutive as this species of stock may strike us to be, it is not insignificant when we consider it here; when we recollect that it takes all the trouble of maintenance, a serious task, upon itself; and that this is effected at the cost of the neighbourhood. Taking all this into consideration, the pigeon-house is no trifling object, as indeed the state of the larder at the inn sufficiently proves.

NARBONNE is celebrated for its honey; the insect which produces it seems to be the only thing useful to man, capable of deriving an existence from the vegetation of its neighbourhood. Must there not have been some great change here in climate, and soil too, so far as vegetation is concerned, since the days of the Romans? Would any people now bestow so much time, cost, and trouble, as they did here, computing upon so poor a return as what we now see?

Due time is given to the traveller to explore in what direction his taste leads him, because, as posting is not in practice on this route, he must hire a voiturier to convey him through his journey. He is hereby occasionally obliged to pass some of the hours of his day at an inn of inferior accommodations; but this mode is undoubtedly preferable for the main views of travelling. He may arrange and settle with his voiturier for *all*, at the end of the journey, and thus get rid of that drawback on the pleasures of travelling,—the necessity of wrangling twice a day.

NARBONNE.—The walls of this town exemplify to us what we have elsewhere seen pictures of,—the world turned upside down. They are built of the *debris* of Roman antiquity. Relievos, mouldings, unaccountable specimens of ornamental sculpture, are, if the expression may be hazarded, ranged here in confusion; for they could hardly have been so completely misplaced had not pains been taken to that effect. Here a trireme keel upwards presents itself; hard by is a legionary sentinel standing upon his head, while the tower he guards is prostrate from its base. A series of these and similar objects, all in unconnected vicinity, come under the eye in the circuit of these bulwarks or ramparts; in the construction of which, although the military architect may be one of high name, the proofs of his science are by no means sufficient to compensate for his want of taste. He had an opportunity of disposing these interesting remains to an excellent effect, and where probably they would have been long secure; for France does not appear, by what we can judge, to apprehend an attack on this part of her frontiers.

Family arrangements, it is to be presumed, have put all such apprehensions to sleep. How fortunate for mankind, when such extensively happy results can be effectuated so easily! Certainly very little has been added to the powers of resistance in this place since the days of the Romans: and that little is of the old school; ramparts high out of all due proportion, but in conformity with the defective principle so long clung to by engineers.

Languor, apathy, and destitution seem to have fixed their reign in the streets of this town, so far as to its regular inmates. But French vivacity is not to be completely repressed by idleness, by inanition, or a solstitial sun. Were it so, the present example of it would have been lost; a regiment of infantry (certainly the chief numerical part of one)

dancing, hand-in-hand, threading the needle, and singing *d'accord* and *à gorge déployée* a gay Limousin air, interrupted only by peals of laughter, from one end to the other of its, in other respects, lifeless streets. A pleasing, because simple, music is epidemic throughout these countries. It consists but of a few notes, between plaintive and gay, or rather a mixture of both, in very limited range; and speaking at once to the heart, conveys itself through the population, male and female, young and old, faster than an express could travel; at least in these regions.

In regard to the French soldiery, notwithstanding the minute and just observations in the Encyclopædias, evidently written by military men who felt for the cruel situation of their brethren under arms, of the miserable state into which the army had lapsed in regard to the primary article of life,—food; matters are growing in this respect worse and worse. Perhaps, indeed, the state is unable to afford the remedy by direct means. But even this excuse cannot stand, while it is known that the court is growing daily more costly; that what is squandered at the capital is pinched out of the soldiers' vitals. These men, who, according to their own accounts, pass their evenings in reading the lives of the grand Condé and other heroes, (but all *French* heroes) are fain (avowedly) to eat rats here in the South of France when they can catch them. Yet still this is not matter of complaint; it is spoken of with levity. A French soldier is not to be humbled in the opinion of his countrymen or of himself. Undeserved poverty and inculpable inanition are not thrown in his face as a matter of reproach. "*Nous sommes beaucoup chagrinés dernièrement*" is the general expression. Notwithstanding the prevalent ideas elsewhere on the subject of French foppery, certain it is that the French soldier cannot endure the japanning, whitewashing, and plastering, which is now the prevalent taste of

this army *. A considerable part of this literary turn amongst the private soldiers is probably a *ton* taken from the officers, for a literary *corps* carries much of this with it; it is a step for a young officer to *valoir dans la société*; and *membre de plusieurs académies* too, annexed to his name, is considered quite as flattering a distinction as a ribbon at his button-hole. That general diffusion of literature which thus prevails throughout France has caused the institution of societies for that object in all the considerable towns; and the arrival in quarters of a military corps, in which there are *des gens d'esprit*, is anticipated and hailed with delight. These dispersed institutions have in several instances made most important discoveries both in local and literary research; and it is as much to be regretted as feared, that much knowledge thus, by their aid, put in reach of mankind in general, may have been lost by the confined circulation of their publications. Be this as it may, certain it is, that by the fashion their countenance affords, a man devoted to literary pursuits does not, in France, as in some other countries, endure the mortifying feeling, when he presents himself in general society, of doing it with deprecatory diffidence, like one who

* It was an observation of an old English military officer, that a rapid increase of desertion immediately ensued on the introduction of white into the clothing of the army. Among the French soldiers, desertion, so very prevalent, as is well known to all those who have been about the frontiers of the country, is connected with a species of glory; the spirit of enterprise. To have done it under circumstances of peculiar difficulty is considered a gallant action. In the year 1785 there were five hundred French deserters (native French) in one imperial regiment. They joined it in bodies of fifteen together, in their uniforms, and gave in the places of their nativity, and their former regiments, with an air of pride; never seeking out a plea of extenuation. Unlike the Spanish soldier, who, when asked why he deserted, pithily replied, "*porque me davan palos*," (because they beat me). In the justice of which observation a great English military character present most candidly concurred. An Englishman, however, could have borne the triumph on this score away from either nation. Before the age of twenty-five he had deserted from a British garrison island to the French, and from a French garrison town to the Imperialists, where he seemed equally bent on continuing his travels through Europe by the first favourable opportunity.

is conscious of being marked as a schismatic from the established religion of the state.

As to their military business, the French troops carry it on without much bustle,—a proof that they have some system; though probably they are in this respect far short of the Germans. Their officers, if ignorant, are anxious to learn. Not including in this observation those fluttering insects of fashion, whose sole object is to be able to talk at the opera of their campaign in America,—a reward of vanity earned by two irksome *trajets* of the Atlantic, for one month passed on shore beyond it. A great deal of cordiality prevails between the officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier; and yet the inferior is never seen to exceed the limits of due respect. It is curious to observe the warm yet polite and ceremonious greetings which pass on all sides when a private man returns from his furlough. The Swiss troops in this service, and particularly the regiment of Steiner now here, have a remarkably military air, and, odd to think, seem to be looked up to with a degree of deference throughout the French army. This corps was, as is well known, introduced here by the low cabinet policy of governing the nation by the bayonet; and for this the pride of foreigners was to be gratified by a higher pay. The French cavalry is kept, for the conveniency of forage, in the northern provinces.

Perpignan.—The weather is now in these flat tracts powerfully sultry. Its oppressiveness on the road is what the traveller is bound to expect. The inns here are few and incommodious, affording no comfort when they are attained. As for animal food, it hardly forms an item in their larders. As much of it as is to be wished for in such weather is, however, found at mid-day at the table d'hôte, and the house will hardly afford a second supply during the twenty-four hours. Punctuality, therefore, is a duty which the traveller owes

to himself. Hence little comfort results to compensate the tædium of a journey crept through at the rate of twenty-five miles a day. This is the season for fruit, but every species here is dwindled in growth and depraved in flavour; such indeed as would hardly be admitted upon a wheel-barrow in the streets of London. This place, whether owing or not to its being a frontier town, is defective in that good police which pervades France in general. A tumult caused the necessity of recurrence to the support of authority, but the mob carried the day. The commonalty had moral justice, commiseration, on their side to vindicate their interference at first starting in the business; but, like all mobs, contrived to get themselves completely wrong before they had advanced five steps in it. It was an odd procedure to take place in a garrison town, and, it might be said, under the eye of the resident governor. The town is very thickly inhabited, and the inhabitants very uncomfortably lodged. The residence of the chief personage of the town was one far inferior to what would be expected for his situation, not only in office but amongst the nobility of the country. To quit Languedoc at Midsummer, and with such a prospect as the Pyrenees before the traveller, it can well be supposed must afford him no matter of regret; and this night brings him to a country and people where all is new to him.—June 1784.

Pyrenees.—The romantic scenery of the Pyrenees, the invigorating cool atmosphere, the now no longer monotonous sky, but diversified by the pleasing transitions of sun-gleams, shades and clouds; the varying tints of the trees and shrubs under the mountain breezes, and cool refreshing showers; all together form a transition too delightful to be imagined:—it must be experienced.

The ravines of these mountains are very abrupt, having the appearance of being more the effect of atmospherical diluviation than of the

primary disorganization of nature. Their summit level must be under ten thousand feet, not reaching the elevation of perpetual snow. This circumstance should draw a precise line in the classification of mountains, allowing for their latitudes. Mountains and rivers * are the most interesting features of nature; with the close connection that subsists between them, they conjunctively are fully adequate to elucidate the conformation of the superficies of the globe.

It is obvious that in the general organization of the earth, as we see it at present, the fracture of the mountainous chains presents itself to the west †; but the chain in question here, the Pyrenees, is one of the exceptions to this rule; and still is herein true to a general principle too,—doing so to the south. Of course, the ravines being of atmospherical modification, for the most part form lines at right angles with the main chain. The sides of these ravines are richly clothed with cork-tree, dwarf-oak, and (chiefly evergreen) shrubs. The refreshment these afford to the eye, with the agitation of a mountain gust and pelting shower, can only be appretiated by one escaped from a Languedocian solstice. The geology as well as the botany of the Pyrenees ought to repay all the patience and ardour of the enthusiasts in those sciences. But hitherto no clue has been thrown out to aid the investigator in those paths ‡. The great laws of nature prevail alike throughout.

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* A river is indicative of and often designates the protrusion of a stratum, which last probably regulates springs, the principle whereof has been so little ascertained. Without recurring to shafts and levels, the waters of a country afford the best insight to its conformation.

† The Alps and Pyrenees are a step in ascent northwards. The composition of these latter mountains is of the most extraordinary characteristics, and their features are not less interesting. See Reymond's recent publication—"Summits of Mountains calcareous!"

‡ Reymond, above mentioned, supplies this deficiency; but he is not sufficiently expletive in regard to this eastern part of the chain. The general characteristics, however, accord fully. A knowledge of botany ought to enable the traveller to form a good guess upon the subject of local elevation.

Summit levels are granitic. In lithology the principle of modification pervades the mass; the same rule governs, be the magnitude or diminution of its parts what they may. Hence an observing eye can ascertain, by the outlines of mountains, of what ingredients, granite, hornstone, or schist, they are composed. Granite in its exterior adheres to its parent quartz. Buffon has looked into nature not with a technical but a scientific eye *. The globe, as at present constituted, is composed of two main and radically distinct substances, quartz and marine deposit. Such, at least, constitute the mass. Other various matters, as important to his creatures, are the beneficent donation of Providence, enhancing the numerical account though they add but little to the specific bulk.

This chain of mountains differs from the Alps in being pervious in numerous places. But, notwithstanding politics have presented themselves in aid of nature here to facilitate and generalize communication between these two great nations, it seems to remain still nearly in *statu quo*.

The etymologies of the names prove to us that the ancient geographers were acquainted with this chain of mountains, and that they made such features their study. Indeed this was the principal handle topography presented to their grasp, and they availed themselves accordingly. It is curious to observe how they connected this idea with personification. Geography was with them one universal allegory.

At this entrance into Spain the road is scientifically laid out, and is preserved in excellent order. The Fort of Bellegarde, a *bicoque*, on an

* What business has mysticism in science? in a science too where aught beyond principles and definitions is an incumbrance.

insulated mountain west of the road, and separated from it by a precipitous ravine, commands the pass: but the road is not enfiladed by it.

A few hours ascent opens Catalonia to the view. Here nature, in contrast with the apathy or despondency of her countenance on the other side of the mountains, teems with production and animation. The country here before the traveller presents to the senses a series and variety of appropriate delights. The human race participates in the effects of this, and all is activity, gaiety, and industry.

The first and most striking object on the vast horizon below and around, is the ocean. The Mediterranean has a claim to that epithet. It assuredly takes the lead in beauty. Its sublimely *placid* surface is deep blue. The closeness of its alliance with the bold shores, so richly tinted around it, and, sun-rise!—the true moment to see it from this point!

"Matutinos spargens super æquora Phœbus
Fregit aquis radios; et liber nubibus æther,
Et posito Borea, pacemque tenentibus Austris
——————————*jacuit Mare.*"

That such a daily scene should call up such imagery in the mind of the poet is no wonder. Ours never saw it, but in the mind's eye. That, however, was sufficient for him. Such is the scene he chooses for his favourite season, sun-rise, when

"——————— Morning all in fiery red,
Shining on Neptune with far blessing beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt-green streams."

Sun-rise is the poet's hour, sun-set the painter's. One fond of personifying ideas might indulge his fancy among those supplied by the

elegant inventiveness of Grecian mythology. To imaginations, however, on the ordinary scale, the actual view, alone, of Mediterranean scenery, at the rising of the sun on a summer's morning, can convey anything like an adequate impression of it. Otherwise, nothing approaches it so nearly as the words of the poets.

What is digression, and how far it is allowable to a traveller, is a question in which he must obviously feel some interest. An illustrious wit of the last age has written, as is well known, a digression in praise of digressions. Whether the powerful arguments adduced in favour of the question have unduly preponderated or not, the authority which supports them is incontrovertibly strong. And, alas! the *penchant* to them is no less so.

As the view of nature calls the mind to contemplation, so the contemplative mind unconsciously devolves into digression, and, "*principiis obsta*," beware of first steps; feeble human nature may unaware be ultimately involved in all the horrors and guilt of *dissertation*. "Ah! me, what perils do environ."—It is useless offering apologies where none will be taken.

The traveller whose mind, anxious to contemplate a new world, has urged his steps to anticipate by an hour his calesine slowly creeping up the tedious ascent, may be supposed, after the few minutes of first gratification to his eyes, to have set himself down in all the luxury of reflection and solitude. Under these circumstances, adverting to the undertaking before him, he will be induced duly to weigh the stock he possesses, whether in his mind or in his portmanteau, and consider how far it is adequate to bear him through. His possessions and his deficiencies in this respect will each put in their claim for interest, and the result will probably be,—to do the best he can. To effect this, he seizes the occasion

of a still calm scene, to sort his maps, examine his pencils, turn over his portable library, unclasp his note-book. He views the shrubs which wave around him, regretting, like Ossian, the days of former times; to him objects of regret for the opportunities of study which are no more to present themselves, but which, if duly improved, would have been a never-failing source of gratification; and he turns his eyes inwards to see what yet remains for cultivation and product. Consolation, as it is termed, if duly sought for in reflection, is oftener to be found than the contrary. The unadept in the valuable science of botany may recollect that, in a general sense, climates, wherever or however placed, give the same products in this description; and he may always be sure of finding nature in harmony with herself. The contemplation of her greater features will, it is probable, speedily turn his mind to those reflections which open the way to profounder, if not more useful, investigations; and these being differently founded, will at once excite and reward local examination. His library, his maps, his pencil, his observation, be they repeated, must, as they ought, recur to him and be recurred to. History, topography, the face of nature, her conformation; each in turn has a claim to occupy his attention. Such reflections will possess his mind until put to flight by the sound of the *calessier's* thong. But to sum up this dissertation, be it observed, that the ancients, although deficient in so many points of knowledge, wherewith time and the chapter of accidents have supplied us, had the art (an art we certainly by no means excel in) of condensing what they had to say into a very portable compass. For the route now before the reader, Lucan and Virgil (the Elzevirs of course) are the best companions for leisure or for reference; and one modern work, the traveller who intends to visit Lerida will unquestionably not omit, Quintus Julius (Guibert) on the

campaign of Cæsar against the lieutenants of Pompey. Such is the amount of the literary stock wherewith the traveller is to encounter the unexplored scenes before him *.

The vast expanse of blue above and below has not time to pall on the sight, in descending the Pyrenees to the southward, until the abrupt and picturesque (but not mountainous) scenery of this province (Catalonia) supersedes all by its superior interest. The evening and the closing of night in this country are succeeded by impressions of a different description. At that season, on approaching a village, the ear is first struck with music, and the song re-echoing and retorted as if in competition. On approaching them still nearer, the delightful odours sent out at nightfall by the teeming orchards which completely surround them; the boughs bent to the earth by weight of produce, or propped up by forks, as is the usual process, next strike the sense. The town or village, on entry, is dark: but this circumstance only serves to give relief to the rest of the picture;—to the crowd, bustle, and vivacity of the inhabitants, who seem to have banished sleep from the catalogue of the wants of nature. For in a few short hours, at day-break, again all is activity of another kind,—industry,—unless upon the intervention of a gala day, which is of very frequent recurrence. On this occasion the whole human world shines out here as fine as tinsel, silks and satins, can make them. In these gaudy materials, with a pair of enormous silver buckles of the most ponderous taste on his toes, and a diminutive three-cornered

* See, not Remarques sur *l'Article* Espagne, dans la Nouvelle Encyclopédie, but *the article* itself. It is common to all nations where literature does not prevail, to be readily excited to wrath by observations conveyed through the medium of the press. Thus the remarks of the French philosopher upon Spain have obtained that diffusion, by the spirit of resentment they have excited in the minds of the proud Castillians, impatient of reproach, which they never could have aspired to, confined in the voluminous tomes of an Encyclopædia, rarely looked into (save by the suspicious critic) for aught so totally heterogeneous to the title and object of such a work.

laced hat annexed to part of his head, from behind which dangles the redecilla, the village beau turns out complete; and such is nearly the universal costume of the male population, up to the age of forty, upon such occasions.

On these days one would be tempted to think, by the earnestness of their procedure, that they considered dancing and singing to be the business of *life*. With the females, accosting, is bidden an early welcome, repartee is never astray, and a hearty laugh always at hand. Introduction, the balances of rank, station, or appearance, seem ideas completely laid on the shelf, if they ever existed, among this happy people, on whose dispositions, moral and physical, fate and politics seem to have lost all effect or influence. But a traveller who enters here of course expects to meet an energetic race; and he will not be disappointed. It cannot be out of his recollection that this is the nation (they have a claim to the term) a remnant of whose army performed such wonders as threw the world for a time into awe and astonishment. Which handful of enterprising men, after assisting the King of Arragon to take possession of Sicily, volunteered into the service of the elder Andronicus; beat the Turks, delivered Asia, terrified Greece, defeated the armies and fleets of Michael son of Andronicus, held Gallipoli in defiance of his empire, commanded and ravaged the Dardanelles, erected a throne in Athens, and divided, ruled, and reigned in Attica and Bœotia.

The inns of this country, here called Hostalris, are adapted to climate and circumstances, rather in a state of denudation of furniture, according to our ideas; and as to tranquillity, that the genius of the people completely banishes. But they are roomy, airy, whitewashed, and cool. Nothing disgustful presents itself, nor any thing to prevent sleep, save the general disrelish of the community to that process of nature.

Similar praise cannot be bestowed on their *cuisine*, in which it were much to be wished that they would take a few lessons from their neighbours on the other side the Pyrenees. Every dish here is the very essence of saffron and garlic: the poor traveller, not yet habituated to these delicate ingredients (for use conquers any thing), is tempted to exclaim, with Horace, against the latter,—"*Si quis*," &c. If any one has committed the crime of parricide, let him eat garlic, &c. How would the poet have stormed had saffron been added to his mess! This other ingredient is even still more heterodox in the modern school of the once sacred and royal art and duty of cookery; but when the Pyrenees are passed, it is time to renounce all delicate feelings on this subject. The stranger has no option save between acquiescence and abstinence, for no bribery can avert the introduction of these fatal ingredients into the heterogeneous mass of rank salt fish and rice, of sweets and oils. If he look for comfort to a glass of wine under his affliction, a heady mawkish production (it can hardly be called a fluid), fresh from the press, is presented to him, merely to disappoint his hopes and lips. Fruits in summer and autumn abound in variety and perfection, presenting a temptation to excess, which must be resisted. Such is the nature of the first impression which is made on the traveller when he has crossed the mountains on the Mediterranean side of the Peninsula; and he will, as henceforward is to appear, find little variation on the route, as far at least as

Barcelona.—It is hardly necessary to observe that the origin and language of this people are *not* Spanish; they are Limousin; and in regard to the last-mentioned particular, the traveller must be duly prepared. The *Castellano* is not spoken by every one.

Figueras.—A person would hardly imagine himself standing under the guns of a fortress of twelve thousand men, considered, and perhaps

with reason, a master-piece of art in its way. Not presuming to doubt this, as ocular proof is denied, its situation, which is all that is extant to judge from, seems to present a master-piece of folly. The first idea that strikes and calls up in the mind a spirit of investigation on the subject is, What could the system be, which produced such a thing, including all its relations? This leads of course to reflection on the political state of the country, by and for which it was constructed. Was it intended as a place of arms?—an Olympus, whence government should hurl its thunders over a conquered province? The situation presents no corroboration of this idea, though the old and zealous resistance to the house of Bourbon on the part of the Catalonians might cause them to be viewed with a jealous political eye. All apprehension of danger from the French side is completely put to sleep by the accession of this family: were it otherwise, very different precautions indeed would be requisite, and far beyond that of the construction of an insulated fortress. Yet why else is it on the frontier? Situated as it is, it cannot fail suggesting the idea of a *nidus for* an invading army; an advanced *place d'armes* to secure at all times (as soon as taken, and what work of human hands is impregnable to human effort?) to its powerful and assuming neighbour an entry into the Peninsula, and afford a cover to a retreat out of it. If so, its site is most judicious. As French councils are known to guide all, of later years, in this country, can this be a specimen of French policy? and if it is, what a clue does it afford to internal politics!

Figueras does not block the pass of Col de Pertius, but it effectually covers it. In regard to the fortress system in general, it is to be observed, that small ones are a paltry mode of defence; and those upon this extended and craving scale, when duly masked, do not necessarily retard the progress of the campaign; and all must ultimately follow

the fate of the country at large. Much remains yet to be said, and thought too, on the *pro* and *contra* of this same fortifying system, and its application to the defence or corroboration of the strength of countries. Before taking leave of Figueras, be it observed, that its construction is a homage paid by experience to the superior force of the modern system of attack: here are no menacing ramparts of tremendous aspect, but ready in their dilapidation to form themselves into causeways and scaling-ladders. There does not appear any thing about the place for a ball to take effect on, and it is equally baffling to the level and the telescope.

La Jonquiera, and Girona. When their mouldering gate-ways are entered, they do not exhibit signs of thrift; but it is far otherwise with Mataro.

This place displays Catalonian activity in its full effort. The principal article of export here is the wine, which passes under this name, most of which is consigned to the Bourdeaux market, to be there brewed into what passes under the denomination of Claret in England, distinguishable by the blue tinge hereby communicated to it, for the market of the North of Europe, and, but in a less degree, for London also. This Catalonian wine, when new, stains linen with a dye equal to indigo; but this colouring or earthy admixture it soon loses, becoming by age as pale as water; its strength diminishing at the same time. It is produced from a very small, black, and closely clustered grape, which abounds in this province; the aspects of which are particularly favourable to vineyards. Such is the bounteous abundance of this produce, that the ripe clusters are free to passengers, at least as much as the turnip fields of England, which they are sometimes seen emulating in extent. The well-grown healthy and gay peasantry which

cultivates them, evinces the plenty of food which prevails; indeed a green-market here is a most pleasing spectacle, in its profusion, diversity, and freshness. It is the material support of the general œconomy during three parts of the year. But the supply of fish, fresh and salted, is very plentiful. The scarcity or want of butcher's meat is hardly felt amidst such abundance. Here must be a considerable importation of rice, and the demand for that necessary article of life, oil, must be very great: without it the domestic process should halt. Fishing and the vineyard do not apparently, here, affect the general welfare to its detriment.

Barcelona.—Cultivation and vegetation, in all their luxuriancy, reign up to the very foot of the antient walls and rugged bulwarks of this place, which in their day stood such a tough contest. The present government is probably resolved not to trust the citizens with any thing to stand behind. These walls are now no more than a picturesque back ground to the delightful gardens,—delightful as far as luxuriant verdure and foliage, maintained by plenteous irrigation, can be conceived so.

The governor of this city is now Don Felix O'Neil.

The most conspicuous object in the vicinity is the hill and fort of Montjuic, commanding the town and harbour. If government have been sparing in regard to the fortifications of the town, it has not been so in this *bicoque*, which is quite adequate to its ostensible purpose,—one obviously no way connected with the *nationalizing* system of policy. The execution of the work is admirable, and a considerable garrison, in proportion to the superficial contents, could be lodged in it, as it is casemated. *Desterrados* are chiefly its present inmates; not very compatibly with military ideas. The *term* means banished men. Persons

convicted of crimes, of course not a very numerous body under Spanish police, are confined to the precincts of a fortress; and thus the sentence of banishment is fulfilled, because, the intention of the law implies such a place,—on the coast of Africa! The logic does not require to be scrutinized. As a fortress, be it where it may, is still one; Montjuic is substituted for Ceuta; and he who is exiled forth of the land, endures his punishment at home. Delinquency, a garrison qualification, first clings to the horns of the altar, and the churches are more numerously, and quite as respectably occupied in this way as the citadels. Here, however, they appeared to constitute the most numerous part of the garrison, which of course is very small; and all this concurs with what is reported of the unwholesomeness of the casemates wherein the troops of different descriptions are lodged. Catalonian energy is viewed in its full scope at Barcelona. Active labour is not confined under its roofs; houses and shops are not sufficient. The narrower streets can hardly be passed through for the laborious hands engaged in their respective callings. One sees in them the true spirit, the keenness of industry; it is in this respect a perfect ant-hill. On holidays the same people are in innumerable groupes outside the gates,—to avoid the wine-duty, drinking,—dancing, singing, and displaying all the gaiety of their disposition. But even the blessing of fresh air seems to be grudged as one too great for a people convicted of the political crime of having suffered themselves to be conquered, or of having been brought to submit. At sun-set all must hurry inside the gates, and no *paysano* (Catalonian), in contradistinction with *Castellano* (Spaniard), is permitted to approach the ramparts, which are otherwise a public walk, after that time. This is in some degree garrison law; but the absurdity will bear repeated animadversion, of perverting the regulations of a citadel to a community, those adapted to a select body to a population at large.

How must the minds of a general mass of people, thus cooped up together, be affected by this system of mandatorial privation and inconvenience! Perhaps the military genius of this people is dreaded, and with reason; why not then soothe by employing it? The noble defence of their town in the Succession war with the archbishop, his crosier in his hand, at their head, in the breach; the horrors they sustained in the assault; and the shameful manner in which they and their interests were abandoned by their *cidevant* encouragers, in the negotiations, are all matters a great deal too well known abroad, and too strongly felt by them here, to the present day; for, if they are not ground down into dust by the oppression of the government, it is more owing to its feebleness than its forbearance; to judge at least by a tolerably certain political criterion, the language of its creatures in the administration, such as it is, here. A Catalonian must not carry a knife in his pocket. Those who look to the smiles or participate in the *ton de supériorité* of the state, studiously observe never to apply to this country or its people any term approaching to what is Spanish, and *Catalan* is but a few removes above GALLEGO.

One hint is necessary to those who visit Spain.—It is disgraceful to be seen entering a wine-house, or at any rate *bienséance* requires that whoever does so should adopt the action of stealing in, somewhat in the style of what is called French leave-taking. But this preliminary expiation is allowed to take off a considerable part of the radical sin, for to be seen sitting there is nothing. Women, on the other hand, enter without hesitation, and sit down in coffee-houses, here; whereas, in England, one would hardly be forced in by a thunder shower. So different is etiquette in different countries, and so irreconcileable is it with itself.

The garden of the Capucin convent here presents a scene horribly curious. Berceau shady walks embellished and enlivened with full

sized human figures, cast in plaster of Paris, and coloured *ad vivum* to every appearance and stage of the plague; the physiognomical horror most awfully depicted in frightful precision! Such as are curious on the subject may view it all here in safety. The Capucin order, vying with the illustrious bishop of Marseilles, never relinquished (and it stood alone) its situation or duties during that awful infliction. How happens it, at a day when the abuses of the clergy are so much in exposure and descanted on, that it should be necessary to dive for, in order to ferret out, the services and virtues of that order? And who can withhold assent to such a plea of merit as this?

The spirit of the Inquisition is neither extinct nor asleep even at this day. How should it, when the principle of the institution is the direct reverse of that of law, which says of itself, "*De minimis non curat?*" Whereas these are the very game of every inquisitorial institution. Its meritoriousness is just proportionate as it descends into minutiæ. The officers are distinguished here from the clerical body in general by a little border of light blue about the cape and cuffs; and when observed at and about the door of a house, hunting down, professedly books, but really literature, which must ever be odious to the inquisitorial spirit, draw from the military gentlemen here, who have received their ideas from the north of the Pyrenees, and who dare by privilege speak out, a sigh, and the expression of "*Quelque pauvre homme!*" in tones of commiseration, which prove the thing to be somewhat more, even in the present day, than a mere bug-bear.

The Plaza de la Marz, a suburb of Barcelona, was built by an eminent man,—the Conde de la Mina. It was laid out according to the improved taste of the day, which may be defined,—the process of the spirit of imitation without judgement. Wide streets intersect each

other at right angles, and all is uniform. Of course it is uninteresting to the eye and scorching to the feet.

The funeral of this nobleman supplied a specimen of Scythian ritual. That much Scythian blood has descended in this Peninsula there is no doubt. The pastoral migrators early extended themselves westward. Thus

"Qui Massagetam nonstras feritate parentem
Cornipedis * fusa satiaris Concane vena,"

is the account given of his countrymen by a Spaniard (a similar custom we have on record nearer home in the same race); and the flattening the head,—a sure vestige of Japhetian descent,—is now extant in the north of this Peninsula.

Quitting this subject of the general history of mankind for the present, however, it is only necessary now to observe, that, whether the fancy was original or imitative, one not unworthy of the funeral of Oghuz Kawn was adopted amongst the ceremonies performed at that of this Spanish nobleman. His six beautiful mules drew his hearse; their veins were lanced at setting out, and the calculation was made with such exactness as to bring them precisely in time, irrigating the road as they proceeded with their blood, to fall dead by exhaustion at his grave. His tomb is in the cathedral. The foregoing could certainly have been no part of any Christian ritual. Scythian funeral piles were swelled with victims in proportion to the rank of the deceased.

The traveller has no cause of complaint on the subject of accommodation at Barcelona. The hotels are kept by Italians. The exterior or superficies of this country promises a rich field for geology. It is diffi-

* The Mosaical veto is pointed against this most ancient custom.

cult, indeed impossible, to get the literary aid here which the traveller so readily obtains in most of the other parts of Europe. The *Guia Forastieros* (Stranger's Guide), which indeed has the merit of being always at hand when called for, will not lead him very far. A Spaniard who visited England would return home little edified if he confined the extent of his inquiries within the precincts pointed out in the Red Book. And the comprehensive denomination of *Guia Forastieros* contains no more. It is extraordinary to observe the taciturnity of a Spanish bookseller. Is it habitual caution? It is not a national quality, for no one delivers himself better in conversation than the Spaniard. Neither is it usually found to belong to the trade; and it certainly forms no part of its interest. From a Spanish bookseller the answer to nine inquiries, out of ten is, "*No lo tengo*," "I have it not;" which is conclusive on the subject; for another word cannot be extorted. It is, however, sufficient to know, if there is a bookseller's shop, to depend on finding *El Viage de Pons* neatly bound. And an interesting *Compagnon de Voyage* he is! "Truly I see not why sleeping should offend." If not a sleeping, Don Anthonio must be admitted a most soporiferous one. Never was a work less calculated to give offence. This matter is deemed worthy of some animadversion, because here, in equipping the traveller with Don Anthonio Pons, he would be thought a strange unreasonable man to look for any thing further. But it should be known that this author (he ought to be in great favour with the critics at least) sets out with a pious abjuration of the subject of antiquity. This does not lie upon his route. He proceeds under a perfect nausea of the face of nature; this saves many impertinent dissertations; and as to geology, rural economy, and statistics, which lead to those digressions so incompatible with the lawful restrictions which the traveller must obey,—of time, place, and action; these were totally excluded at starting from

his note-book. It may be said that the traveller, who is able to make out his book, twelve volumes, without touching on these subjects, must possess rare literary powers, and no one is inclined to dispute this merit. Let Don Anthonio Pons, therefore, remain the author after the critic's own heart. Almost every thing, at any rate, is well in its place; and had Don Anthonio Pons travelled in Italy or Greece, his researches into architecture, palatial and parochial, would have afforded useful information; for not a plinth could have remained without its dimensions recorded. His enumeration of the pictures of value, however, so diffusely, and, it may be said, strangely scattered, in obscure situations, throughout Spain, still gives the work value, if they open the eyes of mankind to the wonders of this art in the Spanish cabinet; for Spain is one vast magazine of these treasures.——Now to recur to the word geology. The traveller is here fortunate, if he so think himself, which it is to be hoped, for the diffusion of intellectual food through the moral desert, he may ever continue to do. He has the work of Don Emanuel Bowles on this subject; one most interesting, so far as relates both to general ideas and local observations; which has been translated into French, and would be an acquisition to every language. Although the principal strides which the subject has taken have been in very late years; yet the correctness of this observer of nature, in his ideas, is most worthy of attention; and it should be remembered that this book (and it is but one volume) treats of a country little known. The facts it notices are most extraordinary (such for instance as the stratifications of human bones). The author had every advantage, by being in the service of government,—a circumstance which considerably facilitates a branch of inquiry somewhat calculated in its procedures to excite jealousy. Mr. Bowles was a native of Cork. Wherever he acquired his science, he possessed a stock of general ideas very

rare in that day; at present their impression may be diffused, however corollary they may be with the legitimate inducements which draw the traveller from his *snug parlour at home*. It does not appear how Mr. Bowles became known to the Spanish government, but it was unusually fortunate in the selection. The last editions, it may be observed, leave out, and perhaps justly, the article respecting *Las Batuecas*; a district whereof little being known, as its avenues are difficult, and in consequence unfrequented, strange things were reported, and, as usual, believed in the ratio of their incredibility. He visited the people, and found them much like the rest of mankind.

To conclude the subject of the traveller's literary stock, or rather wants, as something of the history of the nation he is in may constitute a part of them, he finds in this department Mariana; but, in applying himself to this truly respectable historian, he will be apt to exclaim sometimes with Polonius on the subject of recitation. In fact, Mariana wears the buskin, maintains that highly appreciated quality of history, her *dignity*, to full effect. To attain this, certainly, details, however necessary to information, however interesting in human nature, and even sometimes matter of fact itself, are somewhat sacrificed. But passing this by, the main objection to Mariana in particular is, that he is an author for the closet (a snug parlour we should say in England), and not for a volante*. The deficiency in local history, and on the subject of antiquities, is not so great. So much for additional matter to the viatorial luggage; to what the ancients, in their military jargon, justly called the

* Philologists must not fall into mistakes by their *understanding* of terms. Notwithstanding the name, the moral attributes here are rather of the passive than the active nature. But see the frontispiece to the volume of Gil Blas, where that adventurer (of *happy* termination) and his faithful Scipio travel to take possession of his country-house. The *flight* of this vehicle is at the rate of some twenty miles in eighteen hours.

impedimenta. It will turn out in another sense to the scrutinizing traveller. But to recur to this province and its geology*. The wonders it presents in this direction have extended beyond its limits, but they do not seem to have made the impression that they ought.

Cardona.—The famous mountain of rock salt deserves to be classed among the wonders of the globe. I shall not describe it. It is a curious circumstance, that the atmosphere which decomposes stone has hardly any effect on the surface of this mass †. As to the origin of this substance, however, so astonishing an object cannot be viewed without leading to meditation on those tremendous secondary causes wielded by the great Author of Nature. It is impossible to avoid thinking that the ancients had sounded much deeper into the mysteries of nature than they have explicitly communicated to us. Like some would-be sages of the present day, they wished to have kept science an exclusive property. The subject shall however be passed without dissertation, to recur again to this physical wonder. Mystery pervades, in every instance, the first start into existence. It seems intended that a certain

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* It is from diplomacy, in fact, that a true insight is to be obtained of modern Spanish affairs. It is these that curiosity must investigate; and the treasures of this description are far too ponderous and voluminous for any man in his senses to recommend or encumber himself with as a travelling apparatus.

In the term modern, the past century, or rather the period from the reign of Philip the Second, is included. Spain began to founder from the loss of the Low Countries; but a first-rate ship does not go down like a wherry.

† For the description in the Gazetteer is both accurate and adequate; and, with the words and reason of Hudibras, that, therefore, there need no more be said of it,

> "For brevity is very good,
> Whether we are or are not understood,"

the subject may be dropped here. These useful compilations, properly used, save writers and readers an infinity of time and trouble.

point should ever remain beyond mortal ken. A bad reason to assign, however, for man's not making use of his faculties as far as they reach. But ancient fable, as it is called, alludes so much to Plutonian and Neptunian struggles; and here is a result of them! Then again, what an extraordinary state must the surface of this planet have once exhibited, to have afforded matter for conversion in the contest into this crystalline mass,—this monument of elementary warfare! To what an extent does the contemplation of the works of Nature lead the mind! "*Tant pour ça.*" This momentous disquisition shall not come upon the reader from ambuscade: but it is high time that the world should have selected a rational theory. Various articles are carved out of this beautifully pure substance, more frail than glass, for it is unequal to encounter climate.

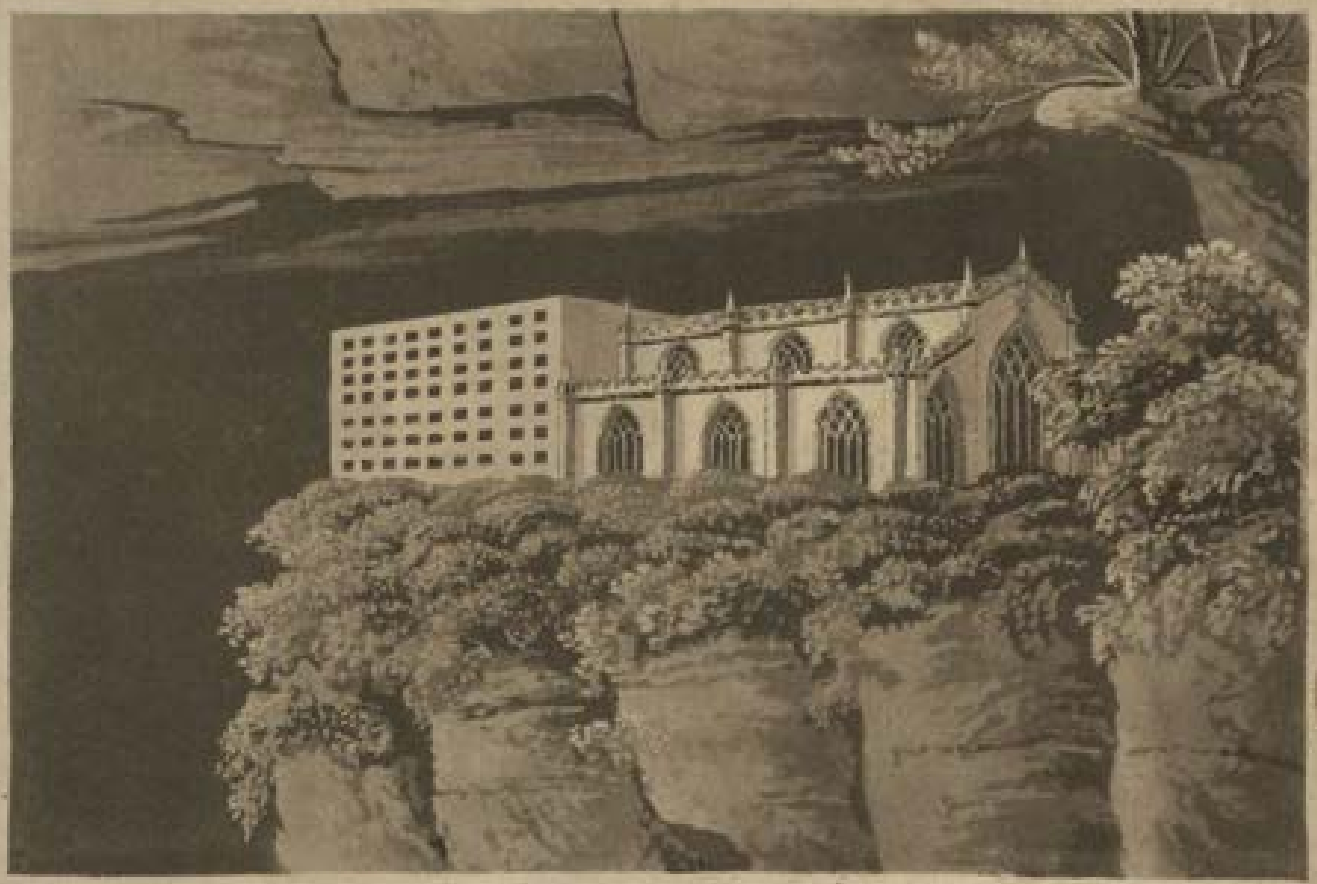
MONTSERRAT is an object not less interesting—less understood, however, though perhaps more described. It, too, is unique in nature. By the received descriptions, its comprehension seems beyond the human mind. How presumptuous then, it will be said, to undertake it! On the adventurer's head be the sin!! The best view of this stupendous mass, which never has been duly investigated*, is on the road from Barcelona

* Not even by Laborde. The *omnis homo* is a character as rare upon the route as elsewhere. One traveller is good for anecdote, and another for satire. One has a ready talent at humorous invention, another at interesting diffuseness. All this is well; and the French excel too in their way in statistics. In this respect their views of things are excellent. But, generally speaking, there does not prevail through that nation a taste for the sovereign beauty of nature. To what a loftiness of expression would this passion, if it existed in a French breast, reach! But early habituated to civic life, manners, and restrictions, rural impressions in the morning of life, the nurse of the passion, being unknown, they are not competent to judge its object or effects. They are scientific, and describe, as such, well; but to describe nature, it is only necessary to be sensitive. The impression calls out the faculty. The Germans emulate the English here. The awful conceptions of German imagination are immediately affected by the grand scenery of nature. The tone of their expressions proves there can be no affectation,—proves how competent they are to appretiate justly, what they so strongly feel.

to Villa Franca; about twelve miles distant. The traveller on this road meets an object which, in its way, will also set his thoughts in action. He is all at once startled with the sight of what strikes him as a prodigious bridge; but on poring down into the ravine below, the destitution of water proves to him that his first conclusion lacked footing. He next, having the Pont du Garde in his mind's eye, looks across for the summit levels, whereby water is to effect its powerful communications to repay all this cost and labour; but opposing heights equally pronounce their *veto* against this deduction. He then, like the famous dog, adopts his logical conclusion; and, under the circumstances, infers it to be a road; and such it is. Tiers of arches and water levels to bring mules across a valley! In a calculating country advanced in intercourse so far as to pay for four-wheeled carriages, the inclined planes of a rail-way would have been thought a tolerable refinement in the way of accommodation in such a situation. Not that the nation is to blame here: so far from it, the tortuous and stony paths, which were considered a road hitherto, could have sufficed them while the globe lasted; though laid out only by the instinct of the mules. But such is the grandeur of conception in the governing part of this nation; or, perhaps, such the grand scale of ideas of mankind in general, on pecuniary matters, when the needful does not come directly out of their own pockets, that the principle of *Aut Cæsar aut nullus* is applied to every public work.

Here is no medium allowed between coaches tumbling over precipices, and mules creeping over stages of arcades; as if expense were the object aimed at. But this is a specimen of what is met throughout. Every public work under this government is thus sublimely conceived, tardily proceeded in, and, without ever being completed, abandoned. In short, the process is directly in every respect the reverse of what

Distant View of Montserrat



Convent and Church of Montserrat

men would do, who were managing the matter for their own advantage, and with their own means. Applied, probably, most particularly to such examples as this, the great Adam Smith says, "Slothful and negligent profusion is peculiar to monarchies." Under a government where the community was accustomed to take an active interest in such things, the abuse certainly could not happen. But to recur to Montserrat, to which (for this is in two senses a deviation) Martorel, twelve miles from Barcelona, is the direct route. To visit it, a letter of introduction to some one at the convent is at least eligible; and the following is subjoined as an exemplary specimen in its way.

"*Amigo,—Recibe los portadores de esta carta con la mas particular atencion.*"

No pleonasm could enhance this, and it was accordingly proceeded upon.

Martorel was reached before midnight, and presented the usual scene, music, such as it is, adequate fully to the intended effect; singing, dancing, and gaiety in its dim streets, crowded posadas, common tables, and talkative waiting-girls. Early in the morning the long-desired visit to this interesting object took place. But to give a just idea of it, it is absolutely necessary that the reader should first divest himself of every idea thereon that he may have acquired through the medium of his eyes; or, to express it more closely, that he should renounce all confidence in graven images*.

Some computations make this mountain three thousand feet at its summit above the level of the sea; some, two thousand above the adjacent summit levels of the country. Probably they are both near the

* Those in the work of Laborde, with all its magnificence, not excepted; the shivery appearance his engravings convey, totally misrepresents the features of this extraordinary mass.

truth; certainly enough so to give a good general idea of its height. The rise of the surface, inland, upon twenty geographical miles, where the waters are torrents, cannot do much less than correspond with their part of the computation; and Minorca, eighty miles distant, is within the horizon, for the firing at the last siege in that island was distinguishable at night from these pinnacles, as the hermits assure us*.

CATALONIA was once a plain, nearly from the centre whereof emerges this stupendous and insulated mass; insulated as much in point of composition as of elevation. Its form is oval; perhaps in the proportion of about three to two. Its longest diameter is probably about quadruple its elevation. Supposing this diameter taken at the base of the perpendicular peaks†; that is to say, at the height of about two-

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* "The Balearic Isles (one hundred and eighty miles distant) are visible *from the convent*."—*Epitome Historico.*

† A person on a flat shore or place but a little above the level of the sea, and seeing, by means of a telescope, the vane of a ship or top of a mountain of a known altitude, may, by the following rule, tell the distance. Or, *vice versâ*, a person on the top of a mountain, seeing from it an object at a known distance not much above the level of the sea, may ascertain by it the height of the mountain.

RULE.

To the diameter of the earth add the height of the eye; multiply the sum by this height, and the square root of the product is the distance, if the height of the eye be given or known. Or if the distance be given or known, its square is equal to the rectangle under the diameter of the earth, and the height of the eye taken together by the said height of the eye, or to the product of the diameter of the earth and height of the eye by the said height of the eye.

The diameter of the earth is very nearly equal to 7,924 English miles, which may be represented by $2d$. Let the distance be denoted by s, and the height of the eye by h. Then the equation will be $2dh+h^2=s^2$; from which, when h is given, we have $s=\sqrt{2dh+h^2}$, and when s is given we get $h^2+2dh+d^2=s^2+d^2$ and $h=\sqrt{s^2+d^2}-d$. This general expression will give the height of the pinnacles of Montserrat above the Mediterranean (*if* Minorca be in the verge of their horizon and 80 miles distant), about $\frac{207}{1000}$ or 8-tenths nearly of an English mile; if 70 miles distant, about 3,168 English feet; and if 60 miles distant, about 2,376 English feet.—G.

Montserrat. N.P.

thirds of its elevation above the plain, or three-fourths of its height above the sea. Supposing two thousand the elevation above the circumjacent summit level of soil, and three thousand that above water level, and for a general calculation dividing the difference, this would here give a diameter of ten thousand, and a perimeter, at this point, of upwards of thirty thousand feet; which corresponds with the circumference of twenty-five miles, which is allowed to inclose its skirts below. The material of this sublime monument of Neptunian power is pudding-stone, alluvial modification of the first process, not reduced yet into breccia. It was evidently hurled into the atmosphere by the all powerful hand, from below, and in a fluid state; and this accounts for the hollow in its centre, the effect of subsidency. The consequence of this would be the falling in of the exterior crust, as has happened. Whether its original direction was, or was not, precisely vertical, it now obeys the great laws of nature in a general westward inclination. Hence that side is most perpendicular. Hence, the dilapidation taking place on the east, has caused an opening, somewhat tortuous, but to the very base, and into the heart of the mountain. In this opening, and fronting

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By the Nautical Almanac the Latitude of Port Mahon is 39° 51′ N.
And of Barcelona 41° 26′ N.

Their sum is 81° 17′
And their half 40° 38′ ½ or 40° 38′ nearly.

The Longitude of Port Mahon is 3° 53′ East.
And of Barcelona 2° 18′ East.

The difference 1° 35′ or 95 miles on the equator.

If to this about 8,5 be added for the westing of Martorel from Barcelona, we get 103 miles and one-half for the difference of longitude reckoned on the equator between Port Mahon and Martorel. This difference of longitude reduced in the ratio of radius to the sine of 49° 22′, or the cosine of 40° 38′, gives 78,546 or 78½ geographical miles for their difference of longitude, reckoned on the parallel of 40° 38′.—G.

southwards, is the site of the abbey and convent. The most perpendicular part of the mass is to the north-west. Thus much for the general principle of the modification. Before it dilapidated and precipitated under the operation of the atmosphere, it unquestionably was considerably higher; and it should seem, by the view of what remains, that an entire stratum upon the largest scale of formation was once superincumbent upon what are now nearly its highest peaks. The dilapidation round its skirts, in consequence, now, encroaches in some places to nearly half the perpendicular height, at an angle of forty-five degrees, and no similar material is elsewhere to be found in the province. Its material is triturated, as said, but not broken; siliceous, slightly calcareous, and with a ferruginous impregnation; so that, if organized remains were found in it, they would probably be not marine. This ferruginous tinge it loses on its exterior by a coat of very close white moss, which entirely pervades it, and which, when confronted with the eye at a right angle, precludes the dusky red gleam which the masses of stone present when viewed obliquely.

Thus this mountain stands here a perfectly insulated mass, fifty miles distant from the Pyrenees, in a tract which, until worn into furrows and undulations by the superficial wash of waters, was a vast plain, up to the foot of these mountains; and such it now, under its present circumstances, appears, when viewed from the top of Montserrat, or, indeed, from the level of the convent. The perpendicular sides of the ravines in this alluvial tract, formed by the torrents, give a perfect insight to the very entrails of the soil, and show the whole of it to be a composition of fragments in which quartz, schist, and silex predominate. Schist also appears at the base of this mountain, in natural rock. Little has been attempted in the way of accounting for this vast production of nature, and that little has not been successful even as far as

it reaches. This is, therefore, a subject open to discussion, (so far as discussion is permitted to the *traveller*, for, characteristically, it is only granted him to catch knowledge as dogs do the Nile water,) and not one of those whereon prudent persons tell us the public has already made up its mind, and is not to be disturbed by the suggestion of new theories. This seems an alluvial, though not a marine conformation. Still it owes its origin to Neptunian force. Though the waters were the parent and nurse of Nature, yet, when oppressed by them, a burthen so new, at the Deluge, what but convulsions should ensue? As to man, he did not reach these countries until fifteen centuries after the transactions of the plain of Shinar. The mountain seems to have been originally as cylindrical as an oval admits of being. The foregoing calculations of its proportions, by the eye and pace, are not tendered or expected as close measuring. In such cases approximations are admissible, as in more minute ones they are unavoidable*. They pave the way to precision; a point ever to be sought after. A model of this mountain could easily be taken, and it would supply infinitely the most competent idea of it. This is probably the instance on the face of the

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* *Approximations.* "The circumference of the mountain is four leagues, its height a league and a half! or, according to some, two leagues!!"—*Epitome Historico de Montserrat*, which is to be bought at Barcelona. Thus much for its approximations! Resentos says its height is one thousand three hundred and twenty-six *varas*. A calculation hardly within the bounds of reason. A *vara* is the Spanish measure of three feet. Thus Costard, in Love's Labour Lost, says, "It is vara fine, Sir, for each *one* presents *three*." La Borde's estimate, for he does not appear to have measured it, is three thousand (French of course) feet.

In the steepest accessible mountains a thousand feet of elevation may be allowed to every half-hour of ascent.——But distances and dimensions are computed under very great disadvantage here, for who ever saw perpendicular objects in connexion upon this scale? and how unusual is it even for the eye, accustomed to view mountains, to be put to one which has no relative object to scale by! It is very conveniently circumstanced for a barometrical measurement, and a common sea-barometer could serve the turn. Where instruments of this kind have a considerable land-carriage to undergo, little good result is to be hoped from them.

earth in which Nature has proceeded with her boldest hand in the process of stratification. It would require a considerable degree of investigation to ascertain if this conformation is tabular, or in compliance with the principal inherent in the mass; in which case it would have a slight dip westwards. It is difficult to distinguish this by the eye. Here Nature may be said to have surpassed herself. The mountain is formed in what may be taken as horizontal strata; but what strata?—Strata of five hundred feet depth! One, at least, of these must have dilapidated from its highest present summits to form the *debris* which constitutes its skirts; and what *debris?*—Fragments of a cubical acre*! The effort at the ejection of this mountain was beyond the means of supply, and a central subsidency took place, such as we now see it. The superincumbent mass fell exteriorly; but the lateral crust continued firm. This last phrase conveys an idea that will obtrude itself wherever this object is actually viewed, from a due distance; which, however, that is, the distant view, does not convey the adequate idea; for features and beauties are lost in the magnitude of the mass, and the whole is beyond the scale of the mind. To the subsidency already mentioned are owing the grottos formed in its interior, the under strata having lapsed away from those above them during the process of petrifaction. The process of lapidization taking place more or less rapidly according to situation, exposure, and circumstances, occasions various modes, all uniform, however, in principle and in process; *all proving* the system and harmony which govern Nature, in what appear to us her wildest caprices, all, so traceable; in like manner as contemplation

* From the vast scale of the stratification and quantity of dilapidation, an observer would be tempted to think this mass was originally twice its present height. Similar matters, but evidently the debris of the one, are found as if rolled there, at a considerable distance from the base; and that it has supplied some of the rubble soil of the neighbourhood.

discovers infinite beneficence in what may have appeared to devolve on man as the heaviest inflictions. In the drawings which accompany this account, and in which, being carefully taken on the very spot, no inlet was left for the casualties of after-thought, attention was taken to trace and imitate closely the geological features, the various modes of stratification, and the forms which matter assumed under the atmospherical operation; for that is the power whereby the exterior is moulded into its present fantastical shapes,—the effect of the wash of rains and constriction of frosts. But canvass itself is of insufficient scope to exhibit the relations of general comparative magnitude between this and its correspondent objects; between it and the face of nature in its vicinity; between the mass and the woods which clothe it. To give the mountain*, or even any considerable part of it, these last objects must be contracted to mere shrubs; the latter "too small for sight." It is but misleading the eye and the imagination to affect to give more by the pencil than is in the pencil's power, and this is an object infinitely beyond it.

Woolpacks, fingers, sugar-loaves, and organ-pipes †, no very poetical or picturesque ideas, it must be confessed, have been all applied, in the way of comparison, to express or impress the idea of the exterior conformation of the cones, or cylinders, of this mountain. The organ-

* It is hardly conceivable, but a recent traveller really did expect to find this mountain as libelled in Thicknesse's miserable engraving, the outlines wherein are taken from those on the relief of a paltry copper medal, retailed at Montserrat, with Our Lady (the Virgin Mary) squatted in the centre of it like an Indian squaw under a wig-wam. So people will judge by what they see.

† Archbishop Marca, in his Hispanica, says, "A latere Septemtrionis mitior est via (see plate) luxuriantibus arborum frondibus perpetuo virens, quæ oculis blanditer per novas rupium figuras, quæ fere continuo et indivisæ in varios cuneos fastigantur, ita ut hinc turrita castella, illinc organorum musicorum tubi, alibi equus insidens equo, atque aliæ diversæ figuræ exprimi videantur miro naturæ lascivientis opere seu prolapsione."

pipes give the most correct idea of the general proportions. There is little choice of expression, however, among them all; for in point of fact each idea is correct, and it must be admitted that rocks of this conformation, any more than the granitic, are not picturesque; but geologically their outlines claim an interest equal to any other. One comparison in addition to the foregoing, as completely in the ordinary course of life as any the snug parlour affords, may be added. The close resemblance the mountain bears to a Christmas pasty; an inroad may be so happily imagined into the latter as to render the resemblance perfect *. The monastery and abbey stand on one of the sides (the north) of the fissure heretofore mentioned. The eastern sun strikes up this awful glen, and through the interior of this noble pile, by its eastern window, with the most sublime effect; and this is a season at which the traveller must be on the alert not to lose a moment, a glance, a

* "*Si licet magnis*"——But stop, let not the charge of pedantry be incurred. Viewed from about twelve miles distance, and in the dusk of the evening, this mountain cannot be closer compared than to a massive brick mansion of cubicular proportions, such as we see in England, with numerous stacks of chimneys, sited on a horizontal elevation; and the martins' nests under its eaves will bear about the same relative situation and dimensional proportion to the edifice, as the hermitages on the mountain do to its general magnitude and their own elevation in it.

Such comparisons as these would do honour to the moderation of Mr. Gamaliel Pickle in the most elevated descant on the charms of his roasted loin of veal. They have the further merit of conveying an imagery as definite in its way as any the language of enthusiasm can afford; and they are more congenial to critical scale. Where the imagination is elevated by the contemplation of nature, the style of expression, unwielded by practice, and unrestrained by experience, will, if not sublimated, inflate; and the charge of turgidity be incurred. Contemplation is not favourable to the acquisition of that happy state of mind which enables a man (in the words of a recent author) to view all nature through a sheet of ice. As to pedantry, above alluded to, when the memory is stocked, as in later, or fancy teeming, as in earlier life, consequent imagery will recur. If such be pedantry, no doubt its obtrusion, be it on what occasion it may, demands an apology. But is pedantry duly defined? The impression the phrase conveys to the mind depicts an image of somewhat, that dwells by the church-door, and wears cross-garters. A practice, Malvolio informs us, somewhat generative of choler; and if so, perhaps not altogether inapplicable to critical austerity. But as pedantry and turgidity are, as mine hostess says, "very bitter words" in their current re-

Montserrat. View 4th

feature of the splendours and sublimities around him. Every advance of the orb of day, every point to which he turns his eyes, will present him with a new beauty to be caught, and which he will only regret he has it not in his power to fix. It is not to be wondered at, that man adopted the Sun for his God, or if he selected Montserrat for his temple. Can any one be insensible to the splendour of a Mediterranean sun-rise? the orb, not lingering bashfully around the horizon, but springing at once into all his glory! the calm expanse turned instantaneously from placid blue to splendour! all nature kindling into life and action, and his rays pervading the awful glooms of the bosom of Montserrat! Are feelings to be moderated, or expressions to be measured, on such an occasion as this? Those who require apathy or restriction where nature claims enthusiasm and admiration, must apply their example and their laws elsewhere.

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ception, it is natural to suppose some exertion of investigation would be attempted into their precise meaning. According to one *dictum* upon the subject, pedantry is the imposition of ungenial, unreasonable, or arbitrary laws upon literature: such is the candid construction of the words; but here they are to speak for themselves: "Il s'établit des goûts factices dans tous les genres de littérature, d'arts, et de professions, qui ont trouvé leur naissance dans *le cerveau de quelque pédant*, (car il y en a dans toutes les classes et dans tous les métiers,) et qui sont adoptés par la multitude sans autre examen!!" Such, at least, is one definition. But here, however, to trespass no further on the reader's attention; *for* the obtrusion of the offensive principle so often as proved, due apology is, once for all, past, present, and future, humbly offered in the declaration that no such offence is intended. In regard to style, turgidity may exist in the sentiments, in the phraseology, in the verbage. Contemplation will (culpably) excite it in the first, it will follow naturally in the second, and inevitably in the third. Then it is a moral fault, of which a state of perfect purity cannot be enjoyed without a total abstinence from the habits which give birth to it. Life is a choice between the balance of evils; but as to language, in the case of such as presume to write on matter of science, a presumption, it may be supposed, inherent in those who take upon them to write at all, this quality of action (science) in the struggle for delivery is, in the words of the same critic applied to language, obliged to "sçavoir se faire jour à travers les entraves qu'elle lui met." For language perfectly adapted to the quadrangular precincts of the parlour, is by no means adequate to convey the perceptions of him who scales the height, probes the bosom, or investigates the age of a mountain.

The rock was obviously excavated here, not only to afford scope for the foundations, but materials for the erection of these piles; and hence the bases of the cones appear to impend over them. The exterior of the mountain is every where, up to the bases of its highest peaks, covered with a foliage of dwarf-oak, cork-tree, and evergreen shrubs.

The view of the monastery is taken from the vicinity of the priory, which is on the opposite side of the great ravine or glen, and passed in approaching it by the *Camino de la Herradura.* This priory is delightfully situated under a cliff, and hence is perhaps the most awful view downwards that the place possesses. The good prior seemed, and may be indeed concluded, a happy man. His table was most plentifully covered in its way; that is, with fruits, sweets, and farinaceous food, all the best in their kinds. Various wines sparkled on it in cut glass, and the service was of English delft, received through Barcelona. All was elegance and decorum. He was a cheerful man; his looks bore testimony to the salubrity of the situation, and of his mode of life. He had none of the paleness of the cloister about him. He delighted in every thing English, and had covered the walls of his refectory with high-coloured London caricature prints, which he showed with great exultation to such persons as he understood to come from that country, exclaiming and repeating vehemently, and with exultation, "Shakspeare! Shakspeare!" The great poet and moralist is, in the eyes of the continental people, our Owlen Spiegel; if the latter be not a metaphysical personage.

From the level of the bed of the Llobregat, which is schistous rock here at Monistrol at the foot of the mountain, the skirts of it, an accumulation of masses of dilapidation of various sizes, but generally uniform, approaching a quadrangular shape, rise at an angle of forty-five degrees with the horizon.

Montserrat. View 5th

This little river, though its course throughout is rapid, is here particularly precipitous, tumbling and foaming through the sharp schistous rocks which obstruct it. Apart from other overwhelming objects its features around would be considered bold; romantic they certainly are; but all dwindles by the side of the mountain. Judging, however, by the rapidity of the current, and the great depth of its bed, this village, Monistrol, must be several hundred feet above the level of the sea.

A zig-zag ascent of between two and three hours among the fragments, and above them, brings the visitor to the circuitous road which girds the mountain, somewhat at a horizontal level, and which affords the best picturesque views. This road is called the *Camino de la Rueda*; that of more difficult access, the *Camino de la Herradura**. One is the carriage, the other the mule road. Hereby communication is made with the convent. Above this line of road rise the vast columns, partly cylindrical, partly conical, perpendicular, slightly inclined, or impending, as circumstances governed the arrangement; but all equally impressive of ideas of sublimity, of awe, and of astonishment at the wonder-working hand of Providence; all demonstrative of the beautiful regulation of Nature; demonstrative equally of the uniform application of her principles, and of the indifference wherewith those things we call scales are wielded by her powerful arm. Granite, schist, horn-stone, basalt, each has its outline; the definitives of this substance are equally obvious, but its modification approaches nearest to the last. The visitor

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* "There are two routes of ascent and descent: one for carriages, a circuit of six hours to the convent (see plate) by the north of the mountain; the other of the Herradura is to the right, and of two hours journey."

Note.—The horses accustomed to it readily climb the rugged Herradura road to the convent. A venta is seated at the foot of this road of ascent.

obtains lodging at the convent; diet too, if he wish for it: but unless he is very easily pleased in this respect, he had better come prepared to minister *unto himself*. Human works sink into insignificance by the side of such wonders of Nature as present themselves here; yet the convent is a vast pile, including a considerable square area, and having seven floors of nine windows each in front. The church too is a magnificent specimen of that architecture to which our Anglo-Norman ancestors possess the claim; the nave is carried up to a great height with side aisles, but without transept*, and at the eastern end is a noble triple window. This abbey is nearly embosomed in rows of magnificent elm-trees, which form a vista to its east. These trees have thriven as if in their natural climate, though planted in this elevated situation, and on the very verge of the precipice; their character and foliage, and indeed all the circumstances in this spot, contrast as strongly as can be with the general clothing and character of the mountain.

Montserrat possesses but two springs of water, one of which is here at the convent. How limited in point of votaries is the impression of local beauty! To thousands this place presents no interest save as an object of devotion. Hence come the numbers hobbling on bare feet, or creeping on bare knees. To another class the idea which suggests itself on Montserrat being mentioned, is "*Ah! vraiment oui! Beaucoup de pierres précieuses! infiniment de richesses!*" True undoubtedly from the time when it ceased to be a rare incident for devotees in a fit of enthusiasm to act like the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who bereft himself of the diamond buttons of his court-suit to present to Our Lady of

* The dimensions are: length one hundred and forty-five Spanish feet, fifty-four breadth of nave, twenty-one breadth of each aisle. Total dimensions about one hundred and fifty by one hundred British. Summit height about one hundred feet.

Montserrat, in whose cabinet of valuables they are now actually to be seen; and hundreds come to this spot every year, who do not look at aught beyond what the walls, the work of men's hands, contain.

The convent, it may be judged from the little said of its exterior, contributes in no degree to the beauty of the place. Still the institution must possess a claim to interest. The site is certainly considerably above half the height of the mountain. The story of the discovery of the sacred image which led to the adoption of it is dated A. D. 880. The abbey was constructed in the sixteenth century; but the present monastery, as it now stands, was completed only in 1655. Miracles, as may be supposed, speedily ensued thereupon*; and the profits are accordingly. As we now see. A hundred lamps of solid silver, most beautifully wrought, illuminate the abbey at night, and a most sublime effect is produced thereby. The sound of the great organ and voices at night, in these solitudes, is most transcendent, combined in general effect with the brilliant illumination which breaks through the numerous windows of the abbey, so that all then appears one blaze of light. Each lamp weighs from five to eight arrobas. These are in their own, or in other shape, all votive offerings. Here is a pearl in the treasury valued at five thousand pounds sterling; an emerald at two thousand five hundred. What is estimated amounts to a million sterling. The fragments of the holy cross, and clothing and limbs of saints in profusion, cannot be appretiated. The library is considerable and comprehensive, as may well be judged, when we are informed it contains all the books forbidden in Spain. A level space has been made out in the

* "Doubtless the pleasure is as great,
Of being cheated, as to cheat."

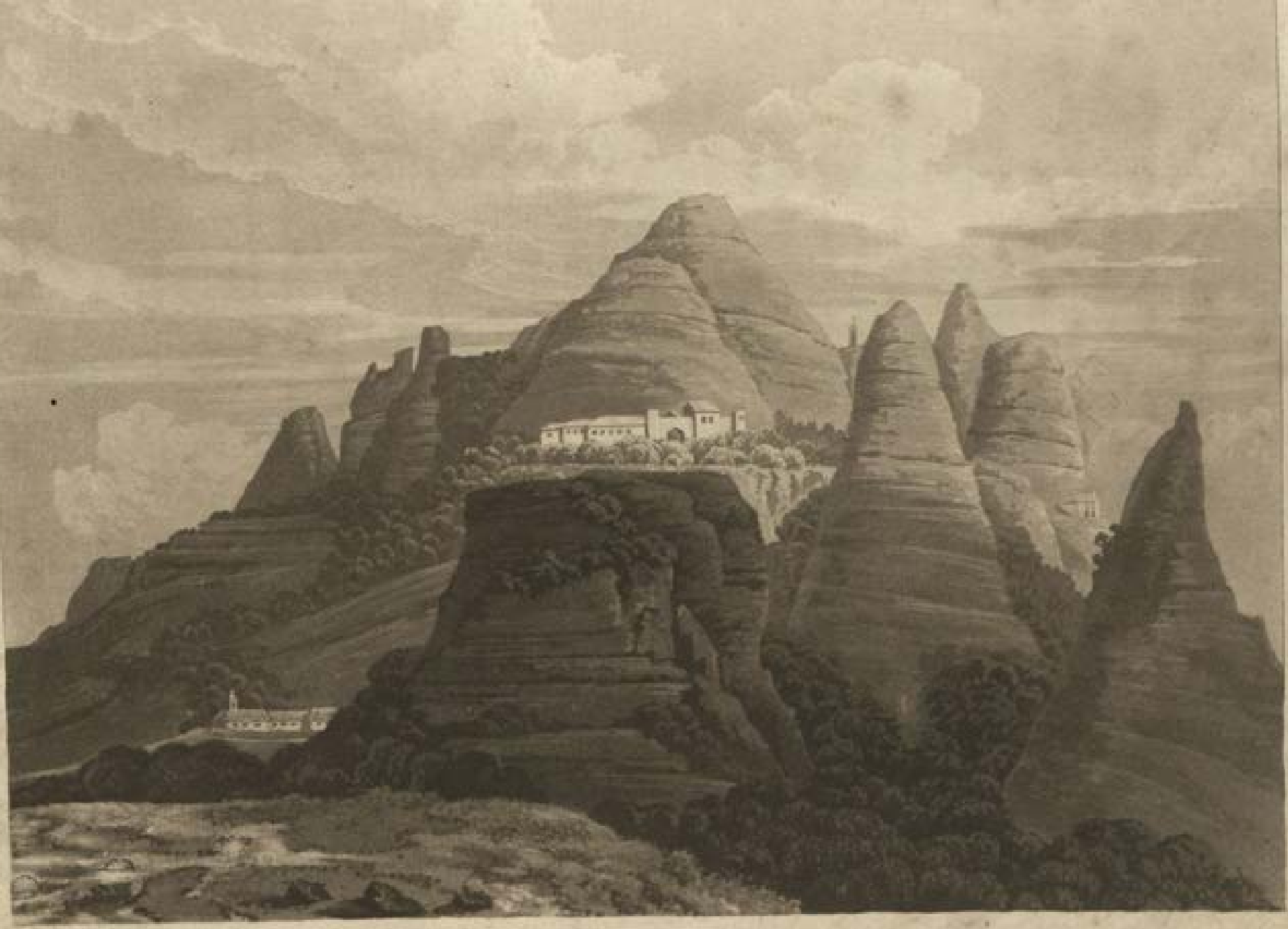
Ecce signum. From the Records of Montserrat. See Appendix A.

front or on the western side of the convent; and immediately from this begins the ascent to the hermitages. On this ascent are six hundred and sixty steps, not successively but often at considerable intervals, a few, and more or less together, to ascend to the higher level of the hermitages. But the elevation of the highest considerably exceeds this scale of computation, the height of each step being rated at one foot. Three ascents present themselves from the convent to the hermitages, all abounding in the picturesque and in sublimities; and in such a range of climate it may readily be concluded the botanizer has ample scope. The number of known plants are counted at five hundred, but the scrutiny has probably not been very minute.

The mountain lies in two bishopries. And those hermitages which are in its southern part are in that of Barcelona, being six in number; namely, those of Saints Jeronymo, Madalena, Onope, John, Catalina, and James; and those of the north, being the hermitages of Saints Anthony, Salvador, Benito, Anna, Dimas, Aciselo, and All Saints; the Holy Cross, Vitoria, and the Holy Trinity, the chapels, being in the bishopric of Vic.

The access to these, which begins from the front of the monastery, is by steps, and steep ascents, rugged, tortuous, and of loose stones, propped up by cross timbers*. A circular road of this kind reaches and connects, in its course, all the hermitages. By this, a mule, with the usual sagacity of the animal, performs his weekly task of supplying the good fathers with their respective pittances. A neat white napkin contains bread, salt, oil, vinegar, wine, and stock-fish (bacalao) for each.

* Those who set out to view the hermitages usually start at five o'clock in the morning, getting back to the convent about three in the afternoon, having been on foot, with the exception of the halts at the hermitages, for ten hours or upwards. The circuit is computed at ten miles.



Montserrat. View 6th

The mule has a bell at his head, sets out from the convent unattended, goes the round, climbing the stairs, halts at each hermitage in succession, and at each nodding his head sets the bell there a-ringing, and so continues to do until he makes himself heard; and the portion is taken out of his pannier; whereupon he continues his route, and having gone his round returns to the convent. The hermitages are comfortable habitations, containing in fact suites of apartments, as a vestibule, an ante-room, a refectory, a chapel, and a kitchen. Annexed to each hermitage is a garden, irrigated from that source whence the hermits derive the necessary of life, the dews of heaven, to collect which inclined channels in considerable numbers and extent are cut in the faces of the rocks. Inaccessible as these structures seem when viewed from below, it would be equally baffling to determine in what mode they could ever have been built, but that traces remain to this day, as proofs, did the account transmitted require confirmation. Moorish slaves were compelled to climb the peaks * behind, wherever they were least inaccessible. They then let each other down by ropes from the tops upon the perpendicular exterior faces of the rocks, and at the proper places the persons so let down chiseled holes in the stone for the insertion of joist timbers (many of which remain at this hour to testify the fact) whereon to place the scaffolding, on which, when constructed, they stood to work out the excavation for the dwelling, and open an access to it, as it now is. Such was the process of the business, which it is unnecessary to moralize upon. The principle doubtless was, that infidels should minister to the glory of the true and

* The summits whereof are *plateaux*, containing from a rood to an acre of space. The peaks also of the most difficult access were climbed, and had timber crosses planted on them, as are to be seen at this day

triumphant church. No doubt seems to have existed as to the moral right to do what we like with those whom the chances of war have put in our power. What a happy *sang froid* must be possessed by, what edifying reflections must recur to, those who viewed the procedure of their hardy work, or, rather, architectural taste! Wretches swinging by cords of three hundred feet in length, and at an elevation of fifteen hundred feet from the ground! The architect was a bold enterprising man. Grandeur of conception, however, is usually perceived to expand according as the costs to be defrayed fall upon others. *On auroit beaux imaginer ici!* Neither money, nor devotion, nor miracle itself, could have availed them to carry it into execution; but it has been, as we see, done.

The occupation of the hermitages is in succession, the youngest hermit taking the most remote and highest in situation *, that by the chapel of Our Lady on the northern summit peak. All the hermitages, however, front to the south. This chapel of Our Lady, the highest building on the mountain, has been frequently stricken by lightning. The view, northerly, to the Pyrenees is really astonishing. But the whole intervening tract appears as one vast level. The mountain is here perpendicular. One of the cones, however, projects at some forty or fifty feet below the summit. Curiosity is excited to view it by a trait of romance in a Spanish officer, which lately occurred. A lady's veil

* The entertainment the hermits give to their visitors consists of chocolate, iced water, sugar-cakes, and preserved fruits. But the good Andalusian hermit, at the summit, adds to the other articles brandy, by no means unacceptable after a sultry walk, and in such an elevated climate. The fatigue of the ascent prevents his hospitality's being often put to the proof. Travellers generally find their curiosity satisfied by the ascent to the three first hermitages, two of which adjoin. But who can charge them with exaggeration, or doubt that any thing which ought to be seen was omitted! Such is, however, the characteristic procedure of much that passes at home under the name of travelling.

was blown away, and descended on this cone. The officer made *a vow* that he would never leave the place until he had recovered it, and the necessary apparatus of ropes was actually to be procured from Barcelona to enable him to effect his purpose; as he continued inflexible. National manners become a second nature, and are not to be extinguished though suppressed. In consequence of the before-mentioned regulation, the oldest hermit occupies the hermitage nearest the convent. The hermits may visit each other during the day. Nothing can be imagined more picturesque than a groupe of these good and venerable men, with beards down to their girdles, placed at the door of one of these dwellings embosomed in evergreens. They are very kind and urbane in their manners, and each hermitage is provided with sweets, cold water, and wine, to refresh visitors. These afford a very acceptable relief as the climb (for it cannot be called a walk) would, under any circumstances less occupying to the mind, be too fatiguing, for one day at least. A small donation of charity is usually left by the visitor on the chapel table, for distribution to the poor. The oldest of the hermits had occupied his situation during thirty years. Being asked whether the time seemed long, "*Como treynta dias*," was the reply: "Like thirty days." Here he looked over a delightful, and, indeed, unparalleled prospect of an amphitheatre of lovely evergreens, in regular ascent behind each other, as if placed in a vast conservatory, but undulating in the wind, and surrounded entirely by these sublime rocks. Secluded from the view of any object else, save the heavens above, it would be impossible not to become contemplative; not to hold the world and its follies cheap in such a situation. The man must indeed be born for apathy who could lapse into it when so placed. Some of these good fathers had formerly acted a conspicuous part in the world; one in particular, who carried a degree of manner in his address, and talent in his eye.

He had figured in the court of Portugal, and retired hither completely disgusted with the world, and happy where he is. The worthy hermits always laughed at being questioned on the subject of Mr. Thicknesse's story of their brother, who had domiciliated the birds of the air, and so forth*. And certainly it must have struck them as a wretched puerility, or worse, in a traveller, to come so far, and take home such stories, even if there were any slight foundation for them; and equally so, for others to advert to and carry in their minds such trash, because once narrated. The inquiry always, after a smile, produced a grave answer: that, by the laws of their order, or rule, no *living being* †, save the individual hermit, can remain, during the night, under the roof of any hermitage. They occupy their time in the intervals of devotion by cultivating their gardens, turning with a lathe little toys, which are sold at the convent, and similar occupations. To sum up what is to be said upon the subject of Montserrat, it only remains to add, that no trace of volcanic operation appears ‡. Its geology is unique, its botany interesting, and its picturesque astonishing. Such as come to visit it should put the idea of haste out of their minds. The accounts hitherto given of it are very bare. Those of the natives themselves are insufficient. And as for fashionable tourists, investigations such as these, are indeed matter much too ponderous for their volatile epistles. Little fear need be excited that the matter it affords will be speedily exhausted. Such is Nature, and the globe which we inhabit, that the most trodden path

* They mention an ascertained fact, that no two birds, of a wild nature, will live together under the same roof. One will kill the other. Mr. Thicknesse's work, with its private details of such fashionable literary interest, is, transmitted by himself, in the library of the convent.

† The hermits make three vows: solitude, poverty, and chastity. They are permitted to visit the convent on holidays.

‡ At six hours journey, however, hence, are hot baths, very serviceable in gun-shot wounds.

will present something new to the next comer. But here, the fact is, due scrutiny has never taken place. The scale is too great; and scrutiny is a work of time and leisure. A man must have travelled, to know what toil minute investigation brings with it in countries like this, destitute of all those comforts wherewith we are spoiled at home.—June 19, 1784.

MONISTROL.—This romantic little village is at what is called the foot of the mountain, but still at a considerable elevation above the bed of the Llobregat. It consists of a groupe of houses planted among rugged cliffs, wherever a sufficient expanse of plane could be found to lay out a cottage floor. Its gardens and orchards teem with fruit and produce; and it was a pleasing scene to observe the villagers watching the eyes of their good rector as he walked through them, and the children running up to kiss his hand. Any article of their production, which they thought had attracted his notice, was surely sent in the evening, with a complimentary message to that effect. He lived himself in a cottage no better than the rest, within or without. Don Juan Constantz y Roset was the name of this venerable man. He lived with Spanish hospitality, and though with a limited consumption, was generous in participating it. A frugal dinner of one good dish, an olla, good wine, iced water, and excellent fruit, constituted the mid-day meal. The breakfast was of chocolate, and this regime sufficed for the day. His house establishment consisted of an *ama** (a house-keeper, a female relation); his stores in two casks † of wine,—the home-made produce of his vine-

* Each house has its *ama*. The most benevolent intercourse exists between masters and servants, nor do the latter thereby ever lose sight of due respect. They enter into conversation with the master and his friends while serving them at table.

† One of these was his *lettega* (butt) of *vino recio*—very strong-bodied wine. Our phrase is more frequently used than understood. But several of our terms, sack and the like, in regard to

yard; his whole supernumerary furniture, in one bedstead and a mattress.

The little river Llobregat* (this name signifying mountain-torrent) is probably so called from its lofty neighbour; but the mountain does not contribute to its permanent current. To all appearance, however, the floods in their day must be tremendous. How interesting must a residence of due leisure, in this vicinity, be at those seasons! So deep worn are the rocky borders of this river, that it may be said not to have emerged into air, until it has some miles passed the mountain †.

Barcelona.—The external traffic here amounts to something. The wants of people in those latitudes, and the means they possess of purchasing what they think they want, are not to be judged of by ours at home; but still a considerable bustle is seen here on the quays. It is gratifying to an Englishman to see the crates of Staffordshire wares, the clay of his country, superseding all competition, and drawing forth the notes of admiration. Such is the opinion in favour of English manufacture, that it carries the preference in its name alone. Plain it is to see, that the wealth of Spain, were it to become rich, would, in the result, be that of England. A single capacious ship, manned by a few hands, and freighted with English merchandize, would here bring more real profit to England than the plunder of a galleon or of Paita. Popular impressions do not calculate. Thousands in England hear of the

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wine, and various others in nautical affairs, have crept into this language in consequence of the extensive range Spain once possessed in exterior commerce.

* By crossing the river opposite to the convent one of the best general views of the mountain is obtained. It is beyond the power of the artist to do justice to so magnificent a scene.

† The works of Nature are *à l'abri* of the feeble mischief of man. The convent and abbey, their treasures first plundered, are now wantonly blown up; no local trace being left of what they were. The religious institution is dissolved, and the good hermits have perished in, or are put to flight from, their cells, which are now no more than a refuge for the birds of the air.

capture of a register-ship, for one who reads Adam Smith. The ill treatment which this people received from those powers which sustained the struggle against the house of Bourbon, in the abandonment of their interests so entirely at the negotiations which wound up the business of the Succession-war, does not appear, at present, to have left any impression on their minds. It is a subject of discussion with those only who have given their attention to the investigation of the politics of this peninsula. But the calls of daily existence, and their volatility of disposition, leave this people no time to think on who were their friends or their enemies, or what friends were true or false, in those days. It is plain the present Spanish government does not wish they ever should be friends to it. But things of this kind are not weighed with very nice judgement.

The Route from BARCELONA *to* LERIDA.

CATALONIA is most interesting in its geological features, or perhaps these are most interesting in Nature at large. It possesses, too, an interest in history; military history, interesting as the last of Cæsar's labours; interesting as detailed by his admirable pen. (Upon this subject, some doubt if the authenticity of the narrative be always equal to its elegance.) To military men, however, Lerida must be an object of curiosity; first, as the *arena* of the defeat of the Carthaginian general Hanno by Scipio; but much more as that of the manœuvres of Cæsar, in his admirable campaign against the lieutenants of Pompey, so ably commented on and elucidated by Guichardt.

MARTOREL (July).—Here the roads to Montserrat and Lerida divide.

YGUALADA,—a romantically situated *Hostalris*, and the adjacent country a complete epitome of Catalonian picturesque. A house with

a balcony and portico of rude timber rather in the wane, with vines luxuriantly creeping over and covering it; an undulated country, cut by deep water-courses forming beds of gravel, and constituting the usual roads; with here and there a shaw, a transparent grove of pine-trees, complete the scenery*. The general climate of Catalonia is humid. That such is the case, its surface proves. The vicinity of the mountains, Montserrat itself, affords sufficient cause for this conclusion. The showers come down like water-spouts. But the atmosphere in the intervals of them is delightful; and the beauty they add to the face of nature past description.

Itinerary.—CERVERA—LERIDA.

LERIDA—the high castle whereof is seen for the previous day's journey. Montserrat also is not lost sight of by the traveller until he arrives here. This is a town of considerable bustle. The rural scenery is here completely changed, nothing of Catalonia properly in that respect remaining! This place never could have possessed in itself importance equal to that given it by the events of which it has been the *arena*. Its site precludes it from having ever been a considerable town. Here, however, the fate of the world was once, if not twice, brought to an issue. Is it possible for a person to look with apathy upon such a scene? or is he to treat his rising thoughts like the live eels in the pasty, and cry "Down, wantons, down?" The expansion of the mind is one of the principal advantages to be looked for in travelling. Guichardt's map is accurate; and in his commentary upon this campaign, in a tract of country he never saw, he has proved his uncommon penetration.

* One feature disfigures the landscape; the *potence*. The gallows appears on every hill, at least in every view. A person ignorant of political causes would imagine himself where crimes were very diffuse, or law very conclusive. In point of meaning the thing is harmless.

The traveller has no business here without this Author in his hand. The Fort de Gardon (Cæsar's camp) would be a strong post in the present day. It does not amount to a position. On the scale of warfare in Cæsar's day, it was adequate to what the powers of destruction extended to. The scientific powers are to be understood. It is hard to resist the surmise that Cæsar's account is drawn up with quite as much regard to effect as to reality. But there can exist no doubt as to the general facts; and here indeed he showed himself a consummate general. By what magical spell did Cæsar turn the heads of his antagonists, that they should permit him to execute the tedious, laborious, precarious operation of turning the waters of the treacherous Sigre, whereby their doom was sealed, under their very camp? It were to be wished that those blest with leisure and convenience would endeavour to trace these canals. The little knoll in the plain between Cæsar's camp and the town is now perfectly conspicuous, and seems as if it presented itself for the purpose of giving the great warrior an opportunity of composing a pompous description. A long day of investigation might here be passed in an interesting manner, since the scenery of the campaign lies within the limits of a morning's ride. No change has taken place in the face of Nature since those days. Short and compressed as Cæsar's local descriptions are, they are perfectly clear and accurate*. How little analogy must exist between ancient and modern warfare!

* Those of the Spanish poet are more descriptively so.

LERIDA.

Colle tumet modico, lenique exercvit in altum
Pingue solum tumulo: super hunc fundata vetustâ
Surgit Ilerda manu ———————

Itinerary.—Fraga. *Upon the* Cinca *another Mountain-torrent.* Penalva, Bujaralos, La Puebla, Saragossa.

Saragossa.—The general officer commanding here is of the name of Bagot, descended from one of the Irish families which followed the hopeless fortunes of their master hither. The respectable situations

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The military positions.

Proxima rupes (*that nearest to Lerida*)
Signa tenet Magni—(*Pompeii*) nec Cæsar colle minore
Castra levat: medius dirimit tentoria gurges.

The hillock which brought on the action.

Luce novâ collem subito conscendere cursu,
Qui medius tutam castris dirimebat Ilerdam,
Imperat———

The diversion of the waters.

Nequid Sicoris repetitas audeat undis,
Spargitur in sulcos, et, scisso gurgite rivis,
Dat pœnas majoris aquæ.

The general view of the country.

Explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentes,
Vix oculo prendente modum———

It might have been supposed that after a topographical description, so positive and of so many centuries standing, misconception on the subject of the face of Nature could not have existed in the present day: yet we still hear of the mountain-fastnesses of the Catalans.

The author was not aware at the time these notes were written that his friend G. H. Hall, Esq. had bestowed some attention on this subject. Those who feel an interest therein will be gratified by reading an article written by his learned friend in the supplement to the second volume of the Military Panorama, where the campaign in question is succinctly but most ably treated. The author believes Guichardt's observations had not fallen in Mr. H.'s way. It seems probable that Montserrat and its skirts form the basis of all these accounts of mountain-fastnesses affording refuge for defeated troops. They are mere words of course in a military dispatch. The naturalist, at least, may look for them any where else in vain.

they still occupy, prove that French influence and industry have not succeeded to the full extent of their wishes and exertions; to deprive them of that confidence they have so long and meritoriously possessed. Here is an exemplification of Spanish interior system once again, if that epithet can be applied to disjointed efforts. A canal faced with statuary marble, and without water! Grandeur of plan and scorn of return are the ideas obvious in every public work. How rich is the geology of this country! Its calcareous matter alone, duly appropriated, would yield far more wealth than all the mines of Peru; of real wealth. They exhibit specimens of sixty different kinds of marble. Here they consider it only an object for the chisel.

Saragossa is a handsome town, with a fine cathedral; and ample descriptions are extant of both. As to the paintings, we have the indefatigable Pons, otherwise De la Puente; for it seems he was advised, as a decorous matter, to assume the *incognito* for the purpose of travelling! Such is prejudice!

In regard to the Ebro*, in relation to water-carriage, which is a matter of recent adoption here, the nation should be apprised that it

* This river in later days has assumed a military character. The strong frontier of the Ebro is now talked of. Do these speculators mean to class it with the Rhine or the Elbe? In the first place it is of the class of mountain-torrents; and as such, dependence is not to be placed on it in any point of view. In fact, in a campaign, it would in all probability quit the field before the combatants, it separated, did. In autumn it can be no more than a bed of gravel. At this moment it happens to have demonstrated, by the point of fact, that it is capable of drowning a man; but it would seem there must have been a reciprocity of effort to effect this. It constitutes a strongly defined line upon a map. It gives valuable topographical information. It defines a level at the feet of the Pyrenees, or rather bounds the plain which belongs to them, nearly across the Peninsula. Where this discontinues, towards its head, it ascertains a summit level. It is a satisfactory point of *appui* for a traveller's eye and mind. But all this is not to constitute it a frontier of defence, especially between great nations carrying into the field the powerful mechanism of modern warfare. It must be a river of greater competency than the Ebro, that the military combinations of time, space, and numbers, are applicable to.

is calculation alone, and not speculation, which can appretiate the value of these undertakings. The calculation must be founded upon the capital sunk, and the remote points brought into connection. The Ebro rises on the verge of Asturia. To connect by artificial navigation the Bay of Biscay with the Mediterranean, by the collateral aid of this river, which is very feasible, would be a truly national enterprise, opening vast magazines, of which the Peninsula would be the *entrepôt*. Such an undertaking is physically far more feasible on this side of the Pyrenees than on the other. But the tardiness and costliness of the works, and want of combination and system in the projection, will long baffle any efforts of this kind. As to expenditure, it appears as if those who had the laying out of the money thought that the more they threw away of it, the more effectually they performed their business. There is every reason to suppose that Spain abounds in mineral riches: water-carriage should, even in that respect, be a rational speculation; for, until it be obtained, such ponderous wealth is possessed to very little purpose.

Itinerary.—Lonjares, La Mucla, *Venta de la* Romeria, Darocca, Uinojosa, Guadalaxara, *Meala de* Herares, Madrit.

The broad bed of the Ebro, with its clear waters and pure banks of gravel, the majestic aspens which grow on its borders and impend over its bed, and the antiquated towers of Saragossa, present a very picturesque effect to the eye. But this gratifying view is on the entrance (by the Pyrenee), not the departure, side.

From Saragossa and the Ebro, the country rises into the summit level of the Peninsula (to localize which, take Sierra Molina). Than this summit tract, the great plain of Castille, a more uninteresting one can hardly be conceived. Here, on the descent of it, the rivers at this season

exhibit little more than their beds; in the hollows whereof, here and there, is to be found water lodged, barely in sufficiency to keep the scanty cattle alive. The descent of the waters towards the Ebro constitutes, however, rather torrents than rivers. Aridity and a dingy olive pervade the face of Nature all around.

Daroca appears to be on the summit level of this plain, which is tolerably defined by taking as points for that purpose Vinojosa to the south-west, with Sierra Molina* to the right. From this the waters run northwards to the Ebro, while somewhat to the west are the sources of the Tagus flowing to the Atlantic. The ascent to Daroca is by a branch of the Zalo; and in its bed, as before observed, little save rock is now visible. When the epithet plain is applied to this country, flatness is by no means implied; far from it. But it seems to have been once tabular. The diluvial wash has worn it into deep valleys and rounded summits, while the waters were seeking their courses to the ocean. Sierra Molina is the edge of a *stratum*, penetrating this so elevated surface at an oblique angle†. Castille and Arragon realize what strangers are told concerning Spain. Denudation, depopulation, and desiccation reign throughout them. Both soil and climate are deteriorated by these adventitious evils. The destitution of wood-land (which the sagacious Pons would fain compensate by rows of trees by the highway sides) has contributed chiefly to render the atmosphere as arid as the soil; and rains, hereby, do not come in the season when they are wanted. The vicinity of Paris is ascertained to have been materially

* A very important feature in the surface of this Peninsula.

† The whole of Leon, a lofty tract, is said to have a tabular summit level. To what astonishing deductions does the conformation of this Peninsula lead! Here, however, is not to be sought the Gog or Magog of the Rabbins, the giant who survived the deluge astride upon the ark.

affected in this respect, with regard to humidity, since the cutting down of the woods; and a similar result has attended the process in the West India Islands. This aridity is the bane of the Peninsula. Hence it ensues that the fine wheat of this country, the intrinsic quality whereof is superior to any the world can bring in competition with it, sheds often, from want of hands to gather it in, though this process is here of the most summary kind. How different the present state of things from what they were in the days of the Mahommedans, who inhabited these tracts! These provinces, so torpid now as to produce, for entire and successive days' journeys, nought but thistles; where no human habitation comes within ken, save that where the traveller is to make his mid-day and evening halt, have, on the slopes of every hill, terraces for the plough. Every valley was once tanked up for the purpose of irrigation, or the use of the herd,—indelible marks of reproach to succeeding generations, or at least to those by whom they have been governed*.

Darocca is a town out of the usual route. It consists of a few streets, of due width, but not regularly built. It is environed with walls, but not regularly fortified. Its exterior is destitute of suburb or improvement; its air and climate thin and pure beyond imagination. Harmony prevails here; at least, recitative and catgut resound incessantly, from sun-set to sun-rise; rather more than the traveller wishes for.

The division of Spain into provinces, which ought to concern no one but the geographer, is made the subject of embarrassment to internal intercourse, by prohibitions, confusions of duties, and the like absurd

* The Spaniards do not like that the desiderata of their country should be made matter of discussion. They should, however, recollect that no people can take greater liberties in this way than their friends and allies, the French, have done.

and mischievous fiscal inconsistencies, under the description of regulations, and a name of Moorish derivation, as is seen in the *affiches*, too formidable for the utterance of Gargantua himself. Hereupon it should not be omitted to warn the traveller that, previous to setting out, he must provide himself with a pass-port. It is procured without difficulty, but is indispensable. In regard to the season, the summer nights here are of a beauty not to be described; the air is so diaphanous, that the convexity of the full moon is perfectly obvious to the naked eye; and when that orb does not appear, the stars are of a brightness, and the sky of a richness of blue, that other latitudes and elevations can afford no idea of. The exchange to-day is indeed for the worse. Dingy olive, a forest of thistles extending as far as the eye can reach, in a horizon apparently boundless, or bounded only by a partial ledge of hills; with a venta, to which the traveller is driven by a scorching mid-day sun, and from whence he is probably quite as rapidly driven by a scowling hostess. These constitute but a cheerless prospect to urge on the toil of the road, which is here throughout nearly as it came from the hand of Nature; hardly bearing the traces of wheel, or even hoof. Every foot of this tract is argillaceous wheat-land: but not an ear of grain is to be seen! Some good ever arises out of evil. But the proportions are the point. Were it not for the abundance of thistles, it is impossible to say how the scanty population here could exist; still less how meet the limited wants of the traveller. Without them, he and his donkey alike should want their *pabulum*. They supply the only culinary fuel of the *venta*. And this article, firing, is not in the list of œconomics, here, for any purpose save that of the kitchen. Yet the winters must be dreadfully severe, in an elevation such as the thinness of the atmosphere ascribes to this tract of country.

The French always express themselves with horror at the idea of

travelling a Spanish route; and, to do them justice, it here ceases to be a matter of wonder. "*J'aimerois mieux voyager en Afrique,*" was the most modified phrase of discouragement expressed on the north side of the Pyrenees. If this country possess matter of investigation, it has been hitherto unexplored. Nothing at least has been discovered in it but viatorial grievances. Some travellers may have been induced to think that details of the like nature afford gratification at home, on the principle of "*Suave mari magno.*" Perhaps they do. But they are of as little use as comfort to those who go abroad; and he who enlists his pen in the service of mankind, when a traveller, will, principally, consider those who are to come after him. Spanish œconomics, on the route at least, being here mentioned, it may be, once for all, now added, present a list of *desiderata* as long as those which Boniface offers to the consideration and regret of his guests, but without his retrospect. At the superior inns, those in the great towns, the cooks are, it may be said, invariably Italians. This is only noticeable as somewhat of a national characteristic.

Bidding adieu to this wearisome tract, all that remains, on so doing, is, to add, that it was consigned to waste (in the fate of the empire at large) by that sage and orthodox decree which, in 1614, banished the industrious Mahommedans from these realms. A true picture of a gone-by fact is only to be caught by an incidental glimpse. A great political measure, as recorded in history, and its actual details, may be as different as the stamps on the face and reverse of the same piece of coin. By what occurs in Cervantes on this subject, it appears that the Moors of Spain possessed in a very full degree the good-will of their Christian fellow subjects;—an acquisition not to have been attained if they had not deserved it. This admirable and original genius, though he thought it necessary to throw in a compliment to government upon

its wisdom in the measure, means, it is evident, to deliver the sentiments of the community on the occasion. They appear to have been modified in the most estimable way for neighbours and subjects. How different the attachment to literature of their day, and the horror at it in the present! The phrase is no hyperbole. A book, not expressedly religious, excites in the minds of some lower Spaniards, horror. By their expression, by their words and eyes, it seems as if a person who looked into one, for any other purpose, stood a convicted heretic, or dealt in the black art. With ignorance superstition reigns conjointly all over the world. They are twin dæmons, and all powerful while their day lasts. Due honour, on the other hand, has been ultimately yielded to Cervantes by the upper classes; and *El Quixote* is now appretiated according to its merit, at home. An Englishman who cannot estimate its beauties as they deserve, would be, if a foreigner, equally blind to those of Shakspeare. Still, who can forget the pathetic expression,

> "Por no verme delante de tus puertas muerto, (*Madrid*)
> Yo de mi patria, y de mi mismo salgo."

In plain English, the immortal poet is constrained to say, "I quit house and home to avoid starvation." Indeed jails, bolts, and grilled windows, famine and hardship, seem to enhance the acumen of the poet's fancy. Probably, had Cervantes been in easier circumstances he would have written less. Thus we see in education, which is artificial talent, a resource to man under all the evils which afflict him, and how, in imparting it, we apply the only real alleviation to them, that is within our reach. Literature has much more power, and is much more applicable on such occasions, than Stoicism.

GUADALAXARA is an active, populous, busy, and improving town. The manufacture, so well known, of cloth, is carried on with a vivacity

which proves the fallacious reasonings of the traducers of Spanish industry. The capital of Spain is now nigh at hand; but no improvement in the features or complexion of Nature, as in other countries, marks the neighbourhood; nothing of obvious selection or subsequent enhancement, in the way of profit or embellishment. The circumjacent country, as the traveller continues his wearisome route up to the very foot of the city-wall, no way differs from any other part of the champaign. In later summer the pale olive aridity of one vast stubble or fallow is alone seen, covered, more or less, with thistles, in proportion to the time during which torpor has been allowed to prevail.

MADRET. (July.)—The entrance at the Puerta de Alcala is very magnificent. The main street which leads from it, the Callee* de Alcala, is as beautiful a combination of symmetry, and relief of contrast, as can be imagined in any street. It points up the ascent of a gentle elevation, just sufficient to place its architecture to the best effect to the eye. Grand edifices on each side, all white, and sufficiently detached to show the most of them to advantage; a great width at entrance, which converges, as is seen in Egyptian architecture, in order to heighten the result of the perspective to the other termination; a noble marble fountain throwing water up, and into, a bason on the right; the rich *foliage* of the luxuriant elms of the Prao on the left, beyond which, and above them, gently rises the Retiro; the pavement excellently laid, and clean; the destitution of the slightest vapour of smoke above to cast a gloom; all together constitute the perfection of civic scenery, and give an impression of the city in general, which, if over rated, it certainly does not entirely belie. All the vexations of the *Douane* reign at the

* This is one of the Scythian roots yet flourishing in the Spanish language, it has relation to what is connected with structure in general. It is an annexation too of the genealogical tree.

gate, as if it were an object of state to throw difficulty in the way of human intercourse. But the military officers, under whose eyes these respectable fiscal examinations proceed, are extremely polite and urbane in their demeanour, answering every petitionary countenance with the consolatory phrase of "*Luego os despacharan*," and exerting themselves to be as good as their word. Indeed, in every respect, the Spanish military officer carries with him the distinguishing air of his class in society. This air is neither German nor French; destitute of the stiffness of the one, of less vivacity but more address than the other. The walls of Madrit are, it is to be observed, any thing but a fortification. A military guard is, however, stationed at each gate, fully competent to annoy friendly, however inadequate to resist inimical, visitors. Various ideas relative to this city strike the mind on its first view. In fact, here is more matter for reflection than for observation. Here the interesting Gil Blas acted some of his parts upon the stage of life. If any thing can enhance his delightful narrative, it is the reading it upon the spot of his action. The *morale* of his work (where it is not humanity at large) is chiefly French, but his scenery is Spanish; true to nature. As reflection and observation proceed here locally, and Madrit is considered as a capital, the events of the Succession-war are recollected and balanced. Here is much matter to ruminate upon. A capital city always conveys with it the idea, if not of military, at least of moral and political, importance. A stranger looks around him here to see what connexions upon such subjects he can trace, and he looks in vain. What constitutes its history is in the hands or within the reach of every one. Different motives combined may have attached the royal Bourbon family to it; and all we hear, read, and see, tends to recall the surmise to the mind, that its situation, so *à portée* to France, with due safeguard to appearance as much as possible, may have been one.

How differently things might have succeeded had a German dynasty occupied the throne! There is no certainty in the computation. But a fugacious sceptre can never be swayed to the welfare of the state. The Succession-war was as unfortunate in its termination for Europe, as its conduct was strange in itself. The former was pregnant with evils for this country; for, had the rival family succeeded, the aggrandizement of the nation would have been as much its object as its interest; a consummation it can never hope for in French hands. The rivalry being literally a local one, no modification can ever obviate it. So deeply seated as the evil is, it cannot but cause a cutting reflection in the mind of any one who views such noble capabilities proving abortive.

During this strange war, which notwithstanding all must intimately connect itself with *Spain*, had the worst thing that ever passed under the name of system been acted upon, the noble spirit in the hearts of the Catalonians, and the prevalent sympathy towards the German family, would have brought it to a happy issue. Each party was, however, in the course of its proceedures, left to the due enjoyment and effect of its own blunders, and a better speculation could not have been adopted. It may one day become a prevalent opinion, that the better military science is understood, the more it will benefit mankind at large. Nine-tenths of the wars which desolate human nature have their origin and protraction in ignorance; and, were this not itself a plummet over mankind, could never be entered upon and persevered in as they are. More just calculations would in the other case be made, both as to what is to be gained, and what is to be paid for it if gained. Under such consideration, the progress of this science is to be desired, even by the friend of human nature and true philosophy. But, abstractedly, it is impossible to impute justly, evil, to the dissemination of any knowledge. In regard, however, to the war which fixed

the destiny of this country, and the spot now under observation, Madrit, as the heart of the state, a capital in full possession of all its moral and political attributes, will certainly strike the mind in such a light. But Madrit is no more to the nation than a polypus is to the heart; and, the sufferings of individuals out of the question, the party which levelled it first would have done the other a service, had that other been the one destined by Fortune to the permanent rule of the state. It is obvious to any one who studies the map of Spain, when once he has cast a cursory eye over the country, that it is by cavalry the business of warfare within the Peninsula is to be decided. Here is Madrit in the centre of this noble tract of the earth, surrounded by vast plains, where a superiority of cavalry would decidedly predominate; whereas its mountains by no means present those lines of continuation of position, or its rivers that volume, so necessary for the calculations of military operation. Very brilliant actions were performed by cavalry during this war, resulting out of the nature of the country. But the principal object of the chiefs on each side seemed to be,—to roam in quest of walls to knock their heads against; as if fortresses were not predestined to follow the fate of the country, whatever that might turn out to be. Though indeed they seemed little to care which power got the day, so that the armies got the fighting.

Madrit and Spain are, morally, two very distinct things. A capital, with or without ramparts (on which much is to be urged both ways), should have moral and political powers and resources. In human life, too, it is impossible not to annex the exigencies or benefits of Nature herewith. It will be hereafter seen what this city can boast in regard to those essentials; and from the competence of Madrit in regard to its own wants, in regard to its political, statistical, and œconomical powers, it will be ascertainable what it is as a vital impulse of the state, while

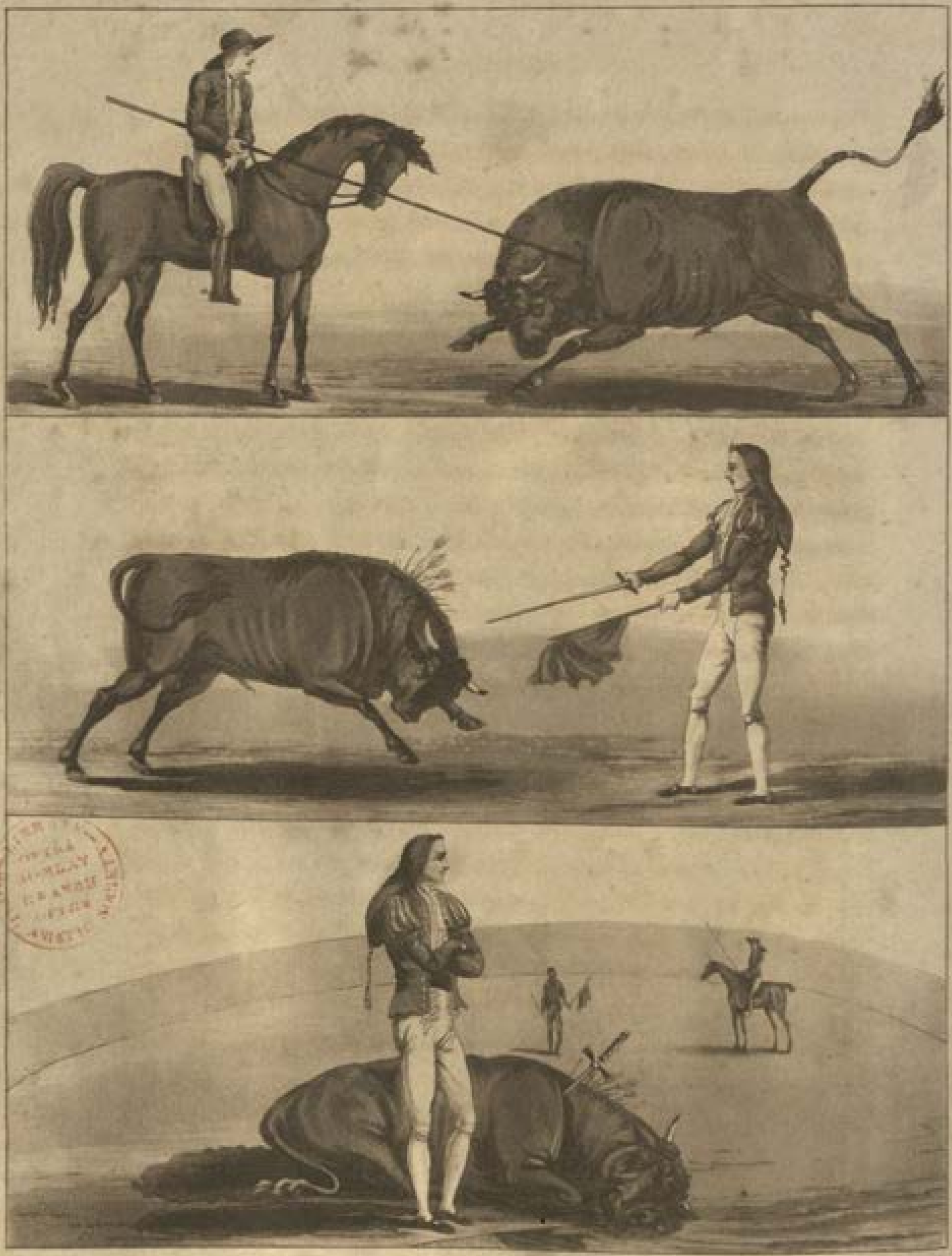
it will afford a too correct criterion of the constitution of the body which it is intended to animate.—But a hotel is a matter of no small interest to a traveller on his first arrival in a place, and those here are upon a handsome scale, well provided and supplied, at about the same rate of expense as in England. The accommodations rarely reach to the affording of a second apartment to one person; but this luxury, in the scantiness of bed-chamber furniture, which is indeed preferable in this climate, may be dispensed with. As to the scale of expense, to judge by what is presented to observation and experience, Spain will be by no means found a cheap country, save perhaps to such as are prepared to bear œconomical privations with Spanish stoicism. Sufficient has been written on this city, for any importance it can possess, save what is derived from the error of judgement which made it the capital of a great nation. To the admirer and judge of painting, a vast mass of inestimable matter is here supplied. The world at large has no conception of the accumulation of treasure in this noble art possessed by Spain, or of her native genius, which never has had its due (not compensation, for that is out of sight here,) notice. On this subject English travellers rather shine. Mr. Henry and Mr. Twiss may be referred to. In the Royal Sitios the rich specimens of art are in absolute superfluity; the walls are so cased with them, that the mind becomes as distracted as the eye, and it is hardly necessary to observe that catalogues would be sought for in vain. Be Madrit what it may in the eyes of strangers, its royal inmates do not seem inclined to follow the example of the Pharaohs of old, in quitting the barren vicinity of the Cataracts for a Delta. On the contrary, like the Swiss, they cling closer and closer to the bare parent bosom. The palace building here of the purest statuary marble, is a specimen of the vast conceptions and tardy execution prevalent. It has all the beauty that uniformity

of exterior and flatness of surface can afford to their admirers in architecture. By non-adepts it is only considered one of the heaviest incubi ever laid on the breast of Nature. If bulk be grandeur, and whiteness splendour, it certainly has both to boast of. For the number of its windows (thousands and *tens* of thousands) see the indefatigable Pons, who probably counted them, and may be believed as on oath. This valuable traveller, who seems to measure his reader's patience by his own, has, amongst his other merits, that of surmounting tasks which no fellow labourer in his way would wait to do. The reform in the police is complete as far as exteriors go. Madrit is now the cleanest town in Europe. It is to be further observed, the streets of this city are tranquillity itself during the night. Indeed the silence of the guitar would induce a doubt as to being in Spain. Sanctuary, however, is a crying evil among the many which oppress this country. From the miscreant figures stalking about the church-steps, the profligacy, license and ribaldry designated in the countenances and conduct of the wretches who have there sought shelter for themselves and their guilt, the place should rather be taken for a Pandæmonium. Such is abuse. Originally, and before laws, the horns of the altar afforded the only, though not sure, protection from outrage and murder; now that law is established, they are protections for them, and against it. What can rectify the human head? Eye witnesses know the populace (of Italy) to have conveyed to the sanctuary, upon their shoulders, a murderer too intoxicated to find his way thither himself! He made his entry into the holy of holies, a triumphal one! Here, however, when such an opening is presented, and so few comparatively (and we see them all) avail themselves of the same, it is a conclusive proof that human nature is at least no worse than elsewhere. The usual amusements of a capital are practised here in a certain degree; but the bull-fights, once a

week, take the lead with the natives in point of interest, and of curiosity with strangers; and they certainly afford a magnificent spectacle. Although these are no longer, in every sense, the days the poet describes, when

> "Spanish heroes, with their lances,
> At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies,
> And he obtains the richest spouse
> Who widows greatest herds of cows;"

yet the cool address of the mounted *Picador*, and the courage and dexterity of the *Matador*, are objects of admiration. And as to cruelty, if things be duly *approfondis;* if it be considered that the great revenue of this place of public interest goes in aid of a noble public humane institution; if we consider how little comparative suffering there is in the death of a horse here upon the arena, compared with that of the life of one of ours employed in posting upon our gravel roads at home,—sufferings which any one who has a few shillings in his pocket to throw away may aggravate indefinitely,—the question of cruelty may just as well for us be set at rest. As to bloody spectacles, the exhibition presented here is so infinitely short in point of torment to that detestable scene of malignity, a bull-bait, where the whole aim, object, and triumph, is in the infliction of pain, as not to stand an instant in comparison; for there needs no hesitation in saying, five hundred bulls are killed here with less mortal suffering than a single wretched animal endures under the long protracted hours of worrying by dogs and men. In one case it is skill that is exhibited; in the other, mere cruelty. What is the sword of the *Matador* through the heart of the beast, compared to the lacerations so *judiciously* applied in different directions by the teeth and vaunted sagacity of the cur, aided by the speculative counsels of his prompter? What a subject for a painter!—the fiend-



A Spanish Bull-fight.

like glow on the human face, when signalizing out the point where *the business* is to be done! If bull-fighting no longer lead the way to fortune, still the *Matador* of the present day is a very distinguished personage, and, of course, cannot be supposed himself unconscious of it. Such simplicity is not in human nature. Admiration, indeed, is this gentleman's reward; and it may be easily inferred from what quarter it is most valued. A splendid dress, and to exhibit before the ladies in graceful attitudes, are his objects. In his day's procedure, he takes every opportunity (and they are tolerably numerous) to show that he considers ogling the boxes as his business, and merely kills a bull for his amusement. It is curious to observe the pains he takes to throw nonchalance into his manner during this little casual occurrence. It is a positive fact, that the instant cessation of life is caused by striking the bull in the spine at the neck. In a moment he is stretched out on his side, *roid-mort;* not the slightest convulsion ensues. This mode of striking in the spine is the universal practice in putting black cattle to death; and no instance of practical failure can be said to occur. No repetition of blows of the axe, stunning on the head of the poor animal, is heard here.

Much as the subject of bull-fights has been detailed, one exhibition at the amphitheatre of Madrit is worth preserving, from its probable singularity. It was performed by a Peruvian. A noose was thrown over the horns of the fiercest of the bulls, and by this he was hauled to a block strongly planted for the occasion in the earth. So secured, a saddle was girthed on him, and he was then turned loose. His rage and struggles may be conceived. The Indian (of the primitive race of Peruvians) entered the *arena*, made his obeisance to the spectators, and instantly leaped on the animal's back. The quadruped's rage and efforts, under this accumulation of wrong, redoubled; but speedily

another bull was turned in to him. His fury was now diverted from his heterogeneous oppressor to his natural antagonist, in all the bitterness of true fraternal enmity. The two quadrupeds fought. Still, however, in all the rage of natural excitation, he who bore the burthen showed by interludes that it galled him. The services of an ally by no means compensated the opprobrium of the uncongenial assistance. Obligation was more than disclaimed. Indeed, all the logic ever possessed by the art of diplomacy would have failed to persuade its object here, that this volunteered effort was for his sole good. Such, however, anecdote, though not history, tells us was the jet of the consolatory arguments used by the physicians to the infant Don Carlos, son of Philip the Second, when, by his father's commands, they were bleeding him to death in the bath at the Escurial. If, here, on the one side, the subject ally already suspected his protector of separate views, so the latter, on his part, found that some moral and physical powers were much easier to seize than to guide. The poor quadruped received much the treatment of the horse in the fable; but he might, had he possessed time to ruminate on the subject, have also received comfort in the reflection, that he certainly, at worst, did not bring his misfortune on himself. It is not usual to see a combat where both parties fight against odds. The antagonist bull selected for his attack that one of his enemies with whose mode of warfare he was best acquainted. Had he been of the description of animals *rationis capaces*, he might have earned the praise of good generalship, reluctant as mankind is in distribution of the wreath of fame; for, certainly, when that force which he attacked was *terracé*, all fell with it. His procedure was according to, though not perhaps regulated by, the known maxims of war. The Peruvian was armed and supplied with short lances. At every charge which the horned combatants made at each other, he

lodged one of these in the body of the antagonist bull, which, after sustaining the loss of blood for about half an hour, fell exhausted upon the sands. This service duly performed to his own, the good ally drew a dagger from his side, and with a contemporaneous effort stabbed his *protégé* in the mortal part, disengaged himself, springing off his back as the bull fell prostrate under the blow, made his obeisance to the spectators, and exit from the *arena*. This grand *finale* of the contest was altogether scarcely the work of five seconds. An instance of its kind, how much important matter in the way of fate, fortune, and warfare, may be compressed within a short period of time; and how speedy may be the termination, and unlooked-for the issue, of a game played on with, at *but one move* from *check mate*.—April 10, 1814.

It was curious to observe the calmness and inflexible placidity of countenance, so remarkably characteristic of his nation and race, of the young Peruvian. Not the smallest appearance of emotion pervaded it. An unaltered smile, and an inflexible seat, were preserved from first to last. He was a tall thin young man of dark complexion, nearly black, and round faced.

The king of Spain has his choice of palaces, and the world an ample fund of descriptions of them. The royal family reside as little as possible at Madrit, and, to be seen, must be followed to the *Sitios*. The system acted upon in this respect is considered rather as the effect of aversion in the one instance, than particular predilection in any other. Yet his majesty's unmitigated passion for the chase is sufficient, simply, to account for the routine of royal establishment and life; which however is unfortunate for all parties, as the residence of a court here seems the only chance of that due expenditure, and consequent circulation, which could give some life to the civic body.

The *Retiro** is a delightful situation for this climate, but seems condemned as inadequate, to judge by the sums expending in the scorching and arid glare of the new palace, looking at that place where a river ought to be. This expenditure, all sunk without return, would be sufficient to render bankrupt some respectable nations of Europe. In any other point, save this of laying out the money,—such, for instance, as that of getting into occupation of it, here appears no haste whatever.

November and December, 1784.—This being the time of the year when the royal family are at the Escurial, an interesting tract, the mountains of St. Ildefonso†, is to be crossed by those whose business or interest calls them to the court. In the journey they may, if they please, find variety of matter to excite the mind. Palaces are laid before the public in print and copper-plate already, in every point of view in which a quadrangle may be placed (and in some in which the object was never yet seen); and these national structures here, have their walls chequered with windows, and apartments with pictures, in arithmetical profusion. They constitute no part of the present investigations. But the Escurial, in its very name, so ominous too for the picturesque,

* Since this was written the Retiro has, like Montserrat, had dubbed or inflicted on it a military character. Both received their fatal blow, like the poor stag in the fable, from the unexpected side. Later events give the Pyrenees, too, a character they were hardly expected to appear under, tending to call up recollections nearly dormant. But in regard to the Retiro, it is an eminence on the right-hand to a person standing at the north gate, or Puerta de Meala, and facing the country. It is indeed the commanding ground of Madrit, to a certain point,—the only spot available in a military point of view, but it does not dominate over the town. It was in former days covered in a deep gloom of lofty elms, which seemed, by their over-growth, to scorn the quadrangular plans of their *scientific* planters.

† These now memorable mountains have since defeated the calculations of Bonaparte. Their atmosphere is cruel, and their roads can hardly be called accesses. A splendid *chaussée* was, it is true, extant here; but then here was also the difficulty—how to get at it.

(*scoria*, dross of mines,) supplies a due idea of the verdure which is to greet the eye around; and its plan, the form of the *gridiron* whereon the saint expired; that of the taste which projected it, and the pleasing reflections, for ideas should harmonize in combination, which it must give birth to. At Saint Ildefonso water-works are seen in their full projectile power; and there the artist may boast the unique success of having compounded trees, rocks, and water, in such a manner as completely to spoil them all. For the place, as it came from the hands of Nature, must have been a delightful spot. It is really melancholy to see the vast accumulations of labour, time, and capital, inevitably sunk, not only here but all over Europe, in deforming those beauties, by absurdities which it is afterwards beyond the power of man to redress.

Pictures, it has been already mentioned, are beyond numeration in Spain. They are in themselves well capable of compensating the man of taste for a visit to this part of the world. He will here find masterpieces from artists whose names may have hardly reached him, not generally known specimens of their art, from those of celebrity. The famous picture of Nuestra Sinora del Pez, which rivals, and, in the opinion of the most consummate *cognoscenti*, excels the Transfiguration, as a scientific piece of the art, without the splendour possessed by the other, is somewhat injured by the warping of the boards of larch whereon it is painted. This circumstance, of its having been painted on wood, should have prevented it from being placed in so variable a climate as this of the Escurial. The disquisition upon this picture in Pons's work, a treatise upon painting, in itself long as a disquisition, but compendious as a treatise, was written by Joseph Henry, Esq. of Straffan in Ireland, and has been translated, from the judgement and taste conveyed in it, into the Spanish language. It is fully adequate, and it is probably also requisite, for the purpose of putting duly in its just and strong point of view the superlative merit of this

85411

great performance, which from various reasons, the predominant one whereof is probably the want of diffusion of true taste in mankind, does not continue to excite that attention it is entitled to. A picture of exquisite merit requires study and reflection; it is necessary that its perfections should be *approfondis*, for it has more than can *strike;* a circumstance, this, attendant upon much other scientific merit in this world, which reposes unnoticed, because the investigations which call for study or labour of thought, and thus constitute the impression of a task, will ever be shunned, while indolence continues, which it will as long as human nature lasts, its ruling operative. The public is obliged to Mr. Twiss for a good engraving of this picture, probably the only one extant. This, however, can convey little more than the subject. The colouring is particularly descanted on by Mr. Henry, to whose judgement Don Anthonio Pons is a willing subscriber, bereaving himself, in this instance, in favour of it, of the exercise of that dilation and minuteness of description which prove him worthy to have ground the chisels or scraped the palettes of Michael Angelo himself.——Palaces and pictures present no new matter. The aqueduct of Segovia, with its curious effect meandering through the air above the streets and roofs of the houses, and that elegant structure of Moorish antiquity, its Al Kasr, so well known to mankind, as readers of Gil Blas, are also of sufficient recurrence. An extraordinary specimen, more worthy of attention, and leading to that painful operation of the human mind, reflection, is to be found by such as will take the trouble of looking for it, at the corner of a house in this town. It is a figure of a quadruped, in some hard stone, either granite or basalt, of undoubtedly not either Greek or Roman workmanship. It is most probably one of the few fragments or remnants of a people not sufficiently adverted to, but which once seemed destined to rule the world, which in its turn seems to have joined in the Roman cry of "*Delenda est Carthago.*"

Nature ever presents novelty, and novelty interest. Human effort, too, ought ever to be upon the stretch. It is found so here, where it is least to be expected. The affairs of this world often astonish us. Who would have thought, of meeting in mountains remote hundreds of miles from water-carriage, in a country in the best of which land-carriage is almost a nullity, with a flourishing manufacture of *mirrors!* equalling in dimensions or surpassing those of Venice. Such a thing being however here, it will be of course concluded that the institution was equal to what has been produced, that establishment and science went hand in hand, and that princely munificence, sage forecast, and patriotic sentiment, pervaded the whole from the first, and acted in concert.——Mark how a plain tale must put all this down. John Dowling, a land-surveyor*, of the county of Carlow in Ireland, was invited—by his stars—into Spain early in life, stumbled there upon the undertaking of the whole procedure, whereof he was previously unapprised, instructed himself in the process of it during its continuance, fabricated his own machinery, and now produces from his manufactory plate glass of the dimensions of fourteen feet by seven, an inch in thickness, and without a flaw. Hence have been furnished the royal palaces. It is striking to see these vast red masses rolled out from the furnaces, like lava from a volcano; this delicate and brittle substance chopped into form by great iron instruments like scythes; then, when flattened upon great metal tables, under the ponderous steel rollers, pushed, yet glowing red, off these slabs, into the ovens, to anneal; a process of several months. Let all the still ensuing process, to which they are to be subjected, be considered too, and all to come out, not an

* His countrymen will understand what this occupation means. It is the measuring out, every year, what are called corn acres; portions of tillage ground taken at the rate of the utmost farthing that the produce and labourer can afford, to put a crop in, for the season, by poor cottagers.

article of trade, for here is no land-carriage, but of magnificence! Thus, too, this sumptuous and profuse article of royal furniture is all supplied by the invention nearly of one man! For although Mr. Twiss has asserted, for what reason it is impossible to conceive, that the workmen came from Birmingham; Mr. Dowling, in contradiction to this statement, positively declares, that not an English subject was ever yet in his employment. Could Mr. Twiss have been deceived by the energy of the spirit of labour which the artisans have caught here? In a country where the arts of life were in any degree established, such a procedure could, it is obvious, have no more taken place than it could have been required. The undertaker of a new speculation, even although he came from afar, which to the human mind is much, and was thought to possess skill in proportion as he was alien, still, had he appeared to hesitate, a proof tantamount to a moral conviction, would have been criticized; and we know there is but one step from that to condemnation. Here the projector's genius was allowed fair play and scope. When he discovered an error in the process, as he went on in it, he put it to right; and this, which is a fact, indeed, too much to his honour not to be admitted and avowed by him, proves how perfectly the whole was the produce of his own resources. Animadversion must ever check the energies of a single mind. But this, if left undiverted and unchilled by repression, will proceed the most rapidly and effectually to the attainment of an object, the superstructure of its own efforts, if otherwise possessed of the disposal of manual aid.

Mr. Dowling now lives comfortably in Madrit, upon a pension allowed him by government, competent to his wants, but by no means upon a scale of any proportion in the way of justice and liberality, which is the more observable because the Spanish government is inclined to act with dignity in its distributions. He is as plain in his manners as when he left his own country, unassuming, and apparently

unconscious of having performed any thing extraordinary. (This disposition may have affected his fortunes.) Yet it is probable he has kept within this country at least a million sterling of money. There are some services that cannot be remunerated on a scale proportionable to their merits. If a man and his family are placed beyond the reach of uneasiness on the subject of the calls of life, for him and his, they are put in possession of the most substantial happiness this world affords. So far these services have been remunerated. Although Spain is, in certain points of view, a poor country, it will be found, as daily experience will teach the sojourner, by no means a cheap one. This gentleman, who has no children, lives comfortably, and certainly contentedly, himself, his wife, and their two servants, the whole *menage*, on about four hundred pounds sterling a-year, in the capital. Indeed, what anxiety can a man feel, who does not game, for money in a country according to the manners of which privations are not wants, and where money itself bears no price (of interest)? To what purpose can money be applied, under such circumstances, to profit by it? (And this is a secondary deductive item in the long catalogue of the grievances affecting Spain.) But how different is the situation above recited, from that of the style of life of our great manufacturers at home! Upon the subject of private life here, one fact is, the Spaniards have no taste for what we call the pleasures of the table; and what we feel or consider as privations, or conveniences, are objects neither of regret nor of desire to them. Two men of (military) rank will sit down to their *puchero*, a small jug of stewed meat and *garvanzos*, which homely fare they wash down with a spoonful of light wine in a glass of iced water, and betake themselves each to his couch and siesta, rising thence refreshed and in good spirits, after another glass of iced water, for the amusements of the evening; for life may hardly be said to begin to be felt, as with the

mosquitas, until about sun-set, here. This, and perhaps a dish of chocolate in the morning, completes all that is looked for on the score of human sustenance for the twenty-four hours. Indeed, a Spaniard of the upper class appears to take his meal as if he considered it a duty rather than a gratification. They have a sentence in the language, "Olives, bread, and a salad, are the diet for a gentleman." Herein, as in the whole tenor of their characteristics, this may truly be defined a nation of philosophers; not in the sense in which the term is understood by the convivial knights of Twelfth Night, but in the way the term is applied colloquially, significant of stoicism. If by all their privations, in the catalogue whereof the table is but a diminutive item, they possess wherewith to gratify a costly passion,—that passion is gaming, the love of which is deeply seated in the human mind here, and pervades all ranks. It is an unfortunate but sure indication of mental energy, that must have sought, and perhaps seeks in vain, for a better outlet. A Spaniard, in whose mind chivalry is not yet extinct, likes, too, a good horse; but menage, furniture, table conviviality, all that we northern people prize life for, in the way of luxuries, gratifications, conveniences, and even necessaries, have no charms for him. One bad and obvious consequence of this is, that trade and the social arts, whereby so many live, have but little encouragement. Neither is reading by any means general; for here cannot be any turn for that variety of literature which sets the mind in activity, because the thing does not exist here, as it pervades England, France, and Germany. Gallantry (more dignified it must be admitted than gaming or feasting) is made a business of life, and the cortejo system occupies the principal portion of the duration of it. Of course little progress is made in any other direction.

At this season, winter, the merinos at home and in their warm quarters, the stranger, unequal to the hardy Spaniard who braves all the severi-

ties of temperature, hastens to leave houses the only defence of which against such a climate consists in paper windows, and where the only resource is cowering over the pestiferous *brazera*, which the Spaniard, enveloped in his cloak, rarely deigns to approach. We have noticed him at his table above the wants and gratifications of other men. Still, a true stoic, he appears equally unaffected by exterior assault, perfectly resigned to what he cannot mend, a climate and the seasons; he meets them with the firmness of poor Lear, but without calling in desperation to his aid. In a room the *dégarniment* whereof prevents his concentration being relaxed, without a blaze or any substitute by way of heat, by the light of a lamp, muffled in his cloak, despising the aid of artificial spirits, and with no considerable recurrence to literature, supported only by the resources of a pinch of snuff or a segar, in a prospect before him which would send others in droves to suicide, the self-possessing Spaniard will pass his winter evenings. Unquestionably he bears the palm from all mankind for consistency of character. His carriage, his gesture, his sonorous language, and the measured precision wherewith he delivers it, his habits of œconomical life, all hold fast to one moral link,—the dignity of man. In the article of œconomics, it is to be observed, the Spaniard's table* is literally his *board*. In way of bedding, two tressels support a bundle of cane rods, spread out to

* About the Sitios, and also in towns, is seen here and there written over the door of a private house, "*Aqui se guisa de comer*," "Here food is dressed;" indicating that a man who has money in his pocket is insured against starving for so much. At the price of about four *reals*, a plate of this by no means ill-dressed (*guisado* is the term) fare, perhaps sheep's tongues stewed, with bread, is obtained, or sent where required. This, eaten by the gloom of a lamp, and washed down by a glass of water, constitutes the evening comforts of a philosophic Spaniard, who would consider the imputation of *ennui* under such circumstances an insult. He affords the only instance in human nature of that inestimable possession, independence, which, unless it exists in the mind, is to be sought in vain, belonging to man; unsupported and unfoutered by the aid and resource of *literature*.

receive over them a thin mattress, a pair of sheets, and a coverlet: such is all required for this comfort of life. These light materials are easily rolled off, and put *de côté* for the day; then the apartment becomes as fit as any other for general purposes. As to bedding, on the route; if the traveller be satisfied with a pair of sheets, among the other requisites found, and look no further, he will usually meet his wish; but should he be possessed by a troublesome spirit of investigation, he had better carry his own. This is a point which the native takes little interest in: but we shall hereafter have occasion to take him in this point of view, sure ever to find him the same man.

But to return, for the present, to mountain scenery. The months of the winter solstice are by no means the season to enjoy these enchanting landscapes; that is, so much of them as has escaped the lacerating and indelible hand of Palatial taste. This tract does not appear to have been ever duly explored geologically. Its botany would probably, in a considerable measure, correspond with our latitude at home, collating the ratios of elevation with the affinitive degrees, upon the earth's surface, from the equator. The herbage has all the delightful verdure of England or Ireland. The tract is clothed with that delicate and incessantly springing short grass so prizable for the flock and the dairy. Above, just duly sufficient to shade this, is a loose forest of umbrella-headed trees—oaks of the dwarf species—for they do not reach the size to which they attain in England or Germany—but as objects of the picturesque they are no less pleasing. The never-failing herbage is fostered by the coolness of the nights and the heavy dews; and the days in this happy climate are too short to burn it up when the sun is most powerful. The tract may be defined to lie within the vaporous region. It is a summer range of the celebrated merinos, and is stocked with red and fallow deer.

Mr. Dowling, who passed many years of his life in and about St. Ildefonso, in the course of adverting to the progress of his manufactory, had frequently been eye-witness to a very surprising occurrence here—deer swallowing live serpents. He describes the fact as follows:—The deer, after discovering, examines the serpent for some time; he then places both his fore feet successively on it, standing somewhat straddling, so as to keep the reptile distended to its utmost length. He has probably in the first instance secured the head. The deer then puts his mouth down to the middle of the snake, thereby taking it in; and then raising his head and neck to a horizontal level with his body, and protruding his chin so as to make his head align with his neck, he appears to suck the snake down double, moving the jaws for the purpose, but not chewing; the head and tail of the reptile, writhing, being the last parts of it seen. This strange appetite and extraordinary process Mr. Dowling had seen numerous instances of. It brings to mind the "*Cervi pasti serpente medulla*" (a necromantical ingredient) of the poet.

Another incident in natural history, not altogether so unaccountable, but rather uncommon to observation, is the communication of an eye-witness too, a fellow traveller, and Neapolitan royal messenger. (Cabinet conferences must be very deliberate, at least, when the communications are made in them from Naples to Madrit, upon the same horse.) Toads eat larks! For this purpose they must to be sure catch them, and so they do; and before the sky falls too! How Nature provides for all her productions! She has not neglected among them the despised toad, which "bears a precious jewel in his head." Precious to him, for it is his eye. The eye of a toad is proverbially bright, and bright eyes we all know are very fascinating things. This too the poor lark finds to his cost; for, soaring in his elevation of flight and gaiety of song, he is struck at, not by a mousing owl, but by something

still lower, a cowering toad, and dies by it. Poor bird! little aware of his danger, and apparently far enough from any being, as much beyond the reach of net or gun as of the doctor's pill, to appearance, he is smitten all at once by a glance of an eye, and falls a prey to fascination. As if planet-struck, or rather drawn by an irresistible attraction into a vortex, it advances to meet its fate, or flutters against the overpowering impulse, until, at length, the tragedy is concluded by its descending into the mouth of the persevering quadruped, whose exertion confines itself, a good exemplification of the power inflexibility can give to feebleness, to keeping his eye invariably directed to his object. According hereto, the catching of this poor bird by mirrors is but an imitation of the process of Nature, who, we see here, as elsewhere, has provided the animals the most wretched that she has sent into the world, with the means of taking care of themselves, if duly exerted, while in it. A cat possesses a somewhat similar power over the bird species, as probably also does the snake. And a like procedure is observed to take place with the spider and his prey the fly.

The severity of a Segovian winter is not to be judged of by any hardship that can be experienced in the north of Europe. But thaw is colder than frost. Here occurs frost enough to charge the air with cold, but not enough to put that cold in action. The winter here is a continual struggle between these two contending principles; frost bringing with it no dryness, its antagonist thaw bringing no warmth." It is not sufficient to say that winter reigns here. He reigns in Russia, but here he never rests. His sceptre is wielded as actively as absolutely, and certainly he has most loyal and acquiescing subjects. He is master of all within doors as well as without. The architecture of the district, at least, is conformable with such a principle. The windows are not constructed either to admit light or exclude weather; two qualifications

we think somewhat necessary in such a country. In fact, if the Spaniard be so far better provided than Augustus was, who, according to Arbuthnot, had no shirt to his back; still he labours under the master of the world's other desideratum, of having no glass to his windows. The radical term *fenestra*, contrary to the concomitant idea, is literally and practically adhered to. In a hot climate darkness is coolness; and this is one of the many points in life wherein sensation is the strongest argument that can be adduced in any way.

The royal life is devoted to the chase, and the monarch possesses an inflexible mind (on the subject) contained in a body more impregnable to the elements than iron itself. Nothing, moral or physical, but a church ceremony or festival, can prevent the exercise of this favourite pursuit, against which, weather or time, obstacles or calls, obtrude themselves in vain. The life of the poor gardes de corps, during all this procedure, is wretched beyond description. His majesty, under the ægis of clothing, wherein he secures himself, as many-folded as the shield of Ajax, and judiciously too, in part, of the same materials, for leather enters partially into the composition of it, may brave the storm and sleet, exposed to which he waits, the image of Patience, seven hours with his gun in his hand, for the game aroused to pass the ordeal of his aim. But during this time the poor garde de corps, uncloked, sits in squadron (if the image of Patience, certainly not entitled to the palm of it,) shivering on his horse, and returns at night (this noble- or gentleman) to the wretched pittance his few reals of pay can procure him, in the dearest spot perhaps on earth, and then is obliged to betake himself to his bed, from mere destitution of fire and candle-light. The warfare his majesty has so long and so successfully waged against the animals *feræ naturæ*, the beasts of the forests, is well known. The northern hero fed the raven; Charles the Third feeds the monarch of the

air. It is impossible to conceive, hardly to believe the senses, in regard to the extent of the olfactory powers of these birds, or the rapidity and diffusion of those particles by which they are affected. In little more than five minutes from the time the quarry of game is opened, and their intestines exposed, the eagles are seen urging on their approach of flight, from the remotest verge of the horizon within human ken. Two battalions of Catalonian light infantry, called here *Mignones*, are employed in beating up the game for the royal amusement. They are a fine body of men, but the Arragonian soldier seems to be spoken of with most deference by military characters. Some part of the twenty-four hours is inapplicable to hunting, and this, the winter evenings, his majesty passes at cards, playing for *reals*, and being described as very tenacious in exacting prompt payment of his winnings. Every trait seen or related of this monarch indicates a good mind, capable of enjoyment of light gratifications. Such is the gayer scene! For ceremonials, no doubt, here must be place. The most regular among these is the irksome farce of dining under public inspection. That of *besamanos*, or the payment of respect, is only permitted on festival-days. It is performed in Indian file, to borrow a military idea, and with Indian rapidity. Still it lasts long enough to exercise, and indeed exhaust, the patience of some of the branches of the royal family, who do not seem to be duly possessed of that very necessary quality of their high rank. In this ceremonious procedure, which takes place before the royal family (not party, for each individual has his dining apartment,) sits down to table, the file of personages who present themselves, diplomatists, military and official people, all in short of due rank to place themselves in file and full dress, meander through the place, from one apartment to another, each person, on his knee, kissing the hand of the royal personage into whose presence he comes; the business or ceremo-

nial concluding with the termination of the file. Speaking merely of circumstances, and without the smallest intent of disparagement to persons, the life of the royal palace of this truly great nation is very like that of animals in a menagerie, certainly not more intellectual. They are shown, at meals*, to such as come to look at them. At other times each remains within a respective cell. And this state of things pervades over all the inmates of these vast buildings. The ladies of the court, highly respectable personages, several still of Irish descent, receive their visitors each at the entrance of her apartment. Indeed it seems to be somewhat a point of etiquette here, that during this agreeable parley the lady visited should hold the door in her hand, by way of a delicate hint to the gentleman that he cannot make his visit too short; and it may readily be concluded that, as the honour of the thing alone under such a circumstance can be the inducement, prolixity is a matter hardly to be apprehended. It may be asked here, how people, permanent residents, pass their time, or if there are no resources amongst them? In mentioning the listless destitution in which the poor gardes de corps are left, perhaps the nullity there assigned would be a less palpable defaleation, than the substitute which, in point of strict correctness, it may be proper to insert. Here is access—free to them—to a theatre, where men, *barbons*, whose faces have been long vallanced, act the parts of women!! As theatrical exhibitions cannot take place without light, and this blessing of life is here attainable to these gentlemen free of ex-

* This strange infliction upon royalty did more harm to the lamented Louis XVI. than more serious matters, or than those can imagine who were not in the way to observe occurrences now better not recorded. How often do people avail themselves of the superior powers of private life to order even their domestic servants out of the room! These are no times for individuals to be subject to indiscriminate criticism then; to the wanton and emulous malignity of mankind. The office of *écuyer tranchant*, and its collateral conferences of dignity, being now obsolete, why adhere to the *inutile lignum*, which produced no fruit save contempt?

pense; those whose nerves are adequate to the sustaining the sight of the wrongs here inflicted upon poets and human nature, collect in the evening for the purpose. The infliction upon the spectators must be the heavier, as the Spaniards have a vehement taste for theatrical exhibitions. Many of these military gentlemen too are Flamands, and have a recollection of the good things of life they left at home in their own country. Many again are Irish, who have no such datum to found a recollection on. So much for public exhibition, to enlarge the scope of the mind and influence public mainners (for the better, of course,) at the *Sitios!*

The rallying point in the day-time for the sojourners here, is the hour when his majesty sits down to his solitary and temperate dinner; one not to be envied by a hermit in its substantials, any more than in its concomitants. For the rest, the mornings are passed in sauntering about the piazzas and corridors in cloaks; the evenings in gloomy visits in apartments. A distinguished individual may have an evening party where ease prevails: but this is a gratification few can attain. The corps diplomatique takes good care to make up a pleasant society for itself.

Here is a coffee-house upon a small scale, where the usual refreshments are obtained, and the use of the liquor by us called punch would seem to begin somewhat to prevail over national abstemiousness. But the fact is, that it is a foreign taste, and only upheld by foreign influence. No Spaniard ever becomes what is called a steady toper.

The stable establishment of royalty, upon the national plan, is, as well as the military, conducted on principles rather new to us. The horses are as closely packed, side by side, up to the mangers, as live stock in a ship; and cannot lie down; indeed never do. This would be thought a system tending directly to founder our horses; but these do

not appear to suffer by it. An animal which can go through the extent of its existence, appropriating so very small a portion of the time to repose, of any description, was evidently intended for action beyond what the mere dictates of its nature instigate or claim. The cast horses of the cavalry meet their fate in amphitheatric warfare. As the contest is attended with about equal loss, it is probable, could the combatants speak, each would do it with equal exultation of success. As, however, the parties concerned are not the tellers of their own stories, a correct estimate may be made of the gains and losses of such a campaign as this is.——But to return to the point digressed from. Be it now finally observed, that of the many veterans of the species introduced upon the *arena*, very few appear foundered in the feet or shaken in the shoulders; so that it may be concluded, however contrary it may appear to the ordinary process of nature, and actually is to our ideas and practice, that the system does not injure the animal.

Segovia, as seated in this district, is the centre of the wool-trade; and here, in the proper season, is the place to view the important processes of the *mesta* system; as extraordinary a branch of statistics as the world can produce, and almost as useful abroad as destructive at home. Much and variety of matter is furnished in this interesting neighbourhood to such as are curious. The *mesta*, although a derivative, has become as heavy an evil upon Spain, as any of those radical ones the accumulation whereof now grinds her into dust. Mischief to her grows out of this introduced grievance in every shape. The denudation of wood ensuing upon it is no trifling one, for it has admittedly influenced by desiccation the climate. The shepherd claims by right to cut, during his rambles, one branch from every tree, to make his *rancho* or hut: The effect hereof is obvious to the mind and the eye. It would be better for the community to construct villas for them. Investigators.

are not agreed as to the origin of this *mesta* system. Perhaps the real tap-root of it is to be traced in the tendency of all land proprietors to stock rather than populate or till their lands:—all would be shepherd-kings. The same principle prevailed in England; and hence the inclosing system, so little to be expected and so beneficial in its result, was derived. No such good consequence has been derived here, and its effect is directly contrary. Unfortunately Spain seems to have a tendency to devolve upon *erroneous* statistical principles. England, at that time, had not a funded capital for thrift to throw its accretions into; nor had nor has Spain; nor is it the disposition of the people here to accumulate in that way. Cattle is capital (*pecus et oves, pecunia et opes*); its increase is the compound interest of that capital. The man who has all his life, or whose predecessors, as an example to him, have dealt in live stock, prefers it to paper stock; just as much as the citizen prefers his compact and manageable mode of tenure. But the world can no longer submit to the rule of shepherd-kings. They are as obnoxious to national wealth in the present day, as they were odious to the Egyptians of old. Feeding is now but ancillary to tillage. It is by the plough, and the capital which sets it going, that nations are to thrive and prosper. A plague, and the expatriation of the industrious and agricultural Moors, laid Spain into a sheep-walk. Thus both physical and moral evil have co-operated; but still the system would have been inconclusive, had it not been sustained by *systematic* bad policy. Here we enter upon the long and black catalogue of the evils of this afflicted nation. It may be alleged that these two devastations, whatever effect they may have had elsewhere, could have effected little in those tracts consigned to the *mesta*; which having been so long the theatre of intestine warfare, were in a state hardly capable of deterioration. This is true so far as it goes. Even the word *merino* is not

altogether etymologized. There seems not a doubt that the breed came from beyond sea, to Spain, by the return of the galleons, when she headed Europe as a trading nation, and that they were then what we now see upon our Coteswold hills. The English fleece was then light. Shakspeare, whom nothing escaped, and, *en outre*, whose father was a wool-stapler, tells us, "every eleventh wether tods." Such is the calculation of his farmer's son, and he would hardly have put an inaccuracy into his mouth. This brings the fleece to about two pounds and a half; light clothing for a wether in the present day. The term *merino* is evidently in contradistinction to the home breed, and they were obviously sought after from the superiority of the fleece. They judiciously, or perhaps fortunately, assimilated their climate to them; for that which they, under regulation, enjoy, perfectly resembles the softer and more humid atmospheres of England. Still, however, from the great elevation of the summer tracts, the air is so sharp that, if they be not housed after shearing, many ewes perish,—just as would be the case with us if the weather should take a severe turn at that time. This is in the mountain stations, for the winter in Estremadura is about what a humid autumn is in England in point of sensation. The thermometer is not a perfectly conclusive criterion upon this point. Equation of climate is what produces fineness of quality; extremes running it to coarseness; and this equation is obtained for it here by the *mesta* system, paid for, it must be admitted, a great deal too dear.

Tillage, as repeatedly observed, is the true basis of all statistics and œconomics; and the fleece, or market supply, ought, as much as manufacture and commerce, to be engrafted thereon. If the others take the lead to its detriment, the state every where suffers, though not always perhaps to the extent as here in Spain, where the evil is so deeply rooted in the most incurable place, the heads of the people, and so

concatenated with other mischiefs in its progress, that nothing but a natural or political convulsion could eradicate it. And its operations at second hand go considerably in aid of the other political evils of this ill-fated country. Pons, and more especially Bowles, are communicative on this subject, so far as their views of it reach; a point considerably, however, short of its extent or range, of which they were by no means duly apprised. Epidemy and emigration could not have done what we see, had not the very constitution of the state, the *mayorazgo* system, the *jus majoratus*, lent its powerful aid. This is the true nurse, if the expression be allowable, of depopulation. Although Spain never recovered the effects of the plague of the fourteenth century, yet in Mohammedan countries, otherwise politically constituted, this scourge is hardly to be traced after the short lapse of thirty years. Before the subject of the merinos is dismissed, of which travellers to the latest day have yet left a considerable quantity of matter behind them, let some notice be taken of the appetite of this animal for salt. Nature must have a meaning in it. It is much diminished when the flock arrives from an argillaceous upon a calcareous soil, which of course contains, *quoad* them, a substitute for the mineral, and is congenial to the constitution of the sheep. On the former it becomes ravenous for this substance. Their allowance is increased or diminished accordingly. Pigeons, it is well known, possess a similar propensity for both substances. Where they cannot get salt they pick lime. This is matter humbly submitted to the consideration of those liable to heavy losses in their flocks by the rot; an evil not known in Ireland, where the soil is chiefly calcareous. The merinos are considered to be part of the staple wealth of Spain, and undoubtedly are far more efficient in their returns than her colonies. They constitute, too, the greatest private revenues. Yet it is by no means clear, on calculation, a process farmers of the superior

classes of life are by no means fond of entering on, that the proprietor makes a shilling of our money a head annually of his flock. In the Castilles and Arragon but one house is seen in the course of a day's travelling. In Estremadura the case is said to be very little improved. Such is the losing game this nation continues for others, thankless, to thrive by. For amelioration several things are necessary; a knowledge of the evil, and a discovery and possession of a remedy; and all are here equally remote. Hence, unless the hand of Providence interfere, national amendment in its political concerns must be left all to time and the chapter of accidents. Internal consumption, however, it is evident from the modes of the people, can have very little effect on the wool-trade. That of the upper classes is very trifling. The beau himself is more distinguished by the splendour and massiveness of his buckles, the length of the quarters of his shoes, than by the variety and strength of his wardrobe. Except the winter cloak, too, this wardrobe is composed of other materials than those which the flocks supply. By the way, it is curious to observe the penchant of the men of all ages here for the most gay and fluttering drapery. When a female dare not appear in the streets, unless under danger of being mobbed, without her *jupon noir* and veil, sexagenaries of the male sex flaunt about in light silks, as gay in appearance, that is, until the grim visage shows itself, as so many butterflies turned out by a summer's day. They choose, too, the most soft and delicate colours; pink and sky blue! Thus they are often seen in weather which would drive the effeminate hyperborean to his pelisse. As to the lower classes, with the single exception of the cloak, of which *one* stands the *pelting* of many winters, the consumption of woollen is very trifling indeed. The stocking manufactory, which takes off such a quantity of our course material, is obviously a nullity in Spain. The peasant, with reason, prefers palmita

saudals to shoes; and leggings cut out of an old cloak, there, are more eligible than stockings. Thus the army remains the only internal and regular demand. And how trivial must this be, compared to the enormous weight of the sheep stock! How invariably must the commercial system of Spain operate to internal deterioration! The shepherd class is fain to take his clothing, hide and all, as the animal bequeaths it, scorning to call in the aid of manufacture. By the dexterity of these men with their slings, they should be a fragment of the Balearic stock of old. They say kings have long hands; and such the Spanish flock finds to be the ease with its lord and master. The shepherd, too, equals his dog in vigilance and activity, the dog his master in judgement and sagacity. In short, the system, when taken to pieces, and viewed in its component parts, or put together and viewed as a whole, is equally wonderful. Considered as mutton, the produce of the merino flock, poor as it is, is adequate to what is wanted for people who desire no better. The genius of their *cuisine* does not require it. A naval officer, however, here, whose stock of patience had probably been exhausted by an anfractuous attendance at court, after a laborious and tedious struggle with a joint of St. Ildefonso mutton, which was placed before him for his dinner, renounced the contest at last in despair, with the expression, "*Mucho trabaxo y poco provecho;*" analogous to our phrase, "Much cry and little wool,"—the shearing the hog. An English farmer might be stimulated by curiosity to ask a question relative to the state of the tallow trade in a country of which sheep constitute so great a portion of the statistic; and in his first visit to Madrit, with three millions of merinos in his recollection, would probably be rather surprised to find that money was sent out of the country to procure such an article as suet. Yet such is the case, and to a considerable extent, judging by the number of *affiches* up in the capital and elsewhere, announcing

that "*Aqui se vende cebo de Flandes*" or "*de Olanda.*"—"Here is sold Flemish or Dutch suet." So that the merchant's and tradesman's profit, and sea and land carriage expenses, are imposed upon an œconomic article, which the hills within view of Madrit are competent to the production of! Finally; for Spain to thrive, she should reduce her sheep establishment within due limits.

Taking leave of the mountainous tract, more particularly Segovia, the head-quarters of the artillery, for which service there appears a difficulty of obtaining men sufficiently tall, (for the standard here would be by no means considered adequate any where else in Europe,) and of its elegant Al Kasr, now appropriated to the use of a military academy, to which it is not characteristically or otherwise adapted; Madrit is to be taken in the route for the south of Spain, whither now both time and season imperatively call.

Madrit, December 1784.—This city is best visited in summer, and a mountain excursion will be the most gratifying part of the visit. At that season here the nights are delightful, beyond any idea that can be formed in other climates, and the heats of day are not more than what a traveller makes up his mind to, when he enters these latitudes.

The main desiderata of Madrit are fuel and water; rather necessary ingredients in human œconomics, in a situation so very subject to the inconvenient extremes and transitions of heat and cold. A handsome bridge should indicate a river; but it requires some activity of investigation, even with this clue, to discover it. "Its dimensions to one of thick sight are invisible." A wit (for these pests of society exist every where) has told us, in epigram, that one day missing the Manzanares, on casting his eyes up its bed, he found an ass had drunk it dry! If water be not, however, good wine is, found, by crossing this bridge; which is therefore done. This is only noticeable as illustrative of the

state of things—two miles intervening between a man's dinner and his wine! Probably so much the better for him, were it always so; but elsewhere he would find things much more conveniently allotted him for his money. It may easily be supposed that milk forms an item in the catalogue of Madrit desiderata. An English traveller and writer of travels made the first claim of hospitality in a house, on presenting his credentials, for a draught of milk, forgetting he was not in patriarchal life. This was in autumn too. The remark of the lady in speaking of the occurrence (not the lady whose name he has so ungallantly, but unquestionably innocently, brought before the public) was, that she must have been thought by her guest a most vile churl; for she was obliged to tell him she could as soon, at that season, find the philosopher's stone. As suet is the produce, so the butter here is of the manufacture, of Holland. It is asserted, that the Dutch purchase the damaged Irish butter, restore it by the use of sugar of lead, and re-export it.

This town is indeed a dreadful Christmas station for those who know the comforts of the North of Europe. Sleet and rain, cutting winds and hail, damp clothing, stone floors, and ill-shut windows, with no comfortable chimney-corner or sea-coal blaze to run to!—all together present a very cheerless winter picture. Not four houses in Madrit possess that luxury we call a fire-place. One endowed with this blessing is a hotel; and foreigners cling about it like flies to a stove. They contrive to procure some billet-wood at an enormous rate and in scanty proportion. But the ordinary fuel of Madrit is charcoal brought from Biscay! and on block-wheel cars! Every British subject may not be aware of the meaning of this term; and it may therefore, perhaps, be necessary to add in explanation, that in this machinery the wheels and axle are all compact. It may be judged how rapid must be their progress in a country which imports its grease. The rationale of the

plan (for every thing, however absurd, must have its reason) is, that the noise, unquestionably too much for human ears, overpowers even those of the wolves, habituated as they must be by their own howlings to the key, and frightens them off from attacking the cattle. But it is a remnant of Scythian custom and Scythian pride, which to this day piques itself upon making some noise, no matter what, in its progress through the world, and adopts, or at least makes a boast of, this. So wretched a system of land carriage must, as may be supposed, make fuel a costly article in this capital. *En revanche*, very little of it is used. Culinary operations are carried on in the garrets. A few stew-holes, one for the puchero, containing some slices or rather bones of meat, fowl, bacon, and garvanzos, the greater the variety the better; the others with saucers of vegetables placed on do the business; and a few handfulls of charcoal suffice for the process, which is slow and sure. Tomatas and red pepper are the predominant legumes. Here are also some more peculiar to the climate; but which, though in estimation with the people themselves, are not much relished by foreigners. Let it not be supposed, however, but that the Spanish cuisine has some variety. It has its *olla* (whence is derived probably the term *olio*, which we seem to have condescended to adopt from this language), *gaspacho*, *quisado*, *frito*, *adobado*, and so forth. Although oil, garlic, and saffron predominate throughout, the person who could not *in due time* assimilate his palate to these dishes would be too hard to please. The *gaspacho* is a comfortable travelling composition, and is used for breakfast. It consists of bread sliced, and fried with oil, vinegar, pepper, salt, and garlic. The whole is then made into a soup. The bread of Madrit is unequalled for fineness and for whiteness; and fruits of various kinds, but more particularly white figs of superlative flavour, abound during the season. The melons are piled in the market as we see round shot on a

battery; they are green in the inside, and are far more unequal in quality than those the produce of our gardens at home. But as they are sold for next to nothing, if one in three turn out good they are a cheap article, and within the reach of almost every one. The Spaniards, whom Nature formed gay, and morals rendered grave, though it cannot be said phlegmatic, have a strong relish for theatrical amusements; for music, both national and exotic; for humour, and more particularly for that branch of it which we vulgarly call *slang*. Bars, almost insuperable, exist as to either the gratification or refinement of the public taste. Among their modern pieces, the fable of one turns upon the hackneyed subject of an impostor;—a pretended man of family and fortune, who offers himself to an heiress. This is handled in a peculiar manner in one respect, which instances a curious latent trait of nationality. He is discovered of course, and the contrast of degradation is sunk as deep as possible; but how? by making him—a *shoemaker!* Who could dream of meeting the ancient Egyptian antipathy to the cutter of a skin in modern Spain!——But to revert. Female parts are acted by boys, to this day, until their voices crack: and even after. Wonderful it is, but we frequently see and hear the sentiments delivered by them with an expression and justness which excite regret that they should ever outgrow their trade. It is unaccountable how much superior the acting of that period of life here is to any other branch of the profession*. The *gracieux*, the buffoon in another word, is a very conspicuous and active personage, as is too the arch enemy of mankind, whose costume is very original; black, with a red sash. He is tolerably ostensible in the comedy of an unknown

* When a Spanish actor comes to what may be termed recitation, (although his audience might exclaim here, with Polonius, "This is too long,") he delivers it with great justness; and of this the audience, by its applause, possesses a full sensation.—This is a favourable symptom.

author, entitled *El Diablo Predicador*, The Devil in the Pulpit *. The numerous writers on theatrical subjects, and their voluminous works, prove the strong natural penchant in this direction. How comes it then that so little progress has been made in a branch of human morals so important; one which calls for the statesman's fosterage, the patriot's countenance? As to tragi-comedy, it is too analogous to human life not to be popular with every people not absurd enough to shackle themselves under arbitrary rules about being pleased. Of course it predominates on the Spanish theatre. The state of gravity or refinement of a people is to be judged of by what they applaud on a theatre, where the emotion may be gratified unanimadverted on. Actors know too, right well, what will hit that which they are pleased to call public taste, and are little scrupulous as to the moral of what they expect will excite a plauditory noise. They ought, however, to recollect how much of the prevalence of good or evil through the community depends on them. Nothing particularly gross is to be complained of in this point of view here in Spain. But the non-appearance of the first classes of society at the theatres here, is a substantial matter of censure. The counte-

* Literature, and the state of literature, every where, from its dawning, is of too great consequence not to call for the first advertence in all who volunteer in the service of the grand cause of the welfare of human nature. The theatre affords the most diffusive mode of conveying, as well as the most comprehensive means of judging, public moral taste. The circumstances of this composition here mentioned are peculiar. It does not appear to have been read by Laborde. Peyron, a French traveller, has given it to the French public, judiciously curtailed of some diffuse and verbose discursive scenes, of a description characteristic too of the Spanish drama; but as utterly remote from general taste, as from the subject itself. Peyron's work, through *Spanish interference*, was *suppressed* at Paris. It is impossible to account for such an interference, for the work has nothing in the slightest degree offensive in it. Could the Inquisition have been meddling here, and could this curious and extraordinary performance have been the inducement to it to do so? The question must be left as it is.—As to the play itself, it is produced as a strong specimen of three qualities very strongly engrafted in the human mind in Spain,—energy of thought, delicacy of sentiment, and low humour.

nance of government itself could not convey due support without their assistance, and it is not given. The obstacles to this and all other literary improvements are to be found in two deep-seated and powerful causes; in religion, and politics: in an inquisition, and a foreign dynasty*: in a busy and meddling spirit of interference in the one, in a dread of aught carrying the appearance of nationality in the other. The steps taken, however, to Frenchify (by way of Bourbonizing) Spain, are not very seductive. It is the fashion in France to wear triangular, in Spain to wear circular hats. The civilization of a people, we know, consists in bringing them to think, or to say that they think, exactly as we do, more particularly on points utterly unimportant to either party; and in prevailing on them to act like us, when their own senses demonstrate to them that they should do the direct contrary. A cloak and a round hat are (next to a patriarchal beard) the strongest proofs of national barbarity; and their extinction once effected, this wise procedure was to completely humanize the uncouth dregs of Gothicism and Vandalism. In consequence, it was duly proclaimed, that whosoever entered within the precincts of a royal *Sitio* should, previously thereto, execute a geometrical process within those of his *sombrero*, and modify this same, from its circular form, into an equilateral triangle. Even here, in the very term is a pestilent gall to the poor Spaniard; his

* Since this was written, things have completely changed upon this point. The Spaniards have elected a king, a Spaniard like themselves, and all will (by the grace of Divine Providence) go on *accordingly well*. A spirit of patriotism, of national pride, not to be suppressed, because it is ever springing up anew, has carried them through their difficulties. They have proved to the world, that an imposed sceptre, a foreign yoke, were not for them. Their king will now feel identified with the nation he rules, and the splendour of the throne and prosperity of the nation will consequently and congenially extend now—*pari passu*. Observations which are general, upon things, not particulars, upon persons, *if* they are worth any thing, cannot be obsolete. The deeds and scenes of the moment pass away with it, but moral is eternal.

understanding is as much insulted by the epithet, as his face is assailed by the sun's rays, when obliged to feel exposure, and call it—*shade*. What may be a very eligible mode at Paris, may be a very inconvenient one at Madrit. But this the government considered as a mere trifle, or did not consider it at all. The cloak too is the Castillian's and Andaluzian's pride. Much of his external dignity depends on it. This too was attacked, and the wrong was too great for human endurance. "Aye! but," say some, "a round hat and a cloak give so much the idea of an assassin!" And why assassin? The very surmise, for imputation it cannot amount to, is insult heaped on insult! Let a man banish malignity from his own mind, and he will no longer see assassination in the face of his neighbour. A populace, however, is a stubborn animal, and resentive of wrong. That of Madrit arose in force; and, when roused, showed a dreadful sanguinary spirit, most cruelly treating some unfortunate Wallon soldiers, who did no more than their duty as ordered. Indeed, the enforcement of a foreign costume by an alien military body, on a nation which deservedly classes itself among the first, was a stroke of impolicy as glaring as has usually appeared in human affairs. The measures which are brought about by unostensible, and consequently by quiet means, are not, in their very success, gratifying to human pride. This disturbance was productive of consequences, the effects of which, however latent, are by no means dormant. It is useless to enter into humiliating details (any more than private anecdotes*; the *cui bono* may be applied to both); but Felix

* The great unfortunately will ever supply a harvest of this kind to such as will condescend to rake and pick up. A passion or emotion, displayed or exposed, says as much as—that we all are men—a notable discovery! Unimportant, however, as this may seem to the eye of philosophy, it conveys gratification through a vast portion of human nature.

trembled before the sovereign mob, and due care was taken, by kind interference and representation, that the shock should never be recovered from. Madrit now does not see the royal family, except for that short period of the year when the ceremonies of the church impose the virtual necessity, and even then the mental impression is too obvious. Various are the symptoms like this, adducible, that the royal family has never felt at home in Spain (a very convenient stroke of state policy to inculcate). Six thousand troops have ever since formed the garrison of Madrit, a due preponderance of which is foreign; and this in a town to the police of which, if congenial sentiments prevailed between governors and governed, one troop of cavalry should be adequate.

But, indeed, it is insufficient to say French influence prevails in the *Sitios*, and wherever court connection is established, as at Barcelona for instance. The fact *is*—it glares—it is too ostensible and obtrusive. Of course it is courted by all who wish to advance themselves in what is called the *world*, which is as much as to say a certain pre-assuming description of the classes of society. Ridiculous to think! Spanish literati are found mean enough to endeavour to please in such a quarter by Gallicising their own sonorous idiom! Such attempts must, however, be despised by all parties. Throughout the commonalty of the country at large, the French are disliked; a sentiment not, however, mingled with that contempt which the Portuguese (who by the way in all their wars with this people had the best of the contest) excite. The English are respected; but the Germans, of the catholic creed, amalgamate best of any aliens with this proud people.

The paucity of accommodations, the high prices all things comparatively bear, the strong nationality of the French, infect the persons of that nation who come here with a sovereign contempt for the country

they are in, which they omit no opportunity of declaring, and which makes deep impression. Example is set them to this effect by those of the upper class who are about court, who are equally, at least, or perhaps more, addicted to this, in them, mean triumph of behaviour. It seems as if there still existed a secret good-will to the German house, and that it was by no means of course forgotten in this country: at any rate, the others appear to feel it (which is one of the direct methods to make it) so. It is a matter of query if the old adage of "*Quàm paucâ sapientiâ*" be applicable to the officers of this country or not. If any of this necessary ingredient in human measures enter, it is very deleteriously debased. Various circumstances concur to corroborate the surmise, that a retreat, if requisite, into France, has been an idea afloat in the minds of the royal family and its advisers. It was a feeling very apt to have been fostered by Parisian suggestions. It is only to recur to Adam Smith's unquestionable authority, to see the true interest of the Spanish government, taken in a national point of view; how strongly they link with England, although vested in a Bourbon family. And can it be supposed that French acumen was blind to this, or that French activity would become torpid under such an idea? A great deal of what is otherwise unaccountable can be unravelled by this clue. Unquestionably it was the view of France, that Spain never should arouse from her supine state; never extricate herself out of France's hands. And it is nearly equally so, that this royal house has always continued to think its stability in Spain dependent on French support. But the connexion and attachment of France to Spain was that of an incubus, to depress her and exhaust her vitals: and it has succeeded. The thoughts are unavoidably drawn to one point, the accumulation of political evil here. Several active-minded and patriotic individuals

have, in later years, started up, zealous to serve their country; a sentiment, however depressed or sported with, which can never be totally extinguished: for spring it will anew. But they were ignorant of the true principles of procedure; and opposed by such powerful, and, indeed, insurmountable obstacles, their efforts have never exceeded mere speculation. No man's mind was in a state of preparation for hearing, or looking firmly at, the truth of the case. A nullity as the life of the good Charles the Third must be as to state matters, His Majesty must possess that quality valuable in any great man, the "*laissez faire*," in a considerable degree. For those persons whose patriotic minds stimulated them to public investigation, and indeed action too, were in favour. But the evil is too diffused and too deep-seated to be countervailed by such feeble efforts. It would be like the realization of those wise speculations with which our ears are occasionally assailed at home, that wealth, good order, and virtue, are the immediate derivations of the acquisition of the alphabet. Although the Bourbon princes were too enlightened and humane to persecute, or, what is exactly as bad in those of high degree, to look on and let others do so; yet the influence of the Inquisition has never been extinct, but has ever remained, on the contrary, a dead weight upon all mental action. It is not sufficient for the mind to take its scope, that it should know itself innocent, it is also necessary it should feel itself free, for useful exertion. Every writer in Spain knew that he might *be questioned*; and the Holy Inquisition constitutes a board of criticism, before which an author appears rather in check. Indeed, faggots and *san benitos* out of the question, what a cruel mortification must genius feel in being liable to be subjected to the queries of, to make explanations to, malignity and stupidity! This is obvious throughout the whole range of Spanish literature. Every-

where appears a consciousness of an impendent rod, of a certain power to which deference must be paid*. Manners very essentially open men's eyes to things. If clergy can be insolent, it proves certainly that they possess a great deal of power, even although the abuse exercised by an occasional individual be no further a reflection on the body at large, than that it contains an unworthy member. When a number of persons who have made their appearance at court, diplomatists and others, on retiring through the alleys and cloisters of the Escurial, ("What a place," will be perhaps exclaimed, "for a court!") and accidentally touching the consecrated ground, are assailed by the obstreperous cry of "*Cavalleros!—Sombreros!*" from a rude ecclesiastic; it shows at least that clerical *dicta* are next to all-powerful here below. In other countries a polite hint would have been given, and have had all the effect. What then must be the result of arming a body, thus established here, with the power of inquiry more formidable in its extent than that of condemnation itself! Its condemnations have been rare, and for crimes few are tempted to in the present day (magic for instance). But its power of questioning extends over all. Under such a circumstance, how can the country ever be able to call in literature to her assistance? Nothing short of the absolute abolition of this tribunal can set the public mind free in its exertion for the general good. In fact, although modern manners have stripped the Inquisition of horrors, it still endeavours to maintain glory. The throne is at Seville; but the influence pervades the whole kingdom, as witness its business at Barcelona. Some persons may suppose, when they read of the horrid proceedings of this body at the time it was allowed full scope to its teeth and claws, that it was viewed with equal horror here; that the nation

* For somewhat more on the subject of Spanish literature see Appendix.

groaned in secret, and shuddered under the iron rod of its oppression and irritation. The very converse of the picture is the truth. The Inquisition was an object of proud popularity. The *liberum veto*, which destroyed Poland, could not have been clung to with more of that instinctive affection which any gross political abuse attracts. When an *auto de fe* was exhibited (and a magnificent spectacle due care was taken it should be), the whole body of carpenters of Madrit volunteered by acclamation their services to erect the scaffolding. They probably had a liberal remuneration, in the way of indulgences for the next world: but that is nothing to the present purpose; their merit is not to suffer deduction thereby in this. The cry in favour of persecution will be heard from those who are exempt from its ravages; and this sentiment of the human mind, well managed, is one of the strongest fangs in the claws of power. There, an execution is an exhibition; and we know, from the days of Greece and Rome, what a treat a bloody spectacle is for a people, and how popularity was measured out in proportion to the liberality with which it was bestowed. The inquisitorial institution could thus have been ill spared by a country which had once gotten the true relish for it. Sufferings, drawn down by crimes for which we are sure of not being tangible, are viewed with a due degree of the *suave mari magno* principle. If the monster is ever to expire, it must be from want of food. One of the strong arms in this institution consists in its familiars. Let it be recollected what self-importance at least it gives to a man, to be even a correspondent, a communicant with a power authorized to act in secrecy. The very mystery gives a sensation of consequence highly flattering to the human mind, even although all circumscribed within itself. But still it cannot be supposed that any thing so elevating can be kept a perfect secret; that some little whisper will not steal round, some surmise leak out. The most perfect human

caution is not able inflexibly to preserve the incognito of consequence. When things that call for notice present themselves, on various occurrences in the course of society, some little emotion will betray, that there is one present, whose representations are attended to in a certain quarter. The respect and attention this surmise procures to this said personage from the society he moves in, nourish a little inextinguishable vanity, and cause the secret not to be altogether so closely kept as it might. But a familiar of the Inquisition recognised, possesses a *ton de supériorité* in company, the value put on which needs not to be descanted on. The institution has now discontinued its interference with strangers. But a billet or certificate of confession, of having performed that duty of Catholicism, is required by the established church, from every one indiscriminately. But a liberal mode of settling this is conceded to foreigners; more liberal indeed than morally defensible: for by what right can deceit, however innocent, be allowed to intervene in the course of human affairs? And the toleration, as it is called, which requires humiliating conformity for essential differences, is a mockery, and worse. Palliatives can avail nothing in a system radically bad, as abuses are often endurable in one essentially good. The foreigner will frequently have the question put to him, "Are you coming to mass?" To which the answer must be, "I have already been there." All these points the French are adepts in, and are very obligingly communicative upon, to such persons from the North of Europe as visit this country, to prevent their getting into embarrassment; and at Madrit this may be avoided; but it is by no means so easily done in travelling. If the *aniero* propose mass, and any hesitation appears, any excuse is offered, he stares as if a cloven foot had protruded itself before his eyes, considering conformity in this respect the essential constituent quality of human nature. While credulity can

be made profitable as a matter of traffic, it must meet some encouragement; and the various entrepôts for commerce in this article, the bureaux or offices open in different towns, and dispersed through the same town, with "*Aqui se sacan las animas*," ("Here souls are redeemed out of purgatory,") superscribed, show a very smart trade to be driven in this way. Military men of the first distinction have been denounced to the holy office by their inferiors, on the most frivolous accusations, in discharge of benefits conferred, too great to be repaid otherwise than by some black act of ingratitude, that should in its effects sweep away all remembrance of the obligation with the presence, and it might almost be said in the blood, of the donor. The accusations, and those who presented them, were treated as they deserved by the grand inquisitor, the virtuous and enlightened archbishop of Seville;—but mark what delation is!—These men still take those they have thus wronged by the hand; and appearances must be kept up, in return for their effrontery, with them. And all this the world has before it for example, and to be infected by as such. No action lies for this wrong. It is not sufficient for Spain that the Inquisition sleep; it should never breathe. Whatever detrimental form the religious motive can assume has its fosterage, as matter of course; (there may not be always such a grand inquisitor) whether it be in its concentration as bigotry, its στοργη as enthusiasm, or its malignity as fanaticism. Thus, as a precious specimen of what will be attempted under such a patronage, let be taken the practice here of distributing for sale vile copper-plates, of Jews crucifying a Christian child, with every enlargement and refinement of cruelty the malignity of human nature can suggest, even such as it might not have nerves to carry it through the execution of. We must begin in self-justification, for this is always a necessary process in every iniquity, by criminating those whom we mean to destroy. But even now, that

these poor people have nothing left them to be robbed of, as they had in former days with us at home; still they are the butt of fanaticism; and it need not be said how quick and ready is the mode of conveying and diffusing an idea, here mentioned. It is too like what we read of in former days in our own annals. History indeed, which, stalking in the buskin, consults ever in the first place her own dignity, passes by these minutiæ in elevated silence;—and so much for her authority! But chronicles, which content themselves with conveying plain truth and information, tell harrowing tales, fully rivalling at least a Saint Bartholomew festival. When the Jews were ripe for a squeezing, the commencement of the process was the murder of a child, which, poor victim! was thrown in a ditch; and on discovery, readily made no doubt, whose door was there to lay it at, but that of a Jew? The charge, murder and blasphemy, conviction and execution, in one vast sweeping clause against the whole of the nation within reach, followed of course. They never appear to have looked to either vindication or compromise, knowing indeed well, from long experience, that such was never intended to be their lot. And as to mercy, they were perfectly aware that was even yet further off; save and except such a mercy as they received from the virtue of a Roman imperial conqueror. All their later history affords, however, a curious example of that persevering folly and infatuation which can induce men to accumulate property, when marked by an exclusion from weight in the political scale, and which can so blind men as to prevent their seeing how infinitely preferable, under such a circumstance, is that poverty which is their only possible shield, where riches left solely with their own weight are weakness. The Inquisition thus may still not want food here. The people of the provinces on the side of the Mediterranean are *hors d'odeur de sainteté*, from an alleged mixture of Moorish blood. The Portuguese are charged

with a dash of the Hebrew! The *Christiano viejo* is a very limited breed, and any cross totally extinguishes its merit with its purity. He is *said* to insist that he possesses inherently a power to wind a Jew; and if so, the olfactory nerves of that race may have possessed powers equal to those of which we have daily experience in their own pointers. But malignity sharpened the one, and instinct the other. The ancient and orthodox mode of denouncing an infidel to the holy office was, by the chalking his effigy, his person, and name, on the church door. A remnant of this system is yet extant, the cloisters of various churches being hung with gay depictments, in glowing colouring, and portraits of those who have suffered in former days, in flames, with the names of the persons, dates of events, and so forth in full detail. As this cheerful scene is the usual sauntering-place, it may be judged, as man is somewhat of the chameleon nature, and takes his complexion from the objects around him, what kind of impressions minds so habituated from early life must bear. A more than common fortitude must be possessed to resist, a more than ordinarily powerful influx of light strike in, to clear the human intellect from such illusions. It is here, then, pertinent to observe, that Protestantism was once making most rapid progress in Spain. No ordinary measures could have availed to defeat Spanish acumen.

The forms of the Catholic church make a very early impression on the mind; far indeed preceding the possibility of instruction; and it is right that such should be the case. Thus, by forms children are taught that there is a religion, and the mind is prepared to receive its inculcations. A mother cries to her infant, preparing to put a morsel of meat into its mouth, "*Es Viernes, chico!*"—"It is Friday, child!" and the little creature drops it with affright in its countenance. The child, too, on seeing a man eat meat on a fast day, as is allowed or taken as allowance in travelling, cries—"*Come carne, no es Christiano!*"—"He eats

ment, he is no Christian!" and this latter term includes in the idea annexed to it here, all at least that is worth considering of the human race.—Such are the effects of forms and ceremonies. Whether a religion be the worse for them, as some have thought, is not a point to be discussed here: but certain it is, that they do impress, when moral and sense are laughed at, and are retained where neither of the others can be understood. A preacher here, who gave his congregation a most rational and useful sermon, highly creditable to the judgement and beneficence of the church which produced it, on the duties of servants and persons in the inferior classes of life, and which was in consequence most peculiarly fitted to his congregation, (perhaps this was the very reason of the consequence,) excited ridicule and mockery for his honest pains to amend them, from the mass of travellers, during an entire subsequent day's journey. Had he preached upon the mysteries, they would have stared and admired; had he lashed pride and luxury, they would have concurred. Thus, we like to throw blame off our own shoulders. From ecclesiastical law, which is least seen in its execution here, investigation transfers itself by a prompt concatenation to civil law, which here is most conspicuous in its *finales*. The infliction of death is very awful at Madrit. A couple, man and woman, have been just executed for the murder of the woman's husband, after a procedure and confinement of two years; rather too long for the benefit of example, unless the surety of the law were commensurate with its slowness; which is somewhat problematical. They were hanged in the market-place. The execution was attended by various religious orders, penitents of course amongst the rest, moving in slow procession, chanting the funeral ritual, and bearing lighted torches. The day was overcast and gloomy, and the whole effect very impressive. Very few crimes of this (or indeed of any) kind are committed in Madrit, though the cus-

tom (a bad one) of recording to public and daily animadversion, the local of every murder ever committed, might excite a contrary impression. This is not an idea to which men's minds should be habituated. "*Aqui mataron a un hombre; ruegen a Dios por el**," posted up on a board, meets the eye a great deal too often; but *these* are the homicidal records of a century.

Intoxication, that fertile source of human crimes, so much to be deprecated, is confined here entirely to foreigners. Moderate habits, and the endurance of unconscious privations, extinguish the stimulus to crime. The Spanish soldier, in contrast with the usual license of military life, prefers water to wine. His dissipation is confined to a stroll with his *pobrecita* (his mistress), and his luxury to a *segar*. If noise or riot be heard in the streets, it is the licentiousness of foreigners, military, or visitors. Handsome equipages, and other accompaniments of a residence of people of rank, give to Madrit a cheerfulness which neither its commercial relations could effect, nor that is generally visible in other Spanish towns. How the rising population of this country, whatever it may amount to, is to be provided for, is unaccountable. The only shop which has a sure and permanent return of trade is—the barber's. The church gives a maintenance to those who embrace the profession; but orthodoxy puts its maximum upon the extent of this resource against want. The army is by no means a favourite pursuit, and the access to the colonies not perfectly free. Yet here in Madrit is nothing in the way of a rabble, such as is seen in the sea-port towns of the Peninsula. Heretofore patronage was a mode open for the hopes at least of the young and pennyless to extend themselves forward by: and what hopes? "The prospect of a page," says the Spanish proverb, is, "the

* Here a man was killed; pray to God for him.

church, the army, or—the gallows!" A wretched state of society. The colonies have been in one respect serviceable, as a drain to a wretchedly morbid political habit. In such case they are the only palliative reason or humanity can recur to. But see, for a picture of what Spain was, what she had to form herself out of at least, the admirable Cervantes, and then say if any thing on earth elsewhere can be called inanition and torpor. A gentleman himself obliged to mend his stockings with parti-coloured silk, employing his days in making bird-cages and tooth-picks!! Such we may rely on it was a picture, and a correct one, of frequent life. Never was so poor a reward for conquest; never had a people so many disadvantages cast upon them!

Before Madrit is, as about to be, quitted, one word on a subject, which assuredly claims resumption, must not be omitted—Literature. The public library instituted by Government, and to which access is obtained with a facility and liberality not paralleled every-where, is furnished in a manner fully creditable to the good intentions and judgement of those who had the superintendance of it; and strangers, as well as all others, are most attentively and sedulously supplied with whatever they require; pens, ink and paper being laid all ready for their use; and the librarian's assistants, who are in a number considerably beyond what the present state of literature here might be supposed to claim, seem to take a gratification in supplying the calls of the student.

January 1805.—Sharp morning frosts, succeeded by bright and cold days, now prevail. This, however, is matter of indifference to the inflexible Madrit beau, who throughout all the preceding deluges of rain and sleet continued to retain his low-quartered pumps and silk stockings. But it is now high time to proceed southwards, and measure some of the hundreds of miles of prospective route.

Aranjuez (January 1785).—Those who insist that man is an animal governed and guided by reason will be somewhat puzzled to reconcile their definition with his preference of the banks of the Manzanares at Madrit to those of the Tagus here, for the site of a capital city. The advantages of practicable water-carriage must not be insisted on, for that did not enter into human calculations when these points were decided. But the meadows were as verdant to the eye then, as now; the various productions of the fertile bosom of Nature, so useful, so pleasing, and necessary to mankind, must have been equally attractive. Yet these delightful prospects here are all abandoned for an arid ravine. A native of the north of Europe is here gratified with some of his rustic scenery, the hay-making process. The power of vegetation demonstrated in the magnificent growth of the elm-trees, and the command of water in the diffusion of fountains, prove what a delightful social establishment might be founded on this spot. It becomes obvious now by contrast, a powerful mode of demonstration, how much Spain could be a gainer by a judicious system of agriculture; what a magical revolution it alone would make in her whole statistical modification. But this is a remote prospect indeed. Politics present an insurmountable bar before it.

The inns, so far, from Madrit, are on the magnificent establishment. It is presumable, here is an intended classification of them by especial denominations. *Posada* we know means no more than a lodging-place. *Venta* boasts (fallacious hope too often!) a step of elevation, and tells us supplies are there to be had for money. *Fonda* (Arabicè *Fondagh*) is a remnant of Moorish days, in equal use with the rest, but less definite. *Uostalris* is a place of general reception; but, a new establishment, resolved to be original throughout, assumes the name of *Meson*. This seems a compliance with that tendency in the present day to Frenchify.

the Spanish language; that same inducement which has led some courtly writers here to substitute the French *u* for their own sonorous *o*, but whose villanous saffron, it is to be hoped, will fail upon the dough of the country at large.

This nation is indebted to Count Florida Blanca for the best intentions; but a fatality impends over all efforts to amelioration. This viatorial establishment cannot procure here the resources of stability. It must receive a prop, or its fate is evident. The excellent philosophical character and well-intentioned statesman before mentioned, fell into the fault so common to mankind, namely, the confounding effects and causes, and prescribing them to the symptom instead of the disease. He saw that the inns of Spain were of a description far indeed below what the term indifferent can be applied to, and has caused good ones to be built; forgetting that two essentials, which he could not command, were requisite to the general institution—capital to set it going, and intercourse to keep it so: or proceeding in the matter as if it were the inns which made the travellers, and not the travellers the inns. Indeed one of the grievances of Spain, and though a derivative one not the less serious, is the deficiency of internal intercourse; and when the combinations and time requisite for the establishment of such a thing are computed, the evil appears nearly remediless, except in the event of some great change. Count Florida Blanca was fond of discussing statistical matters, as applicable to Spain, with foreigners. But the observations of foreigners are shallow, as those of natives are prejudiced. Between both, an excellent judgement is much more liable to be misled than to attain to its object—right information.

Proceeding onwards from Aranjuez, through La Mancha, the *posadas* of this tract seem to have fallen off even from the days of its illustrious

inmate Don Quixote. He would hardly now find there his wretched supper of *vaccalaos*, (an inmate of La Mancha dependent for his supper on the products of the Baltic!) a degree of misery of which Cervantes, by his use of the term *venteriega*, appears to have perfectly felt the force. The landlord, *ventero*, or mistress, *ventera*, in these seats of poverty, appears to eye the traveller rather as an intruder: they demand unreasonably, and receive without thanks; partly because they form no expectation of ever seeing him again, partly because they see no good final result to self, in the pittance they have extorted. But the traveller is well off if worse than this do not happen to him; if he do not meet with a *ventera* of so powerful a tongue as to scold him out of the house altogether. Such has been the case. Gentle and simple, master and servants, have been driven out, with the world all before them where to choose, and no choice left; not from a paradise, it is true, nor by a flaming sword, but by as sharp a two-edged weapon, a woman's tongue. Vexatious as it may be, it ought to excite pity. The insolent fulminations of the poor woman are a cloak to cover what must always be painful to acknowledge, a fearful *remora* in the progress of life, the *res angusta domi*. A large company arriving at an inn-door, which elsewhere causes the eyes of the host and hostess to dance with joy, is here viewed with those of despair. Various deep-seated causes co-operate to effect this wretched state of accommodation. Some have been laid before the public eye correctly, some yet remain not duly explored. With the best efforts, the intervention of a space of time would be required, and people do not like to wait. The traveller must here provide himself with the *needful* in every shape on setting out; that is the worst which can happen to *him*. But the failure of well intended plans of amelioration is to be lamented the more, as it gives a

handle to the malevolent to depreciate and discourage all efforts of the kind in any way.

Often, what appears in life contradictory matter, is very consistent. To say of people, after having made their poverty a matter of descant, that money might be a secondary object with them, may, to some, appear the former; yet such is the case: and when the mind stops to reflect, a not very willingly undertaken process, it is very explicable. To take as an instance, not an article of first necessity in life,—because, although a *ventero* places himself upon a high-road to live by the public, yet, if he has but barely bread for himself in the house, the public must go without any, but one matter of luxury——iced water.* A person in his situation, but a remove above the poorest description, will not be tempted by money to break in upon this hoard of solace: on the contrary, he will churlishly repel any attempt upon it. The possession then of the circulating medium of values, in a country where commodities are of difficult attainment, is an inferior object compared with comforts which, though perhaps slight in themselves, are not to be had for money. Of what circumscribed application are moral scales, comparisons of local circumstances, in life!

From Barcelona to the Sierra Morena, there is not now a single house in process of raising from the foundation. Nearly equal in the scale of defalcation, which of course brings all down to next to nought, are the specimens of farming stock, building utensils, fences, and timber. Thus the country languishes.

The occupant of the soil lives in the town or village. This is a specimen of the first organizations of society. The white crop, there is no other, is trodden out too, as in primitive days, on the bare earth, in the open field, and carried to the town; the broken straw being the sole dependance for fodder. Barley, it is to be observed, is the grain used

for horses and cattle of burthen here, as we use oats.—It would be useless to carry this subject into further discussion.

La Mancha is a strong geological feature in the face of this extraordinary country. It is a humid argillaceous tract, and the soil tenacious to an extreme. It appears to be the second level in Spain, that of Castille being the summit, to which it composes the next lodge, southwards, bounded in that direction by the Sierra Morena and Guadalquiver. The Guadiana, here in the vicinity of La Guardia and El Toboso, has been fain to work his way under ground, through this secondary level, which, hereabout, by the run, or rather stagnation of the waters, appears hardly to deviate from a horizontal plane. Here is for many miles together a chain of shallow lakes and subterranean communications, wrought, it is highly probable (for here are no visible ones), by the effort of the waters. Otherwise such an abundance of springs would inundate the whole country, whereas these lakes nearly preserve their level. They are by no means picturesque, are enveloped in thickets of high reeds, and abound with aquatic birds. They must make the vicinity very unwholesome.

La Mancha produces good wine, but which being kept in *cueros* acquires there a villanous twang; especially the red wine. Oil is so kept: proofs how detrimental a bad system of internal conveyance is to a community. Here are two staple articles of the soil spoiled for exportation. The Manchegaw wine approaches to Burgundy in flavour, but is more durable. However, it is at the convents alone that any effort at excellence is attempted. The indifference of the Spaniard, as to his own accommodation on this point, puts it out of general exertion; and it is at these institutions only that there is either capital or disposition to apply to such things. Leisure indeed here is in abundance, but it is otherwise employed. Were it not for the convents, here would hardly be

a specimen extant, to prove to the stranger what Spain might be in point of cultivation. Their grounds are the best tilled of any, where an attempt is made.—It is the same in France.

La Mancha possesses advantage over the plain of Castille in soil and in climate: the former should by its appearance be inexhaustible, and the latter is more improved by its descent of level than by its approximation to the South. The boundary of this tract the map marks out between the Tagus and Sierra Morena. How important in the study of Nature are the courses of rivers!

It is considered to be the case that springs rise between strata. A close affinity is so traceable in the courses of running waters. The composition of La Mancha is evidently alluvial. Here seems to have been a deposit of what, from other tracts, has been washed away. La Mancha is well adapted to the introduction of water-carriage; and the appropriation of this beneficent element, under judgement, to the uses of man, would be a blessing every where attainable, and would turn its agueish wastes into a paradise in such a climate. Here at present produce must be consumed on the spot where it grew; and no obvious mode of doing this is traceable, save by the canker and moth. Either the market must be brought to the farmer, or the farmer to the market, for agriculture, the true and only basis of national prosperity, to flourish. But in point of land-carriage, Spain is probably not so much advanced at this day, as England was in the reign of Edward the First. Torpor and depression reign in the towns, and denudation over the country. If the calls of the traveller compel him to enter one of the former, for they are usually apart from the main road, such as it is, the *ventas* being insulated houses, (a circumstance dictated by the internal principles which regulate here, and all so much the worse,) and he there inquires for a pound of meat, he is directed to the butcher, who, when the stranger

has been duly introduced and has announced his business, lounges, apparently somewhat loth to go to his shop; which is apart from his house, unbars it, cuts off and weighs out what is required, delivers it, and receives the money—all in awful silence, unless strong solicitation should extract from him an eleemosynary "*Vaya usted con Dios.*" It is in fact much the behaviour of a man who feels that he is, and ought to be, above his trade, the profits whereof are too poor to compensate him for being reminded of his degradation in exercising it. In the better Spanish houses, as lean meat, poultry and pigeons, garvenzos, gourds, chocolate; and fruits, such as water-melons and figs, with pure bread, light wine, and good water, constitute the routine of menage supply, little need go out; of course little does, to circulate among tradesmen. Salads and olives, oil and vinegar, are always at hand. In the article of water alone is the abstemious Spaniard an epicurean: of good water, and he has a peculiar faculty to discover its qualities, he talks in raptures. The royal family drink, wherever they may be; the water of one fountain, *El Berro*. A young man well mounted, passing one day on this route our caravan of travellers, was recognised as an officer of cavalry at home on leave of absence, and *en trage de paysano*,—in his rustic dress. This is as it should be, or at least might be so considered any where else; but the fact is, that the country-gentleman of Spain is as extinct a race as that of the black rat in England: and of all the evil effects of the bad system under which this fine country has unfortunately devolved, this is the most fatal. An aristocracy in its remnants concentrated about the court, with nothing in the way of occupation to recur to, save the wretched vacuity of the *cortejo* system, or the infatuation of the gaming-table, absorbs the poor residue of this truly noble nation, to whose talents and energy every corner of the globe is obliged to bear indelible testimony. The effects of a government in

moral deterioration are in some respects slow; but in many, very much the reverse. Here, however, they have likewise been in their process long, and the consequence is accordingly. Alien, even hostile intercourse, could not have effectuated all this. It is that of the stepfather which has done it. It has brought to consummation the works of mortmain, mayorazgo, labildo, mesta, expatriation, and colony;—and a wonderful spectacle it presents!

Each evil is a canker-worm, destroying in its bud the germ of national prosperity. The direct tendency of each is to public ruin. The country is depopulated, the soil mismanaged, the gentry and yeomanry extinguished, and the remnants of their families driven to take refuge in colonies and convents. It were a pity that the picture of a Spanish country-gentleman, such as he has been, and would (for effects follow their causes consistently) now be, should not have existed, as drawn by an able pen. His subject has perished off, but the artist is immortal. He can be uninteresting only to the shallow. But here is the portrait:—"Don Diego de Miranda, a *cavallero rico y labrador*, in plain English, a gentleman-farmer, wore a green frock coat bordered with yellow velvet, a yellow velvet *montero* cap, spatterdashes, and a Moorish scymetar. But his pride was in his *spurs*, which, though not gilt, shone as though they were of gold; and he rode a beautiful mare. He was fifty years of age, his hair gray and thin, and his aspect between grave and cheerful. His circumstances were above mediocrity; he was fond of hunting and fishing, but *kept not hawks* or greyhounds, but pointers and water-dogs only. His library consisted of about six dozen books, in Latin, romance, history, and devotion. He dined with and entertained his neighbours alternately. His table was plentifully spread, his dinners well dressed and served up. He did not trouble himself about the concerns of others, heard mass every morning, gave charity to the poor,

and was devout to our Saviour and the Holy Virgin. His house was roomy, comparatively with what is usually seen of village-mansions; and the village in which it stood was his own property. His coat-of-arms was carved in stone over the entrance. His wine-butt (coincidence of customs! Observe the place of the ale-butt in our ancient mansions) was in his court, his cellar hard by his hall, and jars for holding wine were ranged all around it. His lady was well bred, courteous, and affable. A marvellous silence pervaded the whole mansion: so that it seemed in this respect a convent of Carthusians. Abundance prevailed throughout the lower departments. In charity, not merely to the poor but with all mankind, and in rational œconomy, Don Diego de Miranda passed his life, unambitious of honours or the patronage of the great*." *Perierunt ipsæ ruinæ.*

Every moral picture has two sides. Cervantes gives the other. A state reduced to such poverty that its aristocracy were fain to darn their stockings with other-coloured silk; so paralysed as to recur for employment to making bird-cages and toothpicks! The events of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella were sufficient of themselves to have constituted a country, yet Spain never profited by them.

The redress of the grievances of this state is beyond the reach of any hand save that of Providence, unless a *patriot king* were to start forth to the admiration of mankind,—a consummation beyond the reach of aught save wishes, whilst France continues her neighbour. Abuses will ever find powerful support, powerful indeed in proportion to their magnitude, as able to command more friends. What a formidable host then must the heretofore recited catalogue of political mischiefs com-

* What would Spain now be with such an inmate to each parish! And what a contrast! interior and exterior! For four hundred miles no insulated house presenting itself, save the *Posada*; not a tree or bush rising between the Pyrenees and the Straits of Gibraltar.

mand for general defence, and all instinctively rallying in common cause! For, however independent, and even hostile among themselves, however repugnant and repulsive, the common sense of interest is so keen and sensitive, that they rally and combine on the slightest touch. And to oppose and prostrate such a formidable power, here, are only plain sense and sound policy! One public interest against thousands of private! What flowers of eloquence would be raised against such feeble voices! How hopeless would be their efforts*!

To conclude, however, with La Mancha.—La Guardia is said to be a feature of considerable geological importance. It lies at some distance from the road; and investigations in this line, as is well known to those smitten with a love for that science, are not so readily dispatched as those of botany. It is, by primitive formation, a round hill, one side of which has dilapsed nearly perpendicularly. Its name expresses the use to which after-times have consigned it. Upon the subject of the agriculture here, and this is a wheaten tract, live stock, which occupies so much of the farmer's attention with us, gives him very little trouble here. In regard to his tillage, he goes out from his village afield in

* These observations carry their date in their cheek. Would they were obsolete! They are not arrived to that happy state yet. The year 1814 has presented to the world the illustration of human nature,—an Anacharsis on a throne!!! The world has heard the sentences of Plato from the lips of youth! has seen the virtues of the Stoic exercised by a conqueror! Who then is to say that miracles have ceased? In regard to the present subject, however, the same year has given *her* a king *of her own choice!* one who therefore holds the sceptre by legitimate title. The hand of Providence could alone have guided matters diffusive of such an extent of moral good; could only have baffled the assiduous and mischievous ingenuity of infatuated mortals, in their blindness, labouring, and labouring in vain, to contravene his beneficent decrees.—The author has spoken of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty as they were, to his eyes. Circumstances have now become diametrically opposite;—may the effects be accordingly! Less than what has happened could not have availed. The hand of man may now effect somewhat of permanent benefit to future generations. It still remains to be seen if he will avail himself of the opportunity Providence has deigned to open to him.

the morning by sun-rise, with all his yokes; and notwithstanding what is above observed, these are many in proportion to the day's work to be done. The ground is barely scratched. The ploughman indeed seems, by his mode of procedure, to think that his business is confined to maintaining the implement confided to him *in equilibrio* upon its sole. He therefore just keeps a hand to it. The reaping is mostly performed during the night, by the aid or rather sole exertion of the poor despised Gallegos *; and the corn is either trodden or worked under a sledge, out of the ear. The broken straw is carried home on horseback in bags of close net-work. A vast proportion of tillage ground is left fallow, that is to say, to thistles and weeds to recover itself by. They

* "*Mas querria ser llamado Judio que Gallego*"—"I had rather be called a Jew than a Gallician," was the modest expression of a waiter at an inn. Yet all that they have to allege against the Gallegos is their indefatigable spirit of industry: an energy of labour that, to an unprejudiced eye, would afford delight. Indeed, for the further misfortune of the country, here seems to exist a tariff or scale of provincial merit: thus, reckoning the Gallego, the most useful man in the state, its most abject, or zero, above him rises the Catalan, who is considered, no worse than he is treated, as a conquered subject. Next ascends the native of the coast-provinces of the Mediterranean (southwards), who however is *hors d'odeur de saintetè*, by a suspicion of a certain corruption of Infidel-blood. The Biscayan stands high, being *only* accounted a foreigner; the Arragonian, very high. But above all,—notwithstanding the just boast of the Asturian, that he is *hidalgo, como el rey*,—soars the Castillian. It is obvious that this sense of distinction is the result of the want of internal intercourse. But the bad consequences resulting from Spain being lost sight of, in these discriminations of provinces, are not quite so visible, but may be much more severely felt. The impression of alienation, and the height to which the imagination can be wrought on this subject, is strongly and curiously exemplified by Bowles in his account of Las Batuecas, inserted in his first, but omitted, undoubtedly from very well-judged reasons, in his subsequent Spanish edition. The Batuecas constitute a district of which, it being secluded and little known, much evil was said: Bowles visited it, and found the people there very like the rest of mankind. This is a confined, but not a solitary example of the prejudice, the error of which Spain may, it is to be hoped, one day find, and before it is too late. From a perfect amalgamation of national society the utmost good results to a state. Proofs of this are not wanting in the present day. All sincere friends to the welfare of Spain ought to exert themselves to obviate such ill-founded distinctions, where there are really no differences, save to the antiquary.

As to the word *hidalgo*, very significantly coupled with royalty, it leads to some reflections upon

show the power of the soil. If housing of cattle, and the use of sainfoin and lucerne, the plants adapted to the climate, prevailed, the physical resources of this powerful tract would extend almost indefinitely. At present, the only feeble effort at manuring is the capping a few twigs of vine that there are with clods, and then burning them, so preserving their salts as a stimulus. Yet a vast proportion of the substratum of Spain is calcareous, more valuable in this inestimable substance than by all the metallic productions the crown possesses.

Route.—After the monotonous plain of La Mancha, the mountain scenery of the Sierra Morena greets the eye agreeably. It is here on this extremity turned by a magnificent causeway, bordered with cut stone, which harmonizes badly with its bold romantic scenery. These

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honorific titles, more particularly here, where some peculiarities exist, although the mass of the matter is pervaded by one and the same principle. *Baron, cavallero, ric home de solar conocido, hidalgo, labrador.*—These are the honorific or distinctive epithets radical in the Spanish language. *Baron* originally means male adult. The etymologist may here sharpen his faculty. But language has its basis in ideas; and these link on to each other, like sounds. *Infante* is the antithesis to *baron*. The idea of stability, manhood, has been adopted naturally for a distinction. The designation of *cavallero* is obvious. *Ric* is a radical epithet in the sense of political power. *De solar conocido* corresponds with our term of *free-holder* in its strict sense. *Hidalgo* implies one endowed with, or rather inheriting, a pedigree: and *labrador* is tantamount to our yeoman, as at present understood. *Infante*, which is the military sense, thus, in contradistinction, applies to this body: and thus, analogously, Richard in Shakspeare addresses his soldiers as yeomen. Other correspondent instances might be adduced. As to this epithet, *hidalgo*, it is extraordinary that grammarians, lexicographers, and *id genus omne*, should deny the term *hidalgo* to the Spanish, when they have only to look into Cervantes in order to find it. The construction of the Spanish language is very curious, wherein Latin, Arabic, Gothic, Punic, and Scythian, have combined to constitute so grand and elegant a whole. One word of this language—*brinder*, Anglicè *to toast*—has been always a puzzle to their philologists. Its root will be found with many others where few look, in the Gaelic—*Bringadh*, a host—one who gives an entertainment. Spain, by its situation, possesses a peculiar interest too in the history of the great family of mankind, whether pastoral migrators from Scythia, or sea rovers from Palestine. The Asturians flatten the head, which is purely Scythic, and a custom limited in Scythia itself. The Gallicians use the braccated clothing, the bonnet, and the mouth bag-pipe of their ancestors.

sumptuous avenues will one day, it is to be presumed, put an end to the dreadful stories, whereby the minds of good people at a thousand miles distance are harrowed up, relative to the difficulties attendant upon crossing this tract of mountains of inferior class.

The sweet acorn-bearing oak predominates here. Where tillage has invaded the precincts of the forest, full-headed trees of this species have been left at judicious intervals, scattered over and ornamenting the pale stubble. They pour down liberal showers of their produce, which affords sustenance to numerous droves of hogs.

La Carolina, a German settlement, is a specimen of the speculative schemes of the present government. No good is rationally to be expected from this well-intended instance of them. If Spain lack inhabitants, due encouragement should be given to population at home, by opening for it the means of livelihood to the labouring classes. What other expectations may have been formed it is not so easy to divine. These poor people are agriculturists. Have they superior means allowed them to the natives? If they have not, do they not labour to disadvantage? If they have, is it not a shameful partiality?

Houses built upon a uniform plan, and equidistant streets unnecessarily wide,—the architecture of the marshes of Holland transferred to a mountain side in the south of Europe; all that common-place effort at specious improvement, which amounts at most to injudicious imitation, indicates but a shallow foundation for it to arise upon. Perhaps, as these people cannot live under those privations which a Spaniard is resigned to, they may teach their aboriginal neighbours new wants, and thus give a spur to internal commerce. One would fain see all in the best light that can be thrown on it. They are understood to be very dissatisfied with their situation, as is the case with most importations of the kind.

As to the speculation of populating, and its bearing on statistical improvement, it is to be observed, that this last, in its basis, is fixed in the intimate connexion, and strong interest, with, and in, the spot he cultivates, possessed by the cultivator. Let him have these, and give him the aid of time: let his confidence and his prejudices be undisturbed, the sweat of man's brow will stand in the stead of capital and all adventitious assistance. The peasant (without whom no superstructure can arise), the farmer, the gentleman, the artisan, sailor, and merchant; all the gradations and descriptions of social life will spring up at their proper respective seasons and places, and constitute a powerful and happy nation. Population is the real strength of a country: if troubles ensue therefrom, they indicate a defect in the government. But without plenty of hands labour cannot be cheap; and unless labour be cheap, neither undertakings at home nor competitions abroad can proceed. All is so linked together in the great political chain; so complete is the gradation, that each step leads to another in an order that cannot be deranged, without more or less disorganizing the whole. Every man would, in settled life, did circumstances permit him, be a tiller of the earth: it is necessity alone which forces him into a civic life. The agriculturist who earns his daily bread by his spade, is a prince in comparison to him who is confined all day throwing the shuttle. The country must be fully stocked with population before there is an efflux thence into towns; and then, and then only, can manufactures be instituted to advantage. Next follow speculations to infinity. But well-meaning persons are ever adopting schemes of improvement at the wrong end; never considering how much there is to do, and still less, how much is, as here, to undo, before they can even arrive at the proper point to set off from.

There is some good oak in the Sierra Morena; but the want of building-timber, which this is not, would be materially felt in the progress of improvement. The aspen on the Ebro, and the elms on the Tagus, prove that time would give this article in the species suited to the climate (as, for instance, the poplar tribe) in abundance, for the exigencies of a country that had any. Ship-timber is a serious desideratum in the southern nations, but to none so much as to this. For, situated as Spain is, obliged in case of war to defend herself on the two elements, it is hard to say how she could exist were it not for her colonies, since the loss of the Netherlands, the various productions of which were so essential to her, and their privation of course equally detrimental. Were the Peninsula, by any fatality, confined to its own internal resources, there would be still more important matter to think upon. But every consideration bestowed on this subject, of so much interest to Europe at large, is a due homage only, paid to the justness and profundity of the political conceptions of Adam Smith.

When once the Sierra Morena is reached, things considerably improve around the traveller. Hitherto the old routine, as already described, attends him. If he does not mean to emulate the hardy Spaniard, he should bring his own sheets. The rest of the sleeping apparatus, flimsy as it may appear to a hyperborean, is not to be condemned, being well adapted to the climate. But Spanish stoicism despises even this humble luxury. Officers, abbés, priests, take their night's rest exactly as dressed for the day's progress; under the same roof and on the same floor with the quadrupeds which convey them. All rise at day-break, and shake off the dust, not from their feet, but from their shoulders; and are just as much refreshed, to all appearance, as if they had snored the night through, enveloped in down and cotton. A glass of *aguardi-*

ente (in which aniseed is infused) alone is a breakfast to some. More do without any. How different a picture this from a stage-coach breakfast in England! But the *aniero* is not to be retarded by such trifling calls. And although he may bear his faculties more meekly, yet he is equally lord paramount upon the road with him who wears the royal livery. Travelling is usually performed here in groups, caravans as they would be called in some countries. Even if a traveller sets out singly, his *aniero* imperceptibly drops him into one of these associations if possible. His circumstances are not mended hereby. The most active and habituated voltigeurs of the community (this term applies to what is suffered, not what is acquired), as the halting-place is approached, contrive to anticipate, and *font main basse* on whatever can be found, in or about the premises, in any way reducible to the operation of the frying-pan. The alarm hence occasioned among the feathered tribe around, on the arrival of one of these marching bodies, may well be conceived. Nothing that can, by the remotest construction, be accounted human food, has a chance of escaping. In putting the victims to death, Levitical care is taken that no part of them should be misapplied or lost; every drop of blood is secured as orthodox Christian food, congulated, chopped into mince, and added to the accumulations of the pan, all dissected as minutely as the joints will admit of. This is not the work of many minutes. The oil goes and comes indifferently, as occasion calls, to and from the lamp and the pan: distinctions are quite laid aside. When employed for culinary purposes, it is, however, usually flashed; a few drops of water make it deflagrate, and thus a considerable part of the rank flavour which it possesses is taken off. Wine and vinegar are not rarely, and with too much reason, drawn from the same cask. The liquor, however, in either case, if not palatable, is not deleterious, being refreshing, and, it is commonly known, was thus

used by the Roman soldiers, and with good reason *. Of course it will be inferred, that the alien who finds himself amidst this provident society will fare but indifferently upon the score of *viaticum*, unless he have secured himself thereon before-hand; and this indeed most people do. In that case, the only article payment can be demanded for, and it is as such seized, and sufficiently heavily imposed, is, for disturbing *the quiet* of the house—of the inn!—"*tanto para el ruido de la casa.*" If a traveller have his gun, it may stand him here in some stead, and a shepherd will occasionally present himself by the road-side with a hare or rabbit in his hand. But these are resources only for single travellers. The *anieros* eat their meal standing: one common dish, a *gaspacho*, is the usual meal at mid-day. Each one inserts his spoon with the most equitable and decorous regularity in his turn. They do not think of breakfast, as we term the meal. At evening, a ragout of lean bones, or on fast-days salt fish, a slice of water-melon in the season, and a draught of water, restore him from the toils of the day. How must the constitutions of the affluent be surcharged! Every one, however, must have his luxury according to his own idea: without his siesta and segar, the duration of the latter (and it is measured with the accuracy of the fuse of a shell) being calculated to meet the commencements of the former, he would think his lot a hard one in this world:—with them, he envies no one. They pour their drink from spouting vessels, elevated at the full extent of the arm, into the mouth, as is seen in the ancient Roman paintings. This brings the liquor cool to the feverish palate; and this is the sole luxury of the Spanish peasant. How little he wants! The sun and stars are his clock, the earth and the fragments of an old cloak

* An issue of sour wine, founded upon this practice, to the British garrison, was one of the charges recently brought against the Governor of Minorca on his court martial, 1783.

Evening at a Venta.

his bed, and water his drink; add hereto a montero-cap and some other unavoidable clothing, and he is a made man. Hence it may be judged how little is his demand on internal consumption. Each nation seems to have its own idea of œconomy. That of the English is to have things good, be the cost what it may; that of the French, to have them good, but cheap; that of the Spaniards, to dispense with them altogether. What a nation of soldiers would this be under a wise government!

The high notion entertained here of the dignity of man, by the inferior classes of society, makes their resentments somewhat to be dreaded; but why should they not be treated with respect? Why should the whole inculpation be launched against those aggressed? Amongst themselves, the epithets in common application are *Senores* and *Cavalleros*. Here are no disparaging expletives. According to the Portuguese idiom, and indeed in strictness the Spanish, a servant is addressed in no meaner term than—right worshipful, *vuestra merced*, which heretofore dignified shoulder-blade; and which, even in the present day, we should scorn to think of applying to any less consequential character than a mayor of a corporate town. In regard to servants, the great Spaniards have a custom highly to their honour, of never discharging a domestic. If superannuated, he is still a retainer (as the misnomer is) in the family. This, to be sure, produces a *retinue* of *gens désœuvrés*; but it is a trait highly honourable in the national character. The same is said to be the case in Portugal.

Ecija.—There is a regiment of Spanish dragoons quartered here, resplendent in their yellow uniforms. One of their officers had travelled with the caravan. He was well mounted enough to have made his own way at pleasure, but bore the delay and dust for the sake of conversation. Indeed it is to be observed that the higher classes of Spaniards, such as remain of them, are very colloquial with their in-

feriors, and treat them with a degree of familiarity and *bonhommie*, which, however, in no case attracts upon itself the slightest advance beyond the bounds of decorum. On either side the claims and dues, from man to man, seem perfectly understood, and are adhered to without constraint.

There was a considerable degree of military parade about this regiment (of Pavia); a formidable band of kettle-drums, trumpets, and other martial instruments of sound; a large body of officers carrying their profession much with them, well-bred men, and possessed, like their countrymen in general, of a due portion of that sixth faculty so necessary in this world, but so hard to define, which goes by the name of tact *.

Nature formed the Spaniard for a military life. Folard was an oracle in his day on these matters; but his dicta are likely henceforward to be consigned *ad ficum et piper!* whither much more important matter has gone before them. He is only noticeable here by his extravagant and paradoxical eulogies on the Spanish cavalry, which could not ever have been formidable against that of the North. This is not the language of disparagement; it is merely the counterpoise to the extravagant assertion of the abovementioned author, that the Spanish cavalry never knew its own strength; meaning, to be sure, that it never encountered its equal. That this cavalry would constitute a very fine branch of an army, in its way, it would be a mark of ignorance to deny. They use the point of the sword solely. How far this is eligible will not be here discussed; but the adoption of the plan indicates thought. But the

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* Butler may help us out in the way of definition here, where he talks of

"metaphysic virtuosis,
Who hear with eyes, and see with noses."

men ride very long, and cannot have due command of their horses. On the other hand, the nature of the Spanish horse comes in rectification of this erroneous practice. The men wear spatterdashes instead of boots, which is a proof they are not aware of the power given by cohesion; and their horses being all stallions, render the ranks very unsteady, even in squadrons. What, then, must be the result of a movement *en muraille?* or how could they avail themselves of the locked order? of that preponderating shock, in which both rank and file combine, which gives so decisive a superiority to the Prussian cavalry? The Spanish horse carries his head high, and his fore-action is regulated hereby. In consequence his rate is very short: and although he pivots better, he never can have the impetus which is at the command of the other races of the animal. Certainly the military features of any nation, constituted as the world politically is, and more especially of a nation which once stood so high in this species of fame, and which has so much influenced the world in its day, bear a great portion of interest. If Spain ever have to act against the continental powers in general, she will be found inferior in point of cavalry. But were the case possible, against France it would be found the reverse. France cannot produce a cavalry (at present) equal to Spain. The horses of the French cavalry, though sufficiently endowed with the cart qualifications to possess none of the activity of the Spanish, are yet undersized to the men who ride them; and they are, under their present system of the riding-school, so much thrown back as to be universally weakened in the back sinews. Such is by no means the case with the Spanish horses. Besides, the food here, barley, straw, and chesnuts, is only adapted for the native animal. For home service, that is, to defend the country as it is now constituted, a force of about twenty-five

thousand cavalry would be the most efficient. But the colonies, unfortunately, forbid any powerful or permanent establishment of this kind at home. Every soldier who chooses to remain in America, when his regiment returns to Europe, has permission to do so: and as a cavalry man is comparatively a prince there, this becomes a most serious deduction from national defence. A glance of the eye across the Spanish part of the peninsula, must carry instantaneous conviction how essential the maintenance of a powerful arm of this kind is here, under every contingency of avicinating war. The Pyrenees and their passes, the provinces to the Ebro, that river, the plains of Castille and La Mancha, and the Sierra Morena, are each a great military feature: nearly each requires an application of a distinctive nature, and peculiar to itself, but subject to one great regulating principle; and this is, the throwing the preponderance into the cavalry. A combination of a very peculiar kind is demanded by this country! Almost the worst system that can be acted upon is preferable, in military matters, to acting without any; that is to say, following the usual process of leaving every thing to the day and the chapter of accidents. Much important matter no doubt thus succeeds, but even that cannot make it a good plan. Can Figueras be considered as annexed to any thing systematic?—A hollow policy strikes the mind at every turn.

Carmona.—This country becomes interesting to the inquisitive in antiquities. Carmona in the present day is nearly as the Romans left it. Their architecture was peculiar more for solidity than beauty. They seem indeed to have built not merely for posterity, (in their domestic architecture,) but for eternity. It is very easy to acquire or convey an idea of this species of the art. It is extraordinary what mode of calculation should have induced them universally (as here) to bestow on their

chaussées a degree of solidity, and consequent expense, time, and trouble, so infinitely beyond any stress to which they could ever have been subject.

Cordova presents to the traveller Mohammedan scenery. A few short hours of route convey him from Etruria to Bagdats. This place was chosen by the Mohammedans with their usual judgement. Descriptions of it are to be met with in abundance. Command of water was, with reason, and necessarily, a requisite in their social establishments; their tendency to which was very peculiar, since man in general, by the selfishness of his disposition, unless unavoidably compelled, prefers insulated situations. Even when domiciliated, which is not the result of propensity, he prefers living on the profit, and of course in the centre of his agricultural labours. But these people seem to have been endowed with the instinct of the bee or the ant. Like them, too, their individual faculties appear to have been sharpened in the ratio of their aggregation. They were warlike, refined, elegant, scientific, and political. Their remarkably sedentary habits admitted of this close compact of society, which was more the result of manners than of the state of warfare that prevailed, although this may have moulded manners originally different. Warfare is too congenial to man, not to admit of a moral amalgamation. Considering them from first to last, the Moors of Spain are one of the most extraordinary nations that ever appeared (not in history, for they seem to have been thought beneath notice, or, what is more probable, as history does not like to go out of her way, beyond research,) on the face of nature, or in the *champ clos* of politics. Their proverb, "A woman, a book, and a horse," is illustrative of their habits, ideas, and manners. It seems indeed an improvement on their own paradise, as the latter is upon the Valhalla of Odin. Thus gallantry, science, and chivalry, divided their

time. Can Nature produce two animals more opposite than the Roman and his successor here, the Arabic conqueror? From houses small in dimension, but fitted up with the very consummation of taste and elegance within, through narrow, obscure, and tortuous streets, their immense population was excited out from libraries and harams, by the gaudy emulation of justs and tournaments. Some doubts have existed as to the estimations of their population; but when their habits of life are considered, none need do so. The horse was as completely a domiciliated animal as his master. The three objects for which they, as above recited, lived, are retainable within a very limited space. Their œconomics too, their abstemious habits, and diet so almost entirely vegetable, admitted of a vast population within a very limited proportionate scope, in this happy climate. They were as different too, in their turn, from their conquerors and evictors as possible. They lost their country by not being united under one head; and this affords one of the innumerable instances of history, which show how inefficinta the most superior means are, to countervail a radical disadvantage in that respect.

ANDALUSIA (or Vandalusia), the tract south of the Sierra Morena, or between the Guadalquivir and the sea, forms the lowest of the three well defined levels which the surface of Spain presents. Thus the geology of Spain is an alternation of edges and horizontals: the former, fragments of a wreck, the latter in some instances the alluvial deposits, of Nature, argillaceous in La Mancha, here arenose*. This is a tract of loamy sand, where water is found at a yard's depth below the surface. Here it emerges from below; in La Mancha it is retained from above. South of the Sierra Morena, say the Spaniards, winter

* I deduce this word from *arena*, as the most expressive.

does not come. Indeed here is now (December) a sensible mitigation in the atmosphere. The surface, the vegetable face of Andalusia, is for the most part one vast tract of what the continental poet of nature, the picturesque De Lille, calls with justice *le triste olivier*.—It has much the tint and general exterior of our fallow, and is one of the greatest blessings bestowed on man. Equally beneficent, too, is the facility wherein it is presented to his grasp, for every stake put down, here at least, grows. This may perhaps be owing to the subsoil. The tree decays internally, but still flourishes and bears, totally independent of solidity. Corn, wine, and oil here present themselves to the hand of man, from the same spot of ground. The aloe, too, offers its ready assistance to guard all, and for the division of property. Each leaf stuck down into the ground grows, and here forms a fence not to be encountered, by man or beast, under pain of death. It is obvious that the produce of this noble tract of country might be increased ten-fold, were due advantage taken of its waters. The banks of the river, fertile meadows of wide extent, and verdant until autumn advances, are covered by herds of noble cattle, all white with black muzzles; and the towns are occupied by a race of men, majestic to appearance, but unfortunately suspected of a drop of Moorish blood in their composition, which spoils all.

The Andalusian ladies are supposed to bear the wreath of beauty in Spain;—there is no place where they might not appear in competition. Their vivacity is extreme; and this alone frequently induces them to "bid accosting welcome ere it comes," but by no means with a justification of the uncharitable conclusions of the wise Ulysses, or of more modern wiseacres, who presume they are like him intuitive, and like themselves facetious, when malignity alone is the utmost extent of the possession they have to boast. A stranger, if it be an object to him to

make an advantageous exhibition, must be prepared, in case of being addressed, in the chivalrous style of old, by a female voice from a balcony, with a due stock of repartee ready at hand, or he will be thought little better than a churl.

Seville. (January 1785.)—This town, by its situation on a great river, and the fertility of the adjacent country, as well as its convenient communication with the sea, was truly fitted for a capital. In these relations it considerably resembles London, and that is saying enough. When the world is one vast mart, how should a capital be remote from the grand communication? But every country must, too, be looked at in a military point of view. Politics are too intimately connected herewith not to render it unavoidable. Suppose the intellects of mankind could, by any miracle, be raised to a scale or tone to be acted upon by such a voice as that of Adam Smith! This is not a thing to be calculated upon; but as it is within bare possibility, it is matter admissible in discussion. What, in that case, ensues? A renunciation of French influence by a Bourbon dynasty on the throne of Spain, the embracement of a national interest by a foreign family disclaiming imbibed prejudices for the public good—and close connexion with England. This of course draws down French vengeance, and would very probably render Madrit (though not much more than it is at present) a somewhat inconvenient residence.—Then Seville presents itself for the purpose, with all advantages internal and external, leaving the residue—the Peninsula north of the Sierra Morena—for a judicious adaptation of that system of defence best appropriated by local circumstances. It is a melancholy alternative to a nation, to be obliged to relinquish a considerable portion of territory in order to defend the whole, to make even temporary home sacrifices for permanent security. But there may a necessity arise in any country for so doing, and it is particularly

the case here. Spain has three quarters in which to dread hostility; by the sea, the Pyrenees, and from Portugal with British support. In no point of view has the polar star of politics, Adam Smith, been more lucid than on this last; but he shines, alas! only to make more visible the darkness that reigns around. It is well known, how clearly he proves it is with Spain and not with Portugal that British connexion should be linked; how clearly he proves that no sacrifice should be thought too great for its maintenance—in fact, for what is so demonstratively mutual interest, that it could not fail to maintain itself.—It is useless to dilate on this. But an old leaven of prejudice, it is much to be feared, still lurks at home to baffle all those just and wise calculations. Indeed, had it not been so, they must long ere now have been acted on. French connexion leads directly to the deterioration, British to the aggrandizement, of Spain. Would that such speculations were as hopeful as they are pleasing! France is a powerful enemy by physical, an oppressive friend by moral, force. If ever just policy establish itself, and regain that independence she seems for the present to have totally lost, she must extend her frontier to the north of the Pyrenees, and extort from France a line of defence there as strong as that of the barrier towns of Flanders. And the topography of this mountainous tract is fully adequate to supply it.

The Pyrenees at present are no more than an outline, pervious as they are in so many places, and from their extent admitting of any defensive army being turned, and consequently obliged to abandon them. Then, the occupation of Navarre by the invading power follows of course, and this is the key of Spain, at the heads of the Ebro, for it is not by fortresses, the wretched works of men's hands, that countries are secured or held. The Ebro, as heretofore observed, is also but an outline. The mountains of the interior are only posts; and to be effectually defended

on this side, the state must always be prepared to evacuate and make an esplanade of her territory, to the Sierra Morena; which thus would be the line of defence to her capital, Seville, of so much importance to her as a naval power with naval allies; for under such circumstances she could not fail of the support of Britain.

The eastern extremity of the Sierra Morena, though a country of position, is accessible. It is adapted for infantry and artillery, supporting the cavalry country in its front, and it links on with the Sierra Nevada in the east, forming a grand outline of defence from sea to sea. Still to defend Spain would require talent infinitely beyond the common class; and were these produced in her cause, the difficulties under which they are to be exerted seem almost insuperable*. At present, the moral and physical powers of the nation are so completely drained and palsied, as to allow no expectation of good result from any exertion of remaining vitals. Feeble as Portugal is by nature, that country has always had the better in the actual struggles between the two powers. This shows how little is to be expected in such a case. And France dreads Spain a great deal too much, not to be jealously awake to any effort made towards emancipation by her, or for her.

Spain, although a monarchy, is at this moment as unconnected as she was under the Moorish polygarchy. Her provinces have no moral combination. The influence of a national government, could such be her lot, would supervene this; but all is here mere speculation. Her population is quite inadequate to supply a force equal to that which France had under Louis XIV., and Portugal must ever be a thorn in her side;

* Success in warfare is admitted the proof of wisdom. To common reflection, however, it appears as if in this procedure success ought to depend upon depth of views, extent of combinations, closeness of calculation.

as it would be impossible ever to identify the interests of the two nations. Hereupon, however, it is to be on the other hand admitted, that identities of feeling and sentiment do, in many cases, in this life start up, with all, or even more than the effect of interest, and such might of course be the case here. The king of Prussia always maintains one squadron of cavalry more than the house of Austria. This is not a less applicable than luminous specimen of what are *neighbourly feelings* among politicians. May such never reach private life! Such would be precisely the step to be taken by unshackled Spain. The colonies ought not to be allowed to draw more than the surplus. This province of Andalusia is the parent site of the famous breed of horses of the Peninsula, amply capable of furnishing the due supplies for an army. Thus, as observed, the Sierra Morena, the mountains of Grenada connected by a chain of fortresses, behind which to be the depôts with Carthagena, the Guadalquivir and Cadiz, would present an impregnable resource for maintaining a defensive system, covered in front by an army preponderating in cavalry, even although the frontiers of the kingdom fell, as there is reason to apprehend they must, into the hands of an enemy. Though not impregnable, yet, if unmenaced by sea, Spain might be still unconquerable. All this, however, presupposes that numerical force which several too serious obstacles yet obstruct a progress to. But the rendering Spain really independent, which can only be done by enlightening her policy, cultivating her friendship, and fortifying her powers, ought to be a great political object with the world at large. As for her next neighbour, France, the only country situated so as to be a formidable land enemy to Spain; it must be a war only, and a triumphant one indeed on the part of the latter, which could put her in possession of what she ought for her natural interests to have—the Pyrenees for her frontier, with a good esplanade to them on the north. This, with consi-

derable fortresses guarantied as far as treaties do guaranty, and still more effectually by a powerful internal military system; would make this country what she ought to be politically, the rival of France, as she is by the order of nature. One word as to the fortifying system. Position is the real fortress, and in this the native power possesses an infinite advantage over any alien. Technical works are poor substitutes. Spain is not, however, powerful on the score of position; a circumstance which calls for the cavalry force. Moreover, as to the system laid down, be it observed, to dispute ground inch by inch, is in the vulgar phrase to be beaten from pillar to post. In human affairs a little must be sacrificed to gain a great deal; to make a powerful repulsion, concentration must be recurred to; and an enemy as he advances, presents himself for a blow. This the ancients personified in their allegory of Castor and Pollux.

SEVILLE.—This situation is flat, low, and liable to be overflowed by the mighty Guadalquivir. This might be obviated by turning his streams to due use. What would this country be, were one of the millions sterling derived from the Atlantic, to diffuse any where but at home, expended there in permanent improvement? As to agriculture, barilla is a destructive crop, yielding no return to the parent earth, and liquorice is a rank weed growing out of its neglect. But as to this place in particular, and its environs, both present pictures with features peculiar to themselves. Habitation, vegetation, shade and verdure, all combine to constitute a scene of delights. This too is the season, as Cervantes observes, who, poor man! seems to have felt, with his other misfortunes, a true taste for the good things of this life of every description, "*quando compean las manteguillas,*" when the little prints of butter, the produce of the dairies of the Sevillian meadows, make their appearance. What is winter here, corresponds in these respects with our most delight-

ful springs in the north. But indeed, internally and externally, Seville is a terrestrial paradise. A gentry exists too here, who appear handsomely mounted, and give to the observer's ideas quite a new turn from what he has derived from aught hitherto seen in Spain. Every thing improves south of the Sierra Morena. Can this be the result solely of exemption from the *mesta*? Agriculture, produce, buildings, population, and œconomics,—all are on an ameliorated system. The present view of them is cursory, but these effects cannot be the result of soil or climate.

CADIZ. (February 1785.)—The delightful spring scenery of Andalusia cannot be renounced for the sterile circuit of Cadiz without some regret. The life of this city much resembles that passed on shipboard, save that it is destitute of the hopes derivable from change of place. The winters are very humid, and do not possess the genial warmth of the province in general. Cadiz can hardly be said to constitute a part of Spain. Foreign inmates, foreign commerce, an *entrepôt* for smuggling specie for other nations to turn to profit, constitute but a poor specimen of what a Spanish *emporium* is, or of the policy which tolerates it all. Here is a numerous body of merchants, however, the descendants of old Catholic families of Ireland, but of English blood; expatriated conquerors long settled here, but not long enough to forget the convivial habits of home. They are exercised with that cordiality so innate in the race, and so mistaken by the millions who are incapable, by internal sentiment, of forming any idea of what that quality means. Their participation in the glory of Old England, rather too openly expressed during the late American war, obtained for them the indulgence of a *congé d'élire* for another residence more in the interior of Spain, with a strong recommendation not to show themselves within forty miles of the coast. Their *comptoirs* must have suffered in conse-

quence considerably, but their commerce is now beginning again to rally. They did not allow it to depress their spirits, therefore it is to be hoped the mischief fell short of its mark. French influence, as predominating here as in the *Sitios*, is supposed to have had a considerable share in the measure. A jealousy of the superior affluence and command of commerce of this body, is supposed to have excited this most unjust, arbitrary, and indeed barbarous procedure.... Count O'Reilly commands here: a fact which follows the other rather oddly. He has very materially improved this city. Not quite equal have been the results of his efforts with the Spanish army. An alien attempting, however legitimate his invitation, to regenerate a country, be his measures or intentions the very best, is no more than a state empiric. But the Peninsula, or at least Spain, has been long a languid patient in such hands. They may console themselves, however, if they see their efforts fail, by the reflection that others could have succeeded no better. The fault is not in them. Of an active mind, and meeting encouragement, General O'Reilly went to Austria, where he was very assiduous in noting the particulars of that superlative military system, the foundation of the greatness of that empire, and the fabric of his illustrious countryman Marshal Lacy; whom, and it was a laudable though bold ambition, he may have formed the idea of taking as a prototype to model himself upon in Spain. But he attempted what Marshal Lacy never would—to Germanize Spanish *hidalgos*. It may easily be judged, by any one who knows what a Spaniard is, how the emotions of the latter would be excited, if ordered, by the entrance of a superior officer into private company, into the *Tertulia*, to rise from his chair, and remain *debout* until the self-denial of the former courteously apprised him he "considered himself still *but a man*." This experiment was unsuccessful: not so unfortunate, however, as his trial of skill (the more innocent

amusement of shell-throwing has been recently adopted as an improvement) in a much more serious quarter, before the Algerines, where the Spaniards advanced as fast as they formed, in successive detachments; not *à portée* to sustain each other. This gave to a regiment now here, that of Savoy, which distinguishes itself, by pleasing in its exterior, which is not usual, the Martinets of the day, to its present colonel, Don Cornelio O'Brien, who commanded the grenadiers covering the retreat after this unfortunate attempt, and who saved all who did escape from the fury of the Mohommedans and incapacity of their own generals;—this retreat, in its execution, showed what may be expected from Spanish soldiers. Not a single shot was fired by them, though the Mohommedans clashed their sabres on their presented firelocks. Their commander addressed them under this trial by an epithet that reached their hearts: not "Soldiers," nor "Comrades," but "Christianos." The Algerine officers tore their beards with rage, when they failed in encouraging the cavalry to break into the Spanish battalion. The result of the expedition cured the state, or at least the heads of it, of any tendency to such freaks as debarking in the face of Algerines for the future.

The Bay of Cadiz is one of the many noble harbours possessed by Spain, and which may eventually one day constitute her a powerful naval nation. (A very inconvenient ledge of rocks in the entrance here, called *Los Puercos*, has caused many misfortunes to ships.) These of Spain have the advantage too, that they are not bar-harbours.—Ferocity has unusually marked British warfare when pointed against Spain. The sacking-system selected this city for its victim. The horrors experienced at Vigo are shuddered at here to this day. It is to be hoped this mode of warfare at least is consigned for ever to al-

horrence; and let its particulars be so to oblivion! Nations have much to exercise forgiveness on to each other.

The time now fast approaches for the rendezvous on the coast of Africa, and a favourable opportunity presents itself in the arrival of a British ship in those seas, chartered for the Sultan's service, and assigned by him to different purposes, which will explain themselves in due time; one part, however, being the conveyance of artillery to his new military establishment, Mogodor, on the coast of the Atlantic. A conveyance in a well appointed British ship was an opportunity too desirable to risk a disappointment in, and was eagerly embraced; and the early breaking of spring in these latitudes gave hopes of a pleasant voyage, which were not in the sequel disappointed.

A summary reflection or two will obtrude on taking leave of Europe, and more particularly a part of it which lies so much out of ordinary routes, that the chances are considerably against its presenting itself to the notice of any man a second time, in the course of life. For the purpose of possessing in the mind a good idea of so great an object as a nation, it is necessary that the image should be so concentrated, its features so condensed, as to be rendered capable of being retained upon the mind without confusion. In regard however first to France:— In that country we see one, to judge of which, a personification will avail us. France is a great nation, of prodigious physical and moral resources, but under a system in every respect inadequate to the display and effort of her mighty means. May it not be said of that country, that France has outgrown the bib, leading-strings, and rod? It is obvious what she suffers by. The case of Spain is entirely different, but the same principle of comparison will avail here. Spain labours under the decrepitude produced by accumulation of political evils.

Expansion is called for by one state, exoneration by the other; one is supine, the other prostrate. The political institutions which might rule a Frankish confederacy of illiterate and adventurous warriors are utterly inadequate to a domiciliated people*, and the feudal claims are not less so. Such political evils, any one of which has ever been felt a material detriment to a state, are utterly intolerable to one debilitated beyond the endurance of pressure.——But—farewell to Europe!

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* But what events have taken place since the occasion of such thoughts occurred! And how sublimely elevated does human nature now stand! The spectacle is sufficient to draw the misanthropist from his desert.

"IT IS WISE AND JUST TO GIVE FRANCE STRONG AND LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS CONFORMABLE TO THE PRESENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE."—*The words of an Emperor!*

So much wisdom and justice never were condensed in so few words.

"*La France a besoin de quelques exemples.*"—And what examples! what specimens of the discipline intended for human nature! How the finger of Providence has defeated the malignity, to work the happiness of mankind!

PART II.

AFRICA.

VOYAGE TO MOGODOR IN SOUTH BARBARY.

MARCH 1785.—At the approach of the vernal equinox, and indeed during the whole of winter, south-westerly winds prevail in this part of the Atlantic, and cause the progress to the southward to be usually tardy and disagreeable. A heavy surf also beats in upon the coast of Africa, which, from Cape Spartel, is bold, threatening, and inhospitable. Notwithstanding, however, its perpendicular elevation, which appears to present a wall as insuperable as perpendicular to the boisterous element, the latter surmounts every obstacle, and is seen at a distance of many miles from the shore, ascending the faces and summits of these lofty cliffs, as if in defiance of obstruction. An awful warning of what a vessel is to expect which does not duly preserve her offing. Repulsive as the prospect may be, it would be well did the principle extend to the elements: but the converse is the case. A very considerable indraught to the shore is more than suspected here, so that it doubly behoves the navigator to be advertent on this point, in a situation where he must wholly depend upon his longitude *. The winter here is usually

* There is good reason to think that the in-draught to the Straits is more considerable, and extends further out to the west, than people are generally aware of. It might produce very fatal catastrophies, especially to vessels on the north of this important inlet, where the hidden rocks run out far. The power of this in-draught, too, has saved vessels when apparently abandoned to destruction both by God and man.

wet, squally, and chilly. The returning sun, however, makes a triumphant struggle, and alternations of serene skies and seas intervene, of which the razor-backed whale, which abounds through this part of the ocean, avails himself to play, spouting up the water around the vessel; and incidents trifling in themselves acquire an interest in the tedium of a sea-voyage.

Cape Cantin is a bold object. It is to be regretted that it has not its latitude duly ascertained, experienced seamen being of opinion that it is placed full thirty miles too much to the north in our charts. Eleven days trial of tackling in stiff gales, and of tempers in dead calms, brought the voyage to its termination, at the anchorage in the road of Mogodor, in latitude 31° 25′, on the 24th of March 1785.

During the whole of summer, a steady north breeze, which however does not extend far out to sea, prevails all down this coast from the Straits. It is usually so stiff that a vessel can hardly hold her station against it; and this port, if then overshot, is not easily recovered. In the progress down the coast, the cultivators were seen diligently at work, with two bullocks in a plough, in spite of heavy flying western showers, hurrying their crops into the ground, and by the hasty mode of their process appearing as if they had a wager against time in hand, with their plough. In approaching this place from the north, a few villages, too, cross the eye; but what distinguishes the place itself (for it has no conspicuous land-marks) is its lofty white towers.

Mocodor.—This place is a creation of the present Sultan. Souera was the ancient name of the situation. Its denomination as at present was bestowed on it in memory of a Mohommedan * saint, as it is said,

* The word is thus spelt in conformity with its expression from the mouths of the people themselves, who may certainly in this case be esteemed the best critics.

but probably the sacred ideas annexed to it are more ancient than Islamism itself*.

Europeans navigating hither must depend on their own experience or inquiry. They will find no pilots to answer signals, nor, if they did, ought they to be depended on. A Moorish pilot, engaged and taken on-board expressly for this place, did not know when he saw it; but insisted, if it were a town, that it was one built since he was on this coast. Good meridians and observations are most entitled to reliance. On approaching here, a vessel is boarded by the port-master, who in this instance is a person speaking English. He presents to the stranger the port regulations, which are printed for the use of Europeans. The leading one is (and it affords a somewhat unfavourable criterion to judge of the spirit of the commercial relations of this country by): Any vessel entering one of the ports of the Sultan's dominions between the times of sun-set and sun-rise, shall be fired at and turned back to sea. Here is anchorage or a roadstead, one mile and a half outside of this harbour, and parallel with or somewhat to the north of the entrance, or northern opening between the little island in front of the bay and the town. The bearing of the mosque tower may be taken for it at due east; but the shore must not be approached, as a ledge of rocks runs out therefrom a considerable way in that direction. Here in this roadstead large vessels which cannot, and all until they do, enter the bay, bring up. The mouth of the harbour is very narrow, yet a heavy sea tumbles in; but behind

* There are few islands upon the coasts of the old world, which have not had a sacred character or idea annexed to them by the primitive navigators, those bold adventurers whose nautical enterprises are above all record. The names handed down to us indicate as much. Such was probably the case with the little island here. This might have been an important bay to the craft of those days. Both the names, the ancient and the more recently applied one, according to what we are told, are radicals of the most remote antiquity, and bear the strict sense here applicable: but philological discussions lead too far.

the island is smooth water of four fathoms depth at high tide. Here were now twelve vessels lying at anchor, all of small draught, and mostly to receive cargoes of mules for the West India islands.

The island in front is of several acres extent, and the shore around the bay is composed of a fine white sand. A good opportunity, which was availed of, now presented itself of taking a chart of this place, which was accordingly done, with the due bearings and soundings, and left in the possession of the hospitable merchants of this place, Messrs. Gwynne and Hutchinson, for insertion in the new map of this coast then about to be engraved. The watering-place is at the bottom of the bay; a small river, near to which is a battery, and also a tree used by the seafaring people as a land-mark. Vessels which have overrun this port from the north during summer, even a few leagues, have been for three weeks beating up before they could recover it. How this little bay was chosen by the Sultan in preference to Waladia, further north, and which by all accounts possesses admirable advantages, cannot be ascertained. But hither he removed the Europeans when he dismantled their original station, Santa Cruz, in the south.

Immediate to the beach here, on the north, are the town-gate and landing-place. The landing from boats is neither pleasant nor safe. The Jews here have the duty imposed on them (and it is not easy to see how they could be dispensed with) of conveying Christians through the surf; a burthen it would be an indignity to impose on the shoulders of a Mussulman.

Mogodor (April 1784).—The first idea which strikes a stranger's mind here is the cleanliness that prevails around, from the white-washed houses and white clothing of the people. On entering these houses, indeed, some falling off is perceivable in this respect; yet where the religion of a state makes this virtue of the second class an article of

duty, it cannot but be attended with considerable result. Here are about thirty houses of different nations of Europe, whose inmates live in an intercourse of amity and hospitality, uninfluenced and unbroken by the squabbles of the parent states. Here is at present a prohibition of any person landing on any part of the shore of the bay, save at the town-gate. Whether it will be continued beyond the period of the residence of the Sultan, now encamped near the little river and battery, is unascertained. The streets here are rectilineal, and barely wide enough to admit a loaded camel. This last circumstance, their narrowness, strikes the eye the more strongly, from the considerable height to which the houses are carried up. These streets are thronged by foot-passengers, all in hurry, discussing apparently with most vehement gesticulation; and the open places are filled with groups sitting in the shade, cross-legged, enveloped in loose clothing, and in silent gravity. The tall stature, manly countenances, and regular features of the youth, and long beards of the aged of the Moors, with their light drapery falling in redundant folds to the feet, and cast in the most picturesque manner over the head, afford a living exemplification of the most beautiful remains from the Grecian chisel.

The Sultan is the rich man of the poet, though not of the prophet, "*Diruit; ædificat; mutat quadrata rotundis.*" His life is passed in constructing and dilapidating. A Genoese renegade is his present architect, who seems to have struck out a style of his own. It is light and airy, and so far harmonizes (as is not the case with the works of the architects of some more scientific nations) with the manners of the people who inhabit the structures, as these do with the climate wherein they are placed. It has somewhat of the misnamed Gothic, blended with Roman and Arabesque, and has quite as good a claim as any other to the denomination of *composite*. The streets here are not paved;

whereby they are dirty in wet, and dusty in dry, weather; although, as the sub-soil is a sand, this inconvenience is rather less felt than it otherwise would be. However, it causes the roofs of the houses, which are flat, to be preferable for taking air, or indeed exercise. But as every thing must carry an inconvenience with it, the glare from the white-wash is, before sunset, disagreeable and injurious to the eyes. The houses are constructed on the principle prevalent in Spain; inclosing an uncovered court or area, round which are galleries communicating with the apartments on each floor. On the house-top is usually a turret. The family lives on the first floor, the store-rooms, warehouses, and stabling being of course below. The apartments are airy, cool, and commodious; though a considerable deduction from these comforts must be felt in the incorrectness of their proportions, to our tasteful eyes, in the over predominance of the length of the rooms to their breadth; proportions in many instances even exceeding the double cube. The art of not being to be pleased, constitutes no inconsiderable part of the ingredients of that faculty called taste. This latter here, however, does not enter into the business in any shape; for the narrowness of the rooms is caused by the scarcity of large timber in the country for building purposes. The plan is admirably adapted, however, to the climate. Here are no windows or openings to the rooms externally, that is, to the street; and a delightful coolness and silence reign through the whole dwelling, the bustle of the town not pervading the walls, which are entered within through one large door. These substantially close walls are formed by ramming, or beetling, *pisé* as the French term it, with a mixture of rubble, clay, and lime, in framed cases of wood placed upon trusses. Thus, and with this composition, they carry them up to a very considerable height, raising the moulding-cases, as the work proceeds, on the trusses or cross timbers placed in and

through the walls. It is frequently, however, too precipitately done, and prostrates with still greater precipitation, carrying the artisans with it. From the quantity of lime used in these buildings, a great proportion of this soil must be calcareous: for they have not vehicles to convey it from any considerable distance. This is done on the backs of mules and asses, principally the latter. As to their style, as we choose to derive a very prevalent one at home from the Goths, why may we not in equitable distribution ascribe this here to the Vandals? the system at least is sustained by the speculation so far as it may have weight. As far as parapets, ramparts, embrasures, cavaliers, batteries and casemates (for it must be admitted Mogodor has them all) constitute nominally, or in definition, a fortress, this town is one: but the walls are flimsy, the cavaliers do not command, the batteries do not flank, and the casemates are not bomb proof. The embrasures are so close that not one gun in three upon the ramparts could be worked if they were mounted, which they are not. The Moors consider themselves a martial nation, and are flattered by a desire from Europeans to view their military works: a compliment that must not be omitted, as they consider them to be sublime specimens of the science, not having been in the habit of seeing the progress that has been made in it, or studying its principles; copying only, in fact, from very bad models. All their guns, which had been only twelve months here, were in very bad order already, from exposure to the climate and surf, the air being so impregnated with saline particles; and what carriages were to the guns, were so decayed by these causes, that they appeared ready only to fall to pieces on the first discharge: three-fourths, however, were with proper caution placed only on tressels by way of horizontal props, resting the muzzles on the levels of the embrasures; *in terrorem*. Covered depôts would be barely indeed sufficient here to preserve them, as the

casemates are so damp, that their interior is covered constantly with a thick nitrous incrustation. The thickness of the battery parapet was four feet of stone-work. The officer, *alcaide*, who superintends and shows these works, was a French renegade, who many years ago deserted from one of the Spanish fortresses. A conspicuous instance of the backward state of knowledge in these procedures of the military kind presented itself now, in the circumstance of an order his majesty the Sultan was induced to issue, on very absurd suggestions, to preserve some of his more valuable pieces of artillery from the injurious effects of the situation already described, by imposing upon the poor Jews the usual *souffre-douleurs* here, the task and expense of sewing them up in canvass! Thus they were left under every other degree of exposure during the whole of winter, and the result need not be described. It is odd that, with the aid of European renegades, who it is to be supposed must have seen something in this way, they should be altogether so destitute still of any correct ideas. The main battery on the bay affords a specimen of the originality of these. It is in fact a literal half-moon work, being a semi-circle parapeted for musquetry, and surmounted by a cavalier for artillery, the space inside between the lower parapet and the foot of the cavalier being a narrow one just allowing men to pass. A small barrack occupied by ten gunners bisects this, and forms the crown or summit. Some of the guns now here (of brass) are the last bequest of Sebastian king of Portugal.

The weather still continues at times chilly and showery, and Europeans of the north are still glad to recur to the comforts of sea-coal fire, as in latitude fifty-two. But they have here a source of amusement in a delightful spot—the epithet is not surcharged for this climate,—about three miles inland—a garden containing a light, clean, airy structure for the purpose of dining in; and here are possessed the real luxuries

of nature; verdure, shade and water, in a genial climate! Hither the Europeans, mounting their horses, come to spend the day, each man according to his fancy, with books or conversation (interesting as may be supposed, where people are by the various pursuits of life, or by its chapter of accidents, thrown concentrated together from so wide a circle,) and tobacco, until the hour of dinner summons them to a table, at which, if exactly the feast of reason and pure flow of soul do not present themselves, good-humour and a wish that all should be pleased and gratified prevail; and where, in the logician's view of the thing, substantials considerably predominate over forms. Even one bred and brought up in England will look with astonishment at the profusion which overspreads the tables in the entertainments given in this country; the load of solids under which the board groans. It was a saying of the Venetian consul: "Others may give their hundred dishes, (for arithmetic must come in aid of the bill of fare, and any computation below round numbers is scorned); but I give my hundred all of solid meat." And this is by no means an *empty* boast: for a deer or a boar barbecued presides at the head, the former usually in the attitude of springing from the table, while a prodigious China bason, filled with *cuscusu*, smokes at the foot, the intermediate space being diversified with every production of animated nature placed at the sovereign pleasure of the lords of the creation by primary decree, in variety adequate to occupy the naturalist, and in culinary modes quite sufficient to puzzle him in the first essays of his arrival. All this, to be sure, constitutes a spectacle very considerably enhanced to one who has recently quitted the sterilities of Spanish *pucheros*, which certainly cannot be classed with the flesh-pots of Egypt. As the important article of the Moorish cuisine, *cuscusu*, is now mentioned, and as it may not frequently present itself in an English bill of fare, it is quite necessary to inform the

reader that it is a principal piece in every great, and the sole one in every economical, table establishment in Morocco. It is truly military and viatorial fare, plenty and diversity being obtained by one process, with the utmost possible management of time, convenience, and fuel. The materials consist of meat, vegetables, salt, spices, and flour. Two vessels are required for the process of preparation. The flour is first rolled into pellets or grains, by the (clean it is to be understood) hand of a girl, and heaped upon the meat, which is stowed in as much variety as can be obtained, or contained, mixed with vegetables, and especially onions. All this is stewed over a slow fire, the steam of the meat pervading the flour; and when done it is turned over, the meat thus upwards, into the handsomest China bowl that can be procured, and thus, with Europeans, forms a magnificent foot-dish for the *grand concert*. But among the Mussulmen, with whom primitive manners are the adoption of policy, and injunction of religion, it is placed on a hide, upon the ground, and the guests sit around cross-legged. Could description stop here, perhaps some would think it most discreet; but travellers, who meet facts, must state them fairly; and truth (which Gulliver, as we know, estimated the first quality of the traveller) requires to tell, that ablution seems with the proselytes of Mohommed to wash away all those scruples which, with us, go under the general name of delicacy, in the article at present under discussion. Probably much of our manners is equally repugnant to their ideas of that description. Indeed we know it to be the case. But to recur to the point. The Mussulman with his left hand tears the meat to pieces, gropes into and rolls up the grain, combs the offal from his mouth with his fingers through his long beard, and, with a notable regard to economy, throws it back into the dish for a plastic hand to mould anew into modification for swallowing. Such is not of course the procedure at the

tables of Christians; the higher classes of Moors are aware of our ideas on the subject, and conduct themselves according to the strictest rules of *bienséance*. In general, however, Mussulmen and Europeans dine apart. We are devoted to the pleasures of the table under the refined definition of society; they philosophically eat and drink to satisfy the claims of nature.

The whole expense of this establishment here, for the articles of health, conviviality, and dissipation, does not exceed annually two hundred dollars; a small sacrifice for such important articles of life. It was given by the Sultan to the Europeans in general, as an adjoining one was at the same time to the Dutch in particular. The tract forms a verdant *oasis*, or nearly so, in the billowy ocean of white sand which rises and beats around it, if not entirely, for five-sixths of its precincts. Just to the south, it may barely connect with some of the best scenery of the country, which is of the description we should term *parkish*.

Mogodor is invested, it may be said, by these shifting sand-hills. The winds of winter from the south-west drive them some miles in an opposite direction; but when the stiff steady summer breeze sets in from the north, the rush of cold air condensed at the Pole forcing southwards, to supply the vacuum of rarefaction caused by the return of the sun at the Tropic, and restore an equilibrium, the whole atmosphere here is obscured to a certain elevation with arenose particles, in progress of migration to resume their summer position: and curious it is to admire the order of Nature, even in those cases where first, or superficially viewed, she appears most capricious. The little river heretofore mentioned, on the southern bank whereof are the gardens of the Europeans, and which discharges into the bay, though no more than a trout-stream, has power to arrest and prostrate this Goliath of the atmosphere, and pin his progress down, forbidding his advance one step beyond the northern bank of the brook. Here the masses of sand lie accumulated

to the height of seventy feet, as steep as such a material can retain its form, and in a succession of uniform undulations of this elevation, like an ocean of vast billows propelled by a violent wind, and suddenly arrested while in that form. This little stream then acts as the protector to the European *oasis*, from that submersion which has overwhelmed others on this continent of much greater fame and antiquity, and is fortunate enough, by the shortness of its course, and consequently of the contest, to escape absorption in the clasp of the giant, and save itself entire in the parent element. The fruits and esculent vegetables here consist of pomegranates, melons, figs, tomatas, and peas as good as in England. Beans cannot be got to make progress to maturity; the blossoms turning black and withering. Where this shifting sand,—an important feature of Nature here on this great continent of Africa, and in all probability a Neptunian deposit,—does not predominate, the soil is a tenacious clay of a fertile quality. It is in part cultivated, chiefly under barley and millet: and it is elsewhere covered with broom, which grows to the height of six feet, and under which, at this season, strong grass is not deficient, though the herbage is of a coarse kind. The trees which are diffused over it at intervals are of two species; one a dwarf cedar, the other the *argali* or wild olive, which produces an oil of a disagreeable flavour. But this last inconvenience is in a great measure obviated in the process of the cookery of the natives, by its being flashed, as is always done previously to using it. In this it constitutes their main ingredient. This name *argali*, besides the importance of its surmiseable radical, gives much scope to important deductions in its affinity, it may be said identity, with the *arayal*, the sacred tree of the Hindus, which grows out of the serpent's back. Investigators must not be alarmed at remote identities; every point upon the segment is equally near its centre. The idea of a sacred

tree pervades all the races descended from Adam. But each seems to have adopted one in peculiarity. All are, however, in some sense fructiferous. Here, upon these *argali* are strung offerings, votive, deprecatory, and propitiatory; conformable probably with the means of the donors, and consisting of rags, potsherds, and the like trash, with occasionally some eatables; in which it seems to be construed, that the intent and not the value of the sacrifice would be weighed. This custom is not Mohommedan, neither is it attempted to be accounted for, and still less to be traced, with those by whom it is done, or those by whom it is observed. It is a primitive and inveterate superstition; and, like all such, tenaciously retains its root and humble existence, though overshadowed by the more recent and conquering one which has usurped ascendency. The traveller will see precisely the like in the west of Ireland, and will receive an equally satisfactory account upon the subject. The radical idea may be sought and found in the club of Hercules.

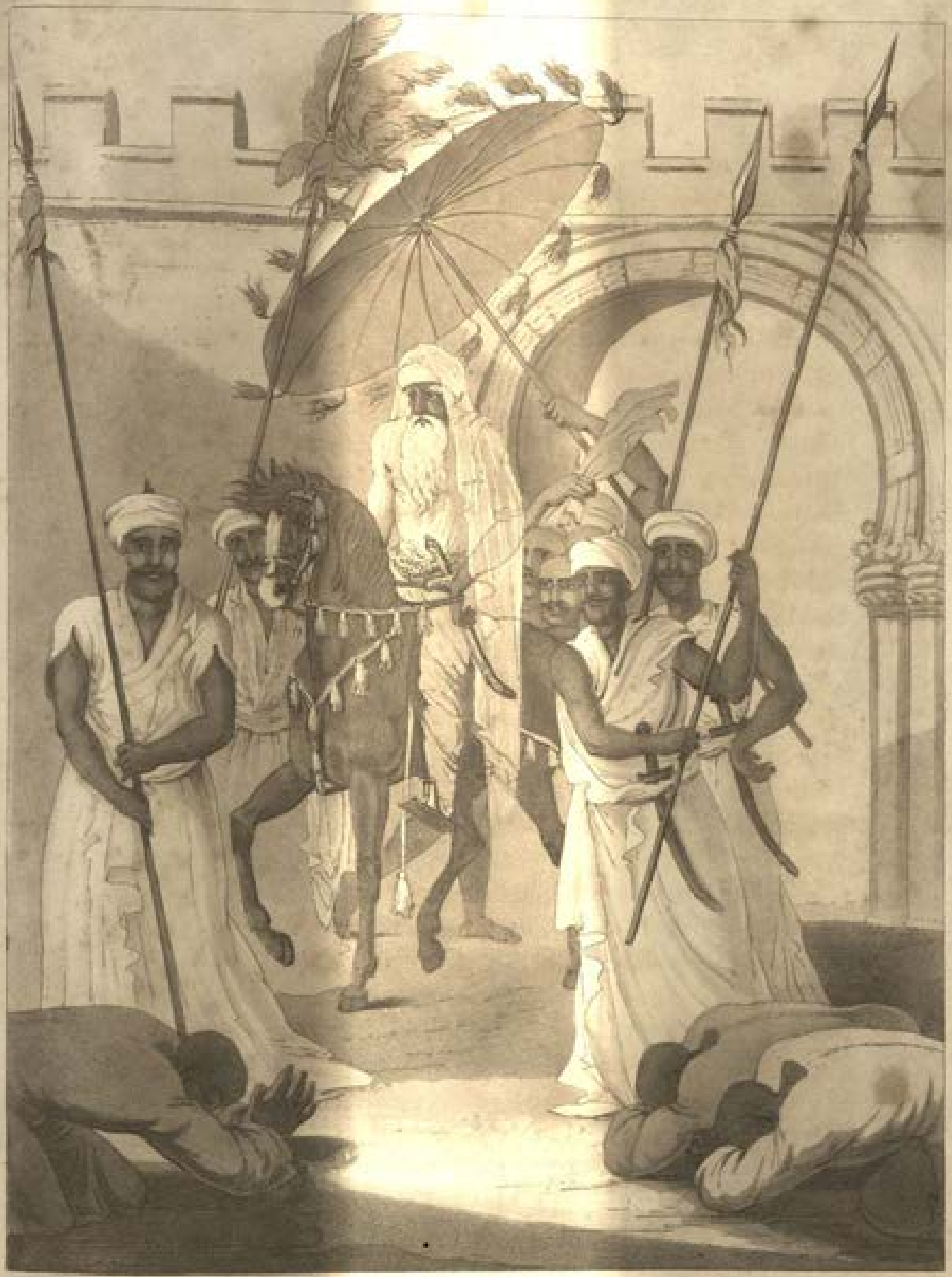
The primary articles of life are here in a cheapness almost below calculation. The sea abounds with varieties of excellent fish. An indifferent species of millet is obtained from the river. The butchers, according to the Mussulman, inconsistently deduced from the Levitical law, cut the fat (sacrifice was the object with the ancient nations: to smoke to heaven, the visible emblem of wafted prayers; or to anoint and cherish the sacred stone;—adoption seldom consults the *rationale*) from their excellent meat, before they sell it to the community. The fat bears a higher price; and Europeans are obliged to pay an enhancement to retain it for their own tables on the lean.

The Grand Signor is considered as the head of the Mussulman faith; partly in consequence of the decline of the Caliphat, partly in consequence, here at least with western Mohommedans, of the supposed dependency of the Holy City upon the government of Constantinople for

subsistence. As such, the political independent princes of his creed send him a tribute of acknowledgement. That which goes hence usually consists of saltpetre, which the humidity of this climate produces in abundance, and which is an article always in request at that metropolis. The Sultan had obtained, for its conveyance thither, our vessel from the English government (after two years' solicitation); and upon her arrival here, the commander immediately went on shore for the purpose of announcing it. Hereupon, a daily supply of bullocks, sheep, and bread was sent on board, adequate to the consumption of fifty men. This was profusion to those who had to use it; but the calculation was not beyond the bounds of reason, when one recollects how numerous are their own crews insmaller vessels.

This is the place appointed by the Sultan for the reception of embassies from his tributary states of Europe, in consideration of the lenity wherewith, in the present day, he deigns to wield the trident of the ocean. Such at least is the self-complacent view which national vanity, about equally alive here as at Pekin or any other great capital, takes of the subject. For this purpose, however, the Sultan was now here. But delays intervening upon the occasion, and his majesty's patience, little habituated to brook the like, being speedily exhausted, he took his departure. Hereby fortunately is afforded to the European diplomatists opportunity of trying, in their ways, their respective talents at the seat of government, to their anxious suites a long-wished opportunity of viewing the country.

When his majesty set out for Morocco, prohibition was issued against strangers, any more than his own subjects, profaning the royal precinct, wherever that might be, by obtrusive eyes and observations. The view, therefore, could only take place from an awful distance. This idea is as ancient as the throne. Nations, whether bordering on the Atlantic



The Sultan of Unyoro coming out to give Audience.

or Pacific, concur throughout in the distinctives of royalty, as here, in the country under observation, averted eyes, and the umbrella. Herewith, too, goes the baring of the feet in the royal presence (see Sacred History). It is curious to observe how little able Islamism, however much it has deranged, has been to eradicate, ancient manners. It does not permit "golden feet," another word for the royal presence, but the original idea prevails. Royalty must be approached contrastively, barefooted. Connected herewith is the assumption of the humbler habit: a delicate insinuation that majesty is not to be rivalled in pomp. From Dahomy, travelling eastwards to Yucatan, identities of this kind prevail. Thus, too, ideas link on to each other; a single one is the parent of an infinite progeny. Thus we may trace that most remotely ancient and widely diffused prejudice, that royal feet are never to touch the ground. Mohommed's intention throughout was, to model man anew; and according to what he would have him, subservient and active to his own views. He succeeded in part, and no more but so. It could be observed on this occasion, however, that immediately on his majesty's mounting his horse, the red umbrella, the distinctive of royalty here, was hoisted over his head. He was preceded by a body of cavalry in a compact squadron; strings of camels and cattle-of-burthen followed, as also did the (*soi-disant*) Bassa of Mogodor, and some of the other principal persons of that place, in token of respect, one day's journey. He left his women, who have for company (and any change or novelty that breaks the tedium of the haram must be an acceptable indulgence) that of the wives of some of the chief officers here, at the battery on the bay, which it is still, in consequence, death to approach. The Sultan always travels on horseback, and either possesses or affects the most perfect indetermination, as to the articles of time and place, hours or destinations, appointing and deferring his departure; nor is it ever

known that it has actually taken place, save by his having made some progress on his journey. Indeed, when he mounts his horse, here or at Morocco, it is equally problematical whether he means to saunter out to inspect his masons, or put himself on the route for Tangier. This procedure would somewhat annoy the lords-in-waiting of Europe; but things are otherwise in Morocco, and so Mohommed intended them. His majesty's attendants have their horses at their piquets, their *alhaiks* to sleep in on their shoulders; the community at large to supply their menage upon the route. Thus provided, the world is all literally before them where to choose. Amongst diplomatic duties is of course included a visit of ceremony to the governor of the place, now once again bassa, since the Sultan's back is turned, but during the vicinity of royalty sunk to humble alcaid; for these planets do not receive their lustre from the source whence they derive their ephemeral existence. His Moorish majesty carries the royal jealousy still further than the Turk, who bears only no brother near the throne, and a bassa's toe of emulation he thinks treads too close. He therefore permits nothing higher in sound than humble alcaid,—a very inclusive term; and, for that reason, not very flattering to self-complacency. All the first officers, however, in their respective stations, as observed, dignify themselves and each other, when his majesty is absent, with the higher title; and here is no wish nor interest on the part of the community to thwart their fancy. Bassa or alcaid, the posterity of these honorific stations merges in the common mass, and the history of this country shows us the evils incidental to the destitution of an aristocracy, in their utmost cruelty. Here is indeed no nobility save in the Xeriff family,—that of the prophet. And to this political monstruosity are owing, radically, all the misfortunes which have ground this lovely but wretched country into dust. But more of this hereafter: for, let the traveller be, by the

decree of others, what he may, he assuredly possesses the right of nature, never forfeited, of deriving from his labours that first of moral blessings below,—*the expansion of thought!*

The present governor here had been ambassador in various parts of the world—to England, to Vienna, to Constantinople. He received his visitors, sitting cross-legged on cushions, at the upper end of a small room, with some principal officers in his company, to whom he appeared to have been reading; though probably the book was merely kept in hand, as we see at home frequently on such occasions, not to appear *désœuvré*. He was well acquainted with the rules of politeness and the intercourse of life; paid many compliments to the British nation, and inquired particularly for such distinguished persons as he had known; amongst others, by name, for lords North, Suffolk, and Rochfort. Chairs were brought for the Europeans, and tea was served round. His house was beautifully clean. The rooms were small according to our scale of ideas, large enough however for a man or a *menage*. The walls, of white, were painted in a bright blue, and gilt in arabesques deep around the cornices, including sentences from the Koran; and all together presented an appearance as cheerful as can be imagined of one whence the sun and face of nature abroad are carefully excluded.

Embassies now begin to thicken at this place. Great Britain, Spain, and Sweden send their respective propitiatory offerings. The two latter powers seemed to have gotten an idea into their heads, that some appearance of dignity was of service to political affairs amongst strangers. In consequence, their diplomatic bodies were transmitted in men-of-war. The Swede was a forty-four-gun-ship. She had one extraordinary inmate, who must have felt himself in a most uncongenial situation here—a red-deer of full antlers. In addition to the usual reciprocity of gun salutes between wooden walls and stone walls, the ceremonial of a

Moorish reception is as follows. Their military (infantry) is formed in a long and close lane of two fronting ranks, the great drums are beaten, and the standards are displayed. The foreign envoy is received from the shoulders of his Israelite supporters at the water-edge, by the governor of the place, and by all the Christians of it, at the town-gate, where the populace and soldiery precipitating themselves at the same moment, occasion a heat and pressure not to be described, but affording an opportunity of which the pickpockets avail themselves, to show that they are not in point of skill and address behind their fellow-professors of the art in Europe. But still more sufferance to try the ambassador's stoicism is yet in reserve. For, as he leads the body which sustains the compliment, advancing through the lane of soldiers, the file on each side, at firing, points the muzzle of his six-feet-long musket into the soil, which being of a gravelly nature, not only the ambassador's silk stockings, but the limbs within them, are in no small danger of laceration. At best, the mental and bodily annoyance endured is at least equal to the honour intended; for the skill whereon the soldier piques himself, consists in discharging his piece as near as possible to the toe of the person advancing, without absolutely striking it with the wadding and unexploded powder; which in this country is quite as serious as sparrow-shot.

It is not here attempted to be insinuated, that a person thought worthy to be deputed upon a public mission would "trembling inhibit," at flashes in the pan, but a little wincing on this occasion is hardly avoidable. The Dutch minister to the court of Japan (every court has its *regime*) is required to show his skill in dancing before the Cubo's ladies, and one of them has actually had the indiscretion (candour is not exacted from man beyond a due point) to exhibit his portrait to the world as he went through that performance. Lord Bolingbroke, with all his

other talents, would have failed in such a mission as this: much depends in worldly affairs upon the judicious appropriation of the faculties. The ambassador here is enfiladed in his advance, by two lines of eyes from the parapet-walls of the houses; and what is required from him is to appear with a grave countenance, and advance with a firm step; acts fortunately within more general reach of mortal possession.

Moorish compliments, the people themselves must admit, with the merit of being perfectly consistent throughout, are somewhat of the rough kind. When a European rides accompanied by a guard of honour, no very commodious *cortege* at best, he is obliged to sustain all the additional inconveniencies of a charge of cavalry, except the actual *coup de poitrail*.

Sweden formerly made an annual present to the Sultan; but, finding some molestation in the sense of *tributary* feeling, in preference, and to get rid thereof, now sends an ambassador, and presents (by way of mending the matter), regularly, every *two* years, the intervening omission being apparently intended to operate as a bar to a plea of title. A field equipage, however, remains for the use of the minister of this nation at Tangier. Part of the Swedish present of this year was two thousand mortar-shells. On the arrival of this embassy, a proof was exhibited of what a depressed people have to submit to. The governor, without a moment's warning, turned a rich Jew merchant and his family out of house and home, to accommodate some of the Swedish gentlemen;—and yet Jews do build houses here! Orders were also issued, whereby the Swedish ship was supplied immediately with ten oxen, fifty sheep, five hundred fowls, bread, corn, and forage in proportion. All our embassies are, however, eclipsed by the splendour of that of Spain; the suite whereof is composed of officers of their navy, glittering in velvet and gold-lace, and attended by a strong band of military

music. Their ambassador is Don Francisco de las Salenas y Moñino, colonel of the dragoons of Pavia, which promotion he obtained by the service of having borne to Madrit, express, the intelligence of the sailing of the floating batteries, from their anchorage before Algeziras, to that destination whence they never returned,—their anchorage before the walls of Gibraltar. The subsequent accounts transmitted scarcely earned a like muneration.

"Out on ye, owls!
Nothing but songs of death!"

Each of these diplomatic corps sets out in its turn for the capital, the British being the last which proceeds thither.

The history of the country now before us is so far uninteresting as not linking on with general history: its transactions not having influenced those of the world at large, as the nation recently left has done. But still it is impossible but that what concerns, in any degree, the track of the human race down the dark paths of time, must excite curiosity, and repay investigation. Can apathy be a matter of boast? or will it hide its face behind the plea of literary unities, in turning away from those inquiries which may in some degree tend to bring us acquainted with a subject we are so much in obscurity about, as the history of—ourselves? If such however is to be the case, let no such rigidity of speculation restrict the traveller. Let it be the effort of him who toils for knowledge, to gather, in the *full harvest* of thought, a moral provision for after-life.

Carthage *, during her predominancy, filled her mercenary ranks

* Classical taste has perhaps imbibed a contempt for all which concerns this once-important community, to which the philosophic historian may not altogether be inclined to subscribe. A glimpse of its revolutions and fate may be useful to such as, from stock of thought, may feel the necessity of a somewhat of that *lucidus ordo* therein, which the happier state of mental exemption

of military force with the rapid-springing population of this country. It was influenced, rather than ruled, by the Romans. The Vandals overran it. It was in subjection to the Eastern Empire, and drained, after its infuriate conversion, by the descendants of the Caliphs, for their wars in Spain, during which period the migratory Arabs established themselves in it; and it subsequently presented to the world the unique spectacle in politics, of a country re-absorbing, under compulsion, her own population. Can all be barren here? Yet true it is, that as the Moors were expelled from Spain, the influence of this country in history there, is of no more interest than the part it bore in Sicily, to the world at large. Far otherwise, however, is it to the moralist, and equally to the visitor. If these countries (Mauritania and Tingitana let us now denominate, in order to define them) were in obscurity under Carthage, they enjoyed respite, and probably peace, under Roman despotism, and, what is unhappily rare in more luminous annals, for several centuries; indeed until our fifth; when the Vandals, yet traceable here, by treaty with Valentinian, founded their Christian state. How feeble was then

may not be so morbidly sensible to the want of. Carthage, the head of the vast tract of this continent westwards, was founded by Phœnicians; destroyed by Scipio, as her parent state had been by Alexander; re-colonized by Augustus, improved by Adrian; a Roman province, a Greek prefecture, a modern ruin (worthy of investigation, and amply repaying the little which very modern days have bestowed on it). It presented, by the feebleness of its last protection, the gap whereby the Arabs entered these countries, *as conquerors*; the migratory tribes of Mauritania, as it is now occupied by them, having crept in (as is said) from the south. That Carthage, the metropolis of three hundred cities, founded as she was on the very verge of the first establishments of civic life in Palestine, containing in her bosom seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and flourishing during eight centuries, must have assuredly had a next to all-powerful influence here. Morocco may be justly considered one of the fragments of ancient Carthage. A Carthaginian coin, described in the Philosophical Transactions (see the Abridgement, and volume the thirteenth), struck at VABAR (note this name), a city of Mauritania (afterwards) Cæsariensis, is tantamount to a proof on the side of these speculations. Mauritania may well be considered as politically involved in the fates of the great commercial city, until its subversion in the second century before our æra.

its professed protection! for Genseric invaded it with a force of not more than, nominally, thirty thousand men. Here too occurs fresh matter of reflection; in the question, What should have brought the Vandals, conquerors in Spain, to court new dangers here? But the fact seems to be, that a conqueror by habit*, becomes little fit for any other avocation. To sit down a husbandman, or roam a shepherd, for a mere existence, is a poor reward, a disparaging crown, of the toils and glories of conquest; and the Vandals, when they had gotten possession of Spain, found they had acquired nothing but territory, ever requiring toils and privations. Here, they found subjects. The conqueror could live, at no further trouble than that of laying on and receiving imposts. Whatever sense of danger may attend the situation, is more than compensated by the sense of pride. This invasion, however, showed here, that a way was to be found across the Straits for such a purpose, and the hint was not forgotten at the due time. A very material difference appears to have existed in the respective occupations of the two countries, although a process in its simple form admitting of such little modification. But Spain is half Moorish at this moment, and Vandalism is barely traceable in Mauritania. In the former case the irruption seems to have been national, in the latter it must have been almost entirely military. One country was colonized, the other only conquered. In subsequent times it was only necessary to sweep away the latter, whereas the former were to be expatriated. In colonization it is usually only the scum that boils over, whereas in emigration it is the dregs only that remain behind. But, not to anticipate, in whatever state the Vandals may have found this country (and a ques-

* Conquest is the most infatuating passion; and probably, next to habitual intoxication, the most riveting propensity that can seduce or infect puerile maturity.

tion of considerable interest that is), it appears that in the beginning of the sixth century the native force that had rallied for the Vandal king was killed in an insurrection. This at least shows that the Mauritanian or aboriginal race was not then extinct, or its spirit defunct. However, the subversion of the Vandal government was reserved for Belisarius, who took Carthage, and made prisoner King Gilimer, who had concealed himself in the recesses of Mount Atlas.

Such circumstances established tend to substantiate points, which have but reason unsustained by record to support them. This rule had continued here for about one hundred and seventy years, perhaps not long enough to imprint effective traces. Prior to the Hegira, and of our æra 623, Turkuman and Saracen pastoral migrators had advanced thus far westward; but the gad-fly of fanaticism was wanting to urge them, and the effort to penetrate consequently failed. But in the Caliphat of Mouawiah, by means of this incitement in its full force, towards the close of that same century, the Mussulmen effected the conquest of this country; and forty years after directed its innate force, under the impulse of engrafted enthusiasm, against the Peninsula. The Moorish retaliation is involved in historical misrepresentations impossible now to unravel. All we can be satisfied upon, is the falsehood of what historians have delivered down to us upon the subject. Minuteness of statement, from them, is ever a suspicious circumstance for the veracity of the whole tale; but when this is proved an old one fitted anew, it is time indeed to consign it to the rag-shop. A very feeble residue, it is however probable, remained here after this invasion sallied forth; and this is possibly the date of the entry of the pastoral Arabs, who now occupy the great plain of this country between the ocean and the vast mountainous region, connected

by situation and identified in name. This is one important epocha in the history of this nation. It remained governed subsequently, *à l'arabesque*, by the lieutenants of the Caliphat, until the wane of that power in its Bagdad effeminacies. Its frenetic might, enthusiasm, too, evaporating in the diffusion of conquest, various factions arose here; for men will have leaders, and leaders adherents, and each predominated for its day; but fanaticism was the basis of all. The mass has its nucleus, and the knot its clue, in acquiring which the whole is possessed. Different principles have produced their natural effects, whether opposite or coincident, in different countries. But the distractions which have produced all the evil in this, are all soluble into one mischief—religious fanaticism. The subject, if it be in one respect, its principle, simple, is, in its modes here, somewhat intricate. Assuredly no dictation will, in the present day, awe men to sit down in resignation, contented with half views of things and truths! The succession of enthusiasts and fanatics here, is dated and denominated as follows:—Anno 1000, the *Marabou*: 1130, the *Al Mohadi*: 1250, the *Beni Mereni*: and 1500, the *Xeriffs*.—Marabou is a honorific title, meaning instructor (in theologics to be sure): and these were the people of the plain. They are also found under the name of Al Moravedi; and their chief's name, as handed down to us, is Tex-apin. They drove the Arab sheiks (the pastoral tribes) from the plain, which proves it to have been in part a national insurrection against the intrusive usurpers; and these people are considered as the founders of Morocco. The etymologies coneur in all this. The Al Mohadi, on the other hand, were a mountain aggregation, or Brebers; quite distinct from the natives of the plain, and according to every present appearance a primitive race; but equally with the others converted to Moslemism. They took their name

from their leader, the word having the signification of Rabbi with the Jews. These evicted their predecessors, from the dominion at least of the plain. The Beni Merini were another mountain aggregation, who seized in their turn the domination of the plain, and were also in their turn evicted by the Oatazi, a faction of little traceable origin, in whose time the Portuguese established themselves on the coast, and worried the country, in honour of the true faith. This gave an opportunity to the Xeriffs, descendants of the holy family of Mecca, settled in Tafilet, to work into power. In fact, they seem to have been recurred to, on account of what they were; under the emergencies of what can hardly be called the state, but, the menace of an extraneous violence. Hassan Xeriff had the merit, in the eyes of the country, of delivering it from the dangers of foreign thraldom *, and compensated himself by possession of the sceptre; which he left to his family. The present Sultan is, as were his ancestors of course, of the Xeriff dynasty; his dominions now consist of Morocco, Fez, Tafilet, Sus (Gætulia), and their dependencies.

It is impossible (one would think) for a country to be viewed, and some wish not to be entertained for a little insight into its general history. Nor can it be supposed possible to possess the latter, without feeling an increased interest in whatever the country presents. Opportunities will offer themselves occasionally for a resumption of the subject. It rests with the reader to decide for himself, how far similar impressions to those which actuate the traveller, here, may operate upon him.

We find, from what we do know, that the prospect of these countries'

* But Jacob Al Manzor is the great hero of western Africa. It is said of him that he went disguised a pilgrimage to Mecca, and never returned. The character is placed too near our times for the existence of it to be doubted; but it is involved in almost as much mystery as our fabulous King Arthur.

sharing importance as a limb of a great empire, ceased with the downfall of Carthage; after which they became vulnerable on every side. We further know that the Arabs were ever viewed as obtruders by the proper children of the soil forced to retire to the mountains, or retaining a limited and sullen occupation of the plain; that frequent conflicts took place, as political or fanatical stimuli incited, between aborigines themselves, between them and the intruders: and that the energy of Moslemism, wherever it came into action, prevailed over the feeble pertinacity of idolatry.' Subsequently the pressure of Christian invasion gave occasion to a foreign and odious usurpation: but the claims founded, according to people's ideas here, on sacred principles combining all internal competitions into one common patiotic effort, an able man succeeded thus in expelling the last intruders, and consolidated, as far as it could be done, a common interest; at the head of which he placed his own dynasty. That progress was not, subsequently, by the natural course of events, made in civilisation, has depended on circumstances which call for further explanation in due time. According to the accounts of eye-witnesses in the more early part of this (eighteenth) century, the situation of human nature here had vacillated, and continued to do so, between anarchy, and a state of misrule almost as frightful as anarchy itself. We are given to understand that a much ameliorated state of things has prevailed during the reign of the present Sultan, and that strangers need no longer be shocked by such horrors, and such disgraces to human nature, as are detailed by Busnot, Braithwaite, and Stewart; details indeed so tremendous, that their impressions seem to have supervened, in the minds of those who had the misfortune to observe the facts, all capability of procuring or conveying information on any other subject. As to moral and political causes, the world has indeed profited little by any information communicated

hence during those dreadful periods; yet from the manner in which society, such as it is, has been thrown together here, a considerable mass of subject for interesting reflection must present itself to inquiry, and the present tranquil state of things is favourable to the investigation.

Various races of men now occupy the tract of country under the rule of the present Sultan; the topography, so far as limits and denominations go, being sufficiently described elsewhere already. These races are distinguishable as follows:—The Brebers, primitive Troglodytes of Mount Atlas, and the parent stock of the Guanches of the Atlantic islands: the Nomade * Arabs of the great plain of Morocco: the very ungraciously re-adopted emigrants from Spain occupying the cities, for which mode of life Nature seems to have destined them: the Jews, who fill the interior departments of commerce: and the Negroes, an important race which will claim future notice. These races are dispersed, from the straits and shores of the Mediterranean, to Tafilet, the capital whereof, of the same name, is eighteen days journey from the city of Morocco; and to Sus, the limits whereof are undefined, but are supposed to approach to the Niger.

It was now far advanced in the month of May; but verdure had not yet abandoned the face of the country, or rather the surface of the soil, when the British embassy received notice for quitting Mogodor, and proceeding on its route to Morocco. But previously to leaving the former place (no more to return), after duly acknowledging the hospitality of its European inmates, and especially the British, it would be doing the place injustice not to mention the salubrity of its climate.

* This class of the nation preserved its distinctive habits in Spain, whither in due time those who composed it followed their brethren. Hence, in the Spanish language, the word Arrabal—a definition of what corresponds with our gipsy camps.

And some Europeans give it full trial. Several too have resided on this coast for thirty years continuance, without an hour's illness; indeed the exterior of a physician (of Spanish diploma *), the only one who attempts to pick up a livelihood in that way in the place, sufficiently demonstrates the paucity of the calls Nature makes for that species of aid here, where the professor was in fact the only morbid figure. Famine seemed indeed his chief ailment, and to all appearance he was not long to survive. But the order for departure was given, and preparations cheerfully entered upon; and on the day appointed the whole *cortege* paraded outside the walls of Mogodor, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, to set out upon the journey; under an escort of fifty cavalry, with a standard, a company of gunners, fifty in number, on their route; and a number of travellers, who availed themselves of this opportunity of an escort, made in all the number of two hundred and fifty persons.

Route *from* Mogodor *to* Morocco (May and June 1785.)—On the first advance into this country the aspect of it is pleasing, and a not inconsiderable part of it is under cultivation, performed with no despicable degree of skill. Barley harvest is now advanced in progress. Scattered trees break the glare of the white crop and stubble; but where tillage does not prevail, an open wood of the spreading *argali*, which comes very near in its effect to the outlines of dwarf oak or fine white thorns, is dispersed, and throws broken shades over a range of country open in vast extent to the eye, and the surface of

* A sick man in Spain runs double risque; but here the chances against him multiply. A friend of the author's, a resident of this country, suffered by a diarrhœa, imprudently called in medical aid; and with still more culpable imprudence swallowed the prescription, not however like the king of old suspecting any *malus animus* on the part of his physician. After having, however, done this, casting his eye upon the hand of this man of science, and observing it strongly tinged with yellow, he became alarmed, suspecting the cause; and on questioning found it to be the case, that he had received a powerful dose of *gamboge*. And only by means of powerful emetics was his life saved.

which is undulated into gentle but not inconsiderable swells. Scattered houses too of no mean dimensions or exterior, mostly of cubical forms, but of a dazzling whiteness, give a vivacity to the scene, though in themselves no specimens of architectural beauty. They are usually embosomed however in groups of fig- and olive-trees, which, with their deep verdure, afford sufficient breaks to them to take off every effect, save that of the cheerfulness which the idea of habitation always adds to the face of Nature. That object, too, so pleasing to the eye and gratifying to the fancy in its associate ideas in these climates, a water-wheel, is always annexed to the dwelling. These houses are commodious, and within the four walls contain the whole rustic *menage*. They are constructed on the same plan with the town houses already described; and the marks of the holes where the timber trusses of the scaffolding have been inserted (ornamental in their way) instruct us that they are built, in like manner, of rammel or *pisé*. They consist of one story over a ground-floor, and are flat-roofed. On the whole, the scenery is very different from what any one would expect out of Europe, and in latitude 31°. The command of water is alone sufficient to give all the product that can be claimed from the garden: and indeed general irrigation is conducted here, although with a total ignorance and destitution of the aid of instruments, with a very adequate share of correctness. Rains fall during this month with a tropical suddenness and impetuosity; but occasionally only. And when they do fall, they revive instantly, and for several days, that verdure which the power of the sun so rapidly exhales. In the intervals of the showers nothing can exceed the beauty of the atmosphere; the clearness of the air, rich blueness of the sky, and fleecy whiteness of the vast masses of cloud; while even at mid-day, the temperature, although the air is calm, is not yet beyond genial warmth. This happy season, however, can be but of

short duration. The soil is here a tenacious clay, with a metallic tinge, and no admixture of vegetable matter. Marl would probably be found on investigation. As we advance further into the country, every circumstance tends to justify the surmise, that the arenose masses heretofore mentioned are a Neptunian deposit, and not indigenous.

At half-past twelve on the first day of the route the escort halted, and dinner was served to the Europeans under a spreading fig-tree. The governor of Mogodor, Bassa Ben Omar, who accompanied the embassy by his master's order, sent his quota to the feast. This consisted of fish and fowls, highly seasoned, according to the Moorish *cuisine*, with saffron, the least reconcileable of all the peculiarities of this taste to a European palate, (one at least which has not undergone drilling in this exercise in Spain,) and floating in *argali* oil. In the afternoon the journey was resumed, across an extensive range of champaign, covered with crops of fine barley; that on the dry uplands being full ripe, whilst what was on the moist levels was yet green. Such is the power of the seasons here.

Schidyma, or Sidyma, three hours journey from the mid-day halt, twenty miles from Mogodor, consists of a few huts, now unoccupied, which indicate this the site of a fair or mart. It is also that of the remains of a venerated Arab saint, as the name imports. The Mussulmen have adopted an idea far more ancient than their creed; the connexion of commercial intercourse and devotion, tending to show how little of novelty exists under the sun. Our camp now forms a picturesque appearance. The sun dipping to the western horizon with a tropical rapidity, unlike his progress in our higher latitudes, strikes his lengthened rays, with their parallel shades, across a wide tract of country, timbered, or under yellow harvests. A moist and luxuriant garden, deeply shaded by spreading

fig-trees of the darkest foliage, over which soar lofty palms, adjoins to the rear of our tents pitched in a little meadow. Before is a trodden fair green, the verdure of which is perpetuated by a spring in its centre. Adjoining on the right is a white building, with a cupola roof, the house and tomb of the saint. Our Mussulmen fellow-travellers, in their various occupations of dressing their tents, feeding their horses and beasts of burthen, kindling their fires, and preparing their suppers, give animation to a scene every feature whereof presents itself in a new light to a European eye. As the sun is setting, all the Alcaids, that is officers of every degree in the caravan, seat themselves cross-legged, in one rank, before the Bassa's tent door, their strings of beads in their hands, and go through their prescribed quota of religious prostrations, repeating their prayers and ejaculations with an emphasis and decorum (an unction, in the Catholic phrase) impressive even to awe. Sensation itself comes in aid here, to give a relief to the scenery. A person must have travelled the day through, under a nearly vertical sun, to be fully capable of the relish of the circumstances, of this combination of novelty of object, with cool placid enjoyment, contrasted with the view of vivacious business, which still keeps the mind and attention alive, amid that repose which the face of Nature all around possesses, and invites the wearied body and exhausted spirits to partake of.—In no instance could the beauties of Nature be enjoyed with fewer deductions from the gratifications they afford, than here.

The denomination of the personage to whom this sanctorium is devoted, is simply honorific, and gives no light in the way of personal identity. Here too is a trace of ancient habit, which has made serious confusion in history, amongst characters of much more importance to mankind in general.

Itinerary from MOGODOR *to* MOROCCO,—*Second Day's Journey.*

The second day's journey continues through parkish tracts, covered still by an open wood of the wild olive, through and amongst which the road, as marked by continued intercourse of feet, continues to wind in easy sweeps, such as Nature dictates and points out where she is not contravened. Several heavy showers fell this day, amply compensating for their temporary inconvenience by the refreshment conveyed to the atmosphere, and produce to the earth. The whole conveys to the mind much the imagery of a close and vegetating day of the latter end of the month of May in England. In this morning's route we passed a spacious white house, square, turreted at the angles, inclosing a court, all looked in by one gate, and containing accommodations for family, cattle, and produce: we were informed it was the property of the governor of the district. These things present an appearance at least very contrary to what we have been given to understand of the precariousness of property here; but it is to be feared the more favourable construction is not that nearest to truth. It proves, however, and in so doing in some degree produces a melancholy reflection, how happy man not only might but would be here, if left to himself, or saved from himself. Numerous flocks of the bird called by our French acquaintances here *guc pie* abound in these districts. The cow-bird is seen an attendant upon herds of cattle. He resembles the sea-gull, but his plumage is pure white. The trees are alive, and the air resounds with the multitudes of doves drawn around by the progress of the genial season.

We halted at mid-day under a tuft of date- and fig-trees, having in our neighbourhood the first Arab camp we had yet seen. But the scenery has now performed a complete transition, and all around is purely Arabian. Let any one who has travelled in Ireland call up in

his mind the imagery of a vast tract of bog there, in an arid sun-burnt season, and an intense summer's day, without a cloud in the horizon, with here and there remotely dispersed groups of about twenty stacks of piled turf placed irregularly together; or let them fancy themselves placed in a circle round a central one, with a great herd of cattle not remote, and hardly a human being visible; and he may thus convey the general idea of an Arab country*.

A gentleman of the party this day shot a bird which put the skill in ornithology of the whole to the blush. It was considerably larger than a red-legged partridge; of the same plumage, had three claws and no heel, and was, as observed, unknown to our sportsmen either of England, of the Highlands, or of Italy. This particular of destitution of a heel is curious, as an instance of the regulations of Nature, but is very general throughout the feathered creation of this continent. Thus are they pre-doomed to walk the earth, and precluded from climbing. In tracts bare of trees the heel would be a useless annexation; and Nature does nothing in vain. Are we then to infer that foliage is forbidden to the vast plains of this continent? The disquisition leads too far; but such are the facts, and they present an ample opening. How can men launch into the immensities of metaphysics, when Nature presents to them so much matter of unexpected investigation, of closer interest? The heat reflected from these sultry tracts drives the partridges, here contrary to the habits of their species, to perch during the day in trees.

We halted at evening by a fine spring. The soil of the country hitherto continues tenacious clay, but of a less metallic tinge. It is abundantly

* The Arab women bring to mind the expression of Athanasius Kircher of those of the Tartar tribes—"*tantas tunicas diceres.*" The extensive practice of tatooing seems to mark this people of Japhetian or East Scythic derivation.

watered. It is also covered to a considerable extent with the foundations of ancient buildings, which being of stone (not hewn) may be ascribed to Carthaginians, Romans, or Vandals. The natives of course give the honour of the constructions, whatever they may have been, to Pharaoh, the grand solvent and sedative of the troublesome spirit of investigation throughout these parts of the world, so far at least as relates to ancient times.

Third day's journey:—The face of the whole country is covered to inconvenience with rubble-stone—strongly hinting at a Neptunian process. Many more buildings, or rather remains of such, are noticeable to the right-hand side of the route. Two *sanctoria* also, of high repute and respect, were passed, at one of which our Bussa and chief Alcaid wept to pray. It is obvious that in Mohommedan states, nothing so much contributes to maintain the ephemeral consequence of those who constitute the upper classes, as a rigid attention to the exterior duties of devotion It is a political one imposed on their station, equally as a moral one of private life. Here they, very wisely, act accordingly. Were it not for the example thus set, the thing itself would expire here with the *crowd* which excited it.

This day we met a body of fifty cavalry under a green standard, the escort of the Spanish embassy, returning to Mogodor. The Moorish cavalry, from their national costume and oriental habits, are not much incommoded by what the ancients justly denominated the *impedimenta belli*.

The face of the country is stony (rubble), bare except by a few stunted bushes, and totally uncultivated as far as the eye can reach. If such be the result of the nomade reign, no wonder that the shepherd was an object of abhorrence to the ancient Egyptians.

Mount Atlas, visible at Mogodor, but in a point of view where aught

annexed to parent earth would hardly be looked for, here presents itself in its grandeur, on the right hand, veiled to a vast proportion downwards in snow, and totally repelling the impressions of it conveyed in the mistaken opinion of the respectable Doctor Shaw. Here we have an instance how little may be to be depended on the representations of a traveller attached fully to science and to truth. But men must see things with their own eyes to claim reliance on their statements. Perhaps this learned traveller proceeded on the principle of *Quis vates ad vera vocat?* Yet the poet's description is nearer the truth. Assuredly the ancients had more geographical knowledge than their descendants are inclined to give them credit for. Those of them from whom Doctor Shaw obtained his information relative to this great feature of the globe were utterly unworthy of any reliance. Moderate and diffident as this respectable man's statements are, he could not escape the charge of hyperbole. But to throw this, it was necessary *not* to have read his work; and *muni* in this precaution, his candid critics, mankind at large, took their station of attack. But what says the great poet?

"——— apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, cœlum qui vertice fulcit:
Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris
Piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri:
Nix humeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento
Precipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba."

The poet's imagination must have been dreaming, or in the clouds, for the unfortunate idea of *piniferum caput* to have occurred to him. But Atlas bears his head far above the cloudy region, visible as he is far out to sea. The smooth *arrondissemens* of the outline of his summit indicate the composition of it to be granite, and this is in conformity with the general laws of Nature. But all chains of mountains are the exterior edges of ruptured and dislocated strata. The modifications of this

continent put thought into action, and this vast chain is the most important, just as it is the most conspicuous, of them all. How much is mankind indebted to the concussions of the globe! A mountain in these latitudes, in conformity with what the poet depicts, attracts and condenses that humidity which else would be dispersed ineffectually, to fertilize these plains, which were it otherwise would be barren wastes*. Viewed so far out to sea, what an important feature must this mountain have presented to the nautical people of those ancient days, when local points, or the stars, were their best guides! Considering the well-known tendency of the traveller to detail, and the equal voracity of the human imagination to receive, stories of the marvellous, no wonder if three-fourths of ancient fables are nautical exaggeration, personification, and allegory. No wonder if Atlas has contributed his ample share. Cape Nun, so formidable to navigators possessed of more powerful resources, must have been to the coasters of ancient days an object to petrify the stoutest hearts.

"Ha subhesperiis stantem Titana columnis
In cautes Atlanta dedit†."

. . . . . .

Finibus extremis Libyæ, ubi fervida tellus
Accipit oceanum demisso sole calentem
Squalebant latè Phorcynidos arva Medusæ."

* How powerful must be, to this effect, the stupendous range which extends from the Atlantic to the Nile! (occupied throughout by one and the same primitive people.) It is not alone in the torrid latitudes that man's gratitude to the Power which guides these awful struggles is due. To them we owe calcareous, carbonic, and metallic matter, which diffuse, with the progress of that population, which owes the extent of its range to their powerful aid, and spreads comfort and plenty over so great a space of the globe, otherwise uninhabitable. Thus is INFINITE WISDOM ever extracting, out of immediate evil, ultimate good! a process to which an omnipotent hand is alone adequate.

† The western point of Atlas is in latitude 29° 25'. The eastern is at Bahirah upon the Nile. Here the Breber or Troglodyte tract touches upon Egypt, and the people here, west of the upper cataract of Syene, are called by the Egyptians *Berberi*.—For etymological speculation, we find a nation from the heart of Africa named Democeris, all seem of the race of Ham.—(Ammon.

What remains to us in point of information of the Guanches,—the ancient inhabitants of the Canaries, the islands opposite to this cape, Num, (the Portuguese etymology is consigned to the philologists of Swift's school;) proves that these inhabitants of the insular continuation of the Atlantic chain were a people much advanced in moral life beyond the descendants of the present day, of their Breber, or Troglodyte, brethren of the inland range. That they were however the same race, seems not to admit of a doubt.

Atlas once personified,—and the imagination of man leads him naturally to personifications,—the next step that occurred of course would be to give him a character: and what so fit for one so locally situated as that of an astronomer?—The sailor, in whose mind this heaven-capped object must have ever been connected with ideas of the celestial host, naturally marked the giant mountain for the sustainer thereof, and, by right, the ruler and criterion of the nether atmosphere.—

"Maximus Atlas
Hic canit errantem Lunam, Solisque labores:
Unde hominum genus ..... unde imbres et ignes;
Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones." *Æn.* lib. i.

For geographical and mythological mystery we have this object referred to thus:—

"Oceani finem juxta, Solemque cadentem,
Ultimus Æthiopum locus est: ubi maximus Atlas
Axem humero torquet, stellis ardentibus aptum.
Hinc mihi Maurya gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
Quæ dabat, et sacros servabat in arbore ramos." Id. lib. iv.

Memnon.) Shem's race kept more to the northward by the Caspian and Mediterranean. Japhet extended eastwards; but we must remember, and we find it early verified, "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." So in fact, in his Arabian descendants, Picti Agathyrsi, and various other branches, has it come to pass.

The term *maximus* designates the tract of Atlas between Morocco and Tafilet*. The Massylian nation will perhaps be yet traceable. Ethiopia seems to have been taken or adopted by the ancients in a latitudinal sense. The ancient Canarians† worshipped one God on high, in double *claustra*, with libations and sacrifice. Their language has many radicals of most remote origin.

Atlas was, as is evident, a great favourite with the ancient poets, and justly so. This he has to console himself with under modern neglect (He is hardly allowed a place among the mountains of the present day). Surely a little diffuseness on his subject might be allowed by criticism, were it but for pure charity! How beautiful is the descent of Mercury to his summit! Viewing these sublime masses (it is impossible to give them any epithet of lesser account with Virgil's description in the hand), the mind actually depicts the flitting figure of the god. Dryden has enhanced the picture! A proof, a rare one, that poetry may not deteriorate even by translation in the hand of a poet. But, be it admitted, it is time to wean the imagination from Atlas. And here it has objects, of less obvious but equal moral awe, to recur to on the opposite side. Nature is systematic, however diversified. A *cordillera* and an atom are wielded or cast with equal facility by her powerful hand.

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* Massylæ are enumerated by Polybius with Torgitæ, Numidians, Macians, and Maurusians, in the armies of Carthage, distinct from Libyæ-Phœnicians. The Numidians were, however, frequently hostile to Carthage. Saib-Ura was Juba's lieutenant. This is noticeable in etymology.

† Derived from the European word for dogs, although these islands when discovered by Europeans had no dogs: had it been otherwise, how could they have abounded with wild goats?—We find what is more authentic: Canari, a tribe in the skirts of Atlas, mentioned by Pliny; Canaria is the denomination of the opposite cape given us by Ptolemy; Gannar is a modern name among the Negroes of Senegal for the country between their river and Atlas. All these together form a tolerable set-off against the discoveries of these modern adventurers in philology.—Note elsewhere on the connexion of language.

She forms a Delta in a puddle by the same principle which she applies to a torrent and an ocean.

On this part of the route are scattered over the plain, hills of a most uncommon and interesting shape, evidently indicating some vast and unrecorded revolution of Nature, effected on the face of this continent. They are circular truncated cones of elevation of about one-half their bases, apparently water-level or nearly so, and all aligned to one height. Some insisted (so regular were their forms) that they were the work of art: and indeed they strikingly resemble those mounds of earth which, by an absurd misnomer, are called in Ireland *Danish* forts *:—an idea for the conception of which it was necessary to be equally ignorant of history and warfare. These could only be viewed correctly through glasses on the route, as none lay directly in its way; and our guard, from a stress of solicitude for our safety, would not permit the Europeans to ramble. One superincumbent stratum of stone seems to have capped them all. This should seem, by its modification, to be trapp, with perpendicular fissures in its exterior, and in a stratum of above four feet depth. Each has probably a surface of about a rood's contents. The dilapidation, or decomposition, which forms their bases, at an angle of about forty-five degrees, is of a softer material; and the summit stratum, projecting at its edges, gives the resemblance somewhat of a full-formed mushroom. Can there have ever been an entire crust of horizontal stone over this part of the great plain, between Mount Atlas and the ocean, torn up from its bed, like a pavement, by a Neptunian irruption from the west, leaving only these elevations, as

* It seems as if intended that the borders of the Baltic were to be the Attica of the north. We are to have Danish as well as Gothic constructors. The Danes knew their business, that of soldiering, better than our antiquarians do. How nearly affined are Greece and Denmark, is not here the matter to discuss.

it were proof patches, of the former level? If so, it accounts for the disappearance of the great philosopher king, his race, and empire. Secondly, May not this be an effect, too, of that convulsion of Nature which lodged the vast masses of marine exuviæ in the neighbourhood of the temple of Jupiter Ammon of Libya, where they yet remain substantial witnesses to the process? containing, blended in their mass, the wreck of the forests of the west, perhaps from the skirts of Atlas, possibly from the levels of Yucatan! Africa has evidently been washed across. Were corroboration requisite to be sought for, it is found in the marine exuviæ which present themselves on Horneman's route. These *residua* of inundation, now found in the Desert, seem to mark the limit of its range there. Similar hills to these mentioned here, are observed between Smyrna and Aleppo; but the tendency of the formation of this continent, with the exception of Atlas, is to table-land; tending all to prove a loss of surface to its most southern point. Then the forests of the west were conveyed to Libya, and the rocks of Mauritania removed from their primitive sites, with as much facility as a sweep of the surge, at the time of the earthquake at Lisbon, washed the cabbages and parapets off the quay of Gibraltar. A very little more impetus, then, would have given to history to record of a governor and a garrison, what tradition only has handed down to us of a mighty monarch and his empire. It was a period more than awful—

"Cum mare convolvit gentes, cum littora Tethys
Noluit ulla pati."

Supposing a sufficient elevation gained any where *ex æquilibrio* by the sea, as water will not rest until its balance be recovered, there is nothing to prevent its sweeping across the plain of Africa to the Nile. The marine deposits, however, appear to demarcate its extreme undulation

here. It is probable that the vast plains of desert in the interior, south of the Atlantic range, in conformity with the course whereof, and of the rule of Nature, is that of the great rivers, may have been thus produced, and that a submerged country, once fertilized by the streams which, descending from the southern skirts of Atlas, are now absorbed in those sands which

"——————non altius ignis
Rapta vehit quantumque licet consurgere fumo,
Et violare diem, tantum tenet aëra pulvis—"

and which lie in a depth not to be probed, now cover what was fertile meadows and luxuriant forests:—for humidity is the natural tendency of the south of Atlas, and the sands of these deserts must be a marine deposit: and it does not appear possible that such inconsistency could exist under the systematic laws of Nature. At a certain distance from this mountainous mass, the streams which fall direct from it cease to flow. Absorption is indeed a principle, which gains strength in proportion to its progress of space and duration; and it is evidently so felt throughout these regions. Perhaps the stone-foundations, yet traceable on the south side of these mountains, may be remains of the primitive empire of the children of Ham. Unless we suppose Atlas a personage in the physical sense, and that he was Lamech.

It is noticeable what a strong sense of such an event is impressed universally on the human mind. How feelingly does the classical poet express this! But Atlas towered above the comparatively puny invader of his skirts, and was justly deemed by the ancients the receiver of the gods, and, survivor of the wreck of the first, allowed to see the second empire. Ancient history, even where only founded on tradition, so long the scoff of shallow ignorance, pseudo-philosophy, and sor-

did indolence, is fast resuming its true station, and the fathers of history will recover that respect of which they have been so long unjustly deprived. A vast mass of knowledge, geographical for instance, appears, though couched in personification and mystery, to have been in the possession of the ancients. Indeed, in whatever has depended upon *depth* of thought, they appear still as much as ever our masters. We, it is true, have the advantage of them, but only upon those points which are the result of continuity of experiment. The habits of life in modern times by no means admit of that profundity of investigation of things and causes, which our primitive fathers were enabled to apply; and we are much safer in adopting than in contravening their ideas. The Sacred Books, upon such points as they speak to, afford the first clues to lead the investigator through the dark labyrinth of ænigma and symbol, of time and misconception, within which the loveliness of Truth is attempted to be concealed, because her existence cannot be totally extinguished. But the Sacred Books, though their words are conclusive, in their silence prove no negative. How much of them too, which is by shallow readers assigned to fact and person, is in reality moral allegory.

Itinerary.—Mogodor *to* Morocco. River Guadissawa.—The Arabic appears to have, as might be expected, superseded the primitive language in the plain here, even in local names. This at least is Arabic. The primitive language would be the interesting object of research, did any hope exist of finding it.

At the hour of eleven our escort forded the Guadissawa, and halted on its banks to wait for the baggage, under the shade of some lofty trees. On the arrival of the cattle-of-burthen, the tents were pitched for the night, upon a stubble surrounded by luxuriant meadows of deep

soil, well shaded by full-grown trees of the darkest foliage, and irrigated by the hand of man, conducting small streams very judiciously from the river.

About two miles hence, or less, in awful gloom and solitude, stands the once busy but now abandoned and venerable town of Soor Lawid* (town of the blacks, meaning Negros: a race of men of importance in the affairs of this country). Its lofty battlements, machicolated and loop-holed walls of unburnt brick of a dusky red hue, flanked and crowned by frequent square towers, embosomed in luxuriant foliage of the fig-tree, and now in the most picturesque stage of dilapidation, to which, to give it due credit, the masonry of this country has a peculiarly happy tendency, give it, in the gloom of a tropical evening, an interest which the enthusiasts of the pencil will easily conceive.

"'Tis now the raven's dark abode,
'Tis now the apartment of the toad;
And there the fox securely feeds,
And there the poisonous adder breeds;
While ever and anon there fall
Huge heaps of hoary mouldering wall."

The Arabs brought us from this place some ungenial and dwindled apples and apricots, the remains of the gardens and orchards of the once occupants of jetty complexion. The whole scene, and the ideas called up by it, were conformable to those conveyed by the reading the Arabian Nights. Where should the Negros have obtained apples? Every climate reigns in its level on Mount Atlas. Perhaps each contains its natural products throughout most of their varieties. This it is

* Soudan is the proper name of Nigritia.—The Arabic was once considered a language *à soi*;—our great authority seems to have subsequently seen reason to alter that opinion—*asuad* is the word in this ancient tongue—*Schwartz*—Teut. soot, &c.

which gives the interest, in this point of investigation, to Atlas. How few hours would bring the traveller from Tinian to Britain, from Britain to Magher-Oe * !

Elevations would be found marked here by their animal inmates as by their botanical productions. The furred, the provident, and the torpid tribes would thus be encountered in the summit levels; the rooting species occupies the temperate or humid; while the camel marks the torrid area beneath.

A Xeriff, or relation of the Prophet, and of course of the royal family now on the throne, though a vehement dissentor from establishment upon the article of wine, yet proud to show his orthodoxy in his green turban, the demonstration of his vicinity of blood, is on his way to Tafilet, the family-site of the Sultanic dynasty, some five hundred miles yet distant across the snows of Mount Atlas, with a treasure, which, for the safety so valuable an article claims (a canary-bird in a cage), he deposits every night in the tent of the Europeans, carefully bearing it on his own person during the day, as an intended present for one of the princes of the blood-royal. He is well acquainted with the city of Tafilet, and considers it to be distant from Mount Atlas, correspondently with our measurement, four hundred miles.

The banks of the numerous rivulets which serpentine through these plains, and by the depth of their beds show the inexhaustibility of the soil, are beautifully fringed with the oleander now in full bloom, here an aquatic, the gay blossoms whereof just rise clear of the banks of the stream which produces them. Many birds of prey soar above, apparently unapprehensive of being shot at. Indeed the Moors have no idea of shooting flying, and always express surprise and applause when

* North Cape.

they see a European bring down a bird from the wing, though they are themselves very adroit at a standing mark.

During the night several shots were fired, as alleged, at a thief; if so, he was a bold one too.

Sidi Tor Finiss, as yet Bassa, was bitten during the night by an unknown but poisonous animal, which, as first rumour conveyed it, had crept into his slipper: and as small causes produce important effects, thus our plans were deranged, and the whole camp thrown into agitation. The Moors appeared very much alarmed, and the poor man himself bore every appearance of being at the point of death. Unquestionably, if it were pantomime, it gives a high specimen of the national talent in this way, for never was one better acted. Such, however, was the surmise which some could not bring themselves to relinquish. The duller blocks were buffeted to bring to recollection the description of the fourteen species of the serpent tribe, all mortal to man, and so poignantly depicted by the poet, of Africa. But *hemorrois*, *dipsas*, all yielded precedence where

" ——————Sepa stetit exiguus—
Cyniphias inter pestes tibi palma nocendi est!"

and when—casting eyes upon its poor victim, it was seen that

" ——————totum est pro vulnere corpus—"

the poisonous reptile was too palpably recognised in his works. Many remedies were suggested, and several applied; but none seemed so efficacious (pity it had not been duly known in the days of Cato, it would have saved many valuable lives,) as the paunch of a goat (well fed) cut out, and applied with all its contents, smoking hot, to the part affected.——" Sleeping," not in his orchard but his tent, " a serpent stung him"—" that serpent wears the crown!" The fact in-

deed was, that the venom the poor Bassa dreaded was all in the royal countenance, the frowns of which he felt he had too much reason to apprehend. He therefore chose to put forward his *reconnoissances*, and *tater le terrain* somewhat, before he trusted his own footing, where there is no retrogradation. Before he ventured his head in the lion's mouth, he wished to ascertain that the royal animal did not wag his tail.

Quitting however such speculative matter of unimportant issue, the certain result of the occurrence was, in the first instance, a day's unexpected halt upon the road, and leisure to admire and contemplate our majestic neighbour—Atlas. Here it is distant sixty, or according to some reckonings eighty miles; but the day's journey, of which they count it two, is somewhat indefinite. Remote however it certainly is; but the vastness of the elevation above the strata of our atmosphere of vapour or clouds, and the relief taken by such a vast mass of whiteness as its snowy range presents, make it appear to almost impend counteracting above the effect of *mirage*, which rules below the nebulous region. In fact, its base is out of human ken here, even were the air unobscured by that purple gloom which pervades beneath. A great deal of optical deception may be expected in an object so new to the senses, and so much beyond the conceptions of the imagination. The former inconvenience may be in part guarded against. An interest naturally occurs to assign to this mountain, so much under-rated in modern days, its true place in the scale of those great features of the earth, in the modification of which it constitutes so important a part. *Mirage*, the modern term, is a good substitute to adopt in the place of that more complicated in point of idea—refraction. It means, however, the same thing:—it is the effect for the cause; the curvature of the rays of light, to us, on their entering a dense from a rarefied medium, such as Atlas is involved in below and above. This effect therefore to the

eye, or apparent elevation, is so much additional, and accounts too for that impending appearance of this mountain so strikingly observable. Calculations may be thought perhaps too nice for their objects, or for the means we have of working them. This, however, must not be admitted where principles are concerned. In practice, no doubt, though our objects are correctness and truth, we must in many instances, as here, rest satisfied with approximations. As to the cause of *mirage*, and the effects of the medium in judging of this vast elevation, it is to be carried in mind; that the atmospherical density decreases (in consistent ratios) both in the advance to the southern latitudes and in its own elevation. This; then, is in favour of the elevation. The higher the object, the less it is affected by this refraction; and the distance from the perpendicular base, at which its summit-point is taken in by the eye, is also proper matter for computation. Perhaps, if one-sixteenth be allowed for the enhancement by visual deception, it may afford a tolerable approach at least to the reality. But it is time to quit this object, one not readily lost sight of, for the present, and proceed with the journey.

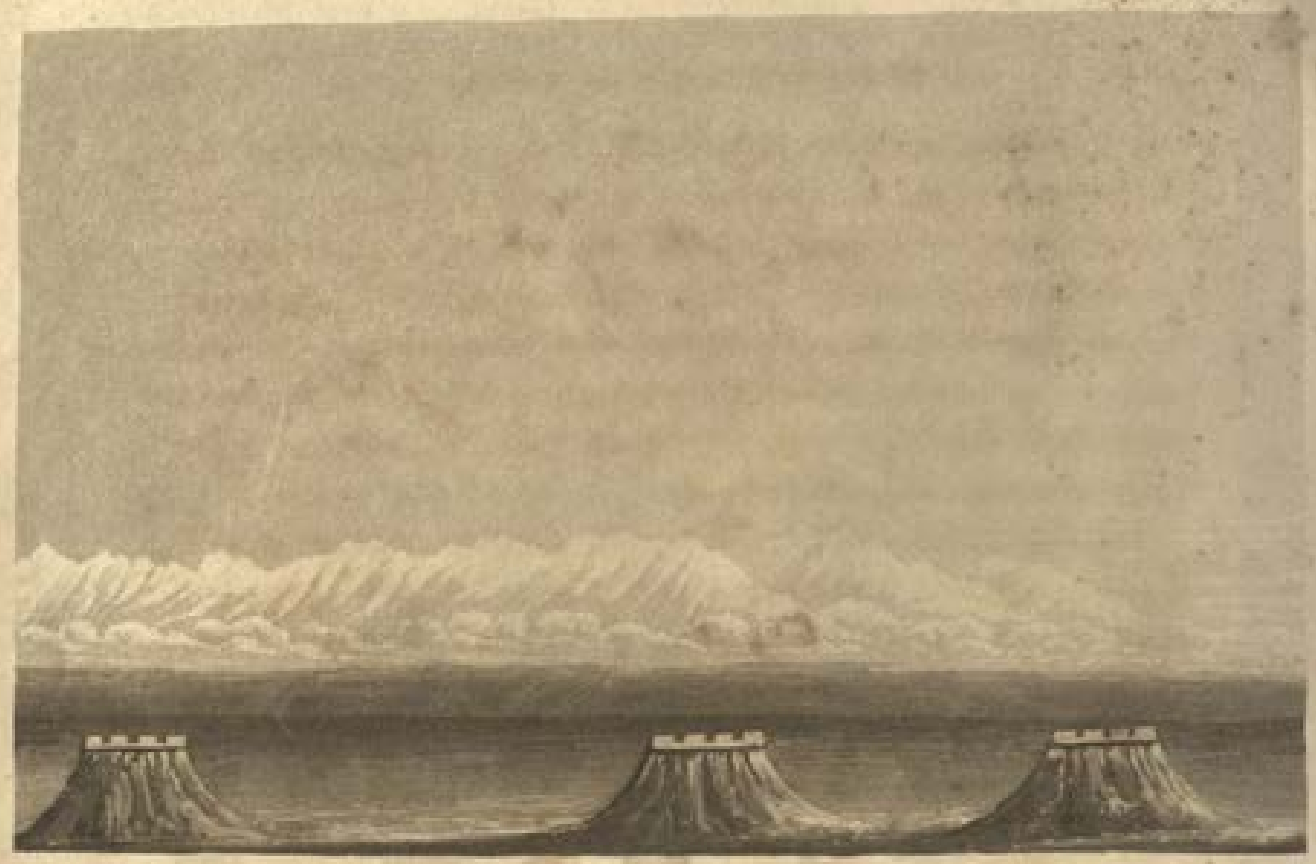
Fifth day's journey.—Quitting our halting-ground, where the Bassa yet remained, having passed the day closely confined, muffled up, pale and languid in his tent, the route was pursued through an open country for three hours, at the expiration of which halt were called in meadow-grounds by the side of a stream, low at present, but at times a torrent. All these waters descend from Mount Atlas, and are deeply tinged by the metalliferous (may we say?) soil of its skirts. The subject is put hypothetically. We are indeed under no obligation to modern lore for aught of consequence as to the natural history of this country. But the ancients tell us,——

> "In nullas vitiatur opes; non ære nec auro——
> Excoquitur."

The superficial observation is excited to decide very differently as to the first of these articles, on viewing the soils. As to the waters, when they descend fresh from the mountain-skirts here, viewed in their beds they are of a blood-red deep tinge: but taken up in a glass they are colourless, and, for river water, excellent. After breakfasting, by desire of Saadi Tor Finiss, who could not yet rejoin the escort, it proceeded without him through an extensive plain, the mountain towering with a successive range of rounded summits on the right, and rugged barren hillocks, by their outline apparently schistose, closing the horizon on the left. This plain is now thickly studded with Arab camps, some of which are prodigiously numerous in tents; but the numbers of them in each, generally taken, vary between twenty and sixty. The agriculture of these people continues to be very far from despicable. Much worse is seen in Europe; and in its first nations too. Irrigation, however, is the grand operative; it is here both matrix and stimulus for the white crops, and heavy returns are thus produced. As here is an over-proportion of land to occupants, and as the produce is beyond the demand, when a tract begins to fail in its returns, it is abandoned to recover its fertility by time. This process serves the purpose of its Arab cultivators; and tracts of excellent arable land are constantly met as proofs, bearing the marks of irrigation and the plough, yet covered with stunted shrubs of six years' growth. The Arabs reap under a now almost vertical sun, and with their bare shaven crowns exposed to its full rays, without appearing to feel the least inconvenience.

On the left of the route of this day is the tomb of a personage, once as we are informed a great king, now a saint. These inexplicit definitions, which are always given, are the result of somewhat more than ignorance. An apathy, evidently the result of this opiate of the mind, nips all efforts at action in their germ, and retains man here in that stage of mental debasement so convenient to the circumstances in which he is

View in the plain of Moscow



View in approaching the City of Moscow

placed. Inconsistency, at least, and its consequences, are not to be charged to the state of things here.

The tower of the great mosque of Morocco presents itself clearly now to the eye above the horizon. The caravan this evening forded the river Guadenfiss, not without considerable trouble (this route could not be encountered in winter) and even danger to the beasts-of-burthen, although its waters are now comparatively low. Halt was made for the night on the east bank of this river.

Itinerary, sixth day.—Progress was made this morning across a plain as level as a lake. The soil partakes here of a considerable admixture of sand, approaching to the sandy loams of England in its composition, and admirably adapted for the plough. Across the remotest verge of the plain, apparently, and above which bursts the sun in all his splendour, stretch the palm-woods which invest the city of Morocco; the great tower, a unique object in the horizon, ascending far above them. After a ride of several hours, halt was made at about four miles distance from the city, to enable the baggage to join.

During this interval some of the party rode to a large Arab camp, and were hospitably received by the women, the men being all out at harvest. They presented the Europeans with buttermilk, fresh, and the best fare they had to offer. It is highly relished by the Moors. The women are nearly black, even the young girls; who had uniformly fine teeth. But the goodness or regularity of feature possessed by them in early youth leaves them as they grow up; an effect, very probably, of their continual exposure, without shade or covering, to the influence of sun and wind, and the habitual distortion of feature occasioned thereby. The men of this race possess in their aspect what the French call the *air caustique* in a very eminent degree.

ENTRY *into the* CITY *of* MOROCCO.—The cavalcade was now formed in part, in a respectable rank, by the alcaids, and amounted to about some forty files; and as we approached the city our cavalry began to exercise their feats of horsemanship. Thus we proceeded on our march to the capital, which was concealed from view within the vast but open groves of lofty palm-trees which occupy the horizon, while their tops present a parallel level of verdure, bright in the mid-day sun. Above this line of foliage, so peculiarly characteristic of place and climate, and to triple height, rises the tower of the great mosque, insulated, of dingy red, and its spire with three golden balls transfixed, glistening in the blaze of day. The vast and snowy masses of Atlas seem here almost impending, upon the right; its base still however invisible, through the purple dusk of the atmosphere, the accumulated fleeces of the nebulous region or zone of the mountain forming, to the eye, the foundation of these aspiring peaks, brought forward in powerful relief of colour with the strong deep blue of the heavens above them, and the glare of a mid-day sun, and sky without a cloud. So extraordinary a combination, such extreme contrasts, do not exist elsewhere on the face of nature. With the notions the ancients had on the subject of mythology, it was impossible that they should not have selected such a site for their gods. And nowhere on earth is a parallel to it. Such was the remoter scenery; that at hand afforded less pleasing observation. Our route was intercepted by lines of deep pits, (the ventilators of the city aqueducts*, round which no cautionary care is bestowed,) while the earth crumbled under our horses' feet, from the undermining of myriads of rats wherewith this plain is infested,

* See the ruins of ancient Carthage for a specimen of the care paid by antiquity to these social accommodations, and the coincidence of the principles of structure. The idea did not originate here.

being as it were one vast burrow of these animals, adduced here by the conveniency of supply of water.

Proceeding onward, we crossed meadows of superlative beauty, and then came under the shade of the vast and open palm-forest which invests the city up to its very battlements. Just within the verge of the wood we found mounted, and halted there to receive us, the governor of the city at the head of a great body of horsemen, all in white clothing, designated as we were given to understand by the style and title of the Sultan's friends, (not the *principes juventutis* certainly,) and a corps of cavalry of about four hundred, under five standards, two red, two green, and one striped green and red. On our cavalcade joining them, the standards were faced about, and formed in our fronts. After due, and not very summary complimenting among the principal personages on each part, we proceeded; and were next met by a large group of musicians and dancers, dressed in red and white, in front of whom, borne on a man's shoulders, (too great an honour for those of a Jew,) was a young Moor, who being, on coming up in front of us, set upon his heels, by the exercise of them speedily announced the nature of his office, it being no other than that of *maître de ballet* to the court of Morocco. For on his signal and example, the group began a wild, and to our ideas extravagantly gesticulated dance, to the music of their hard drums, while, by way of interlude, the cavalry performed their complimentary evolutions of advancing against us at full speed, in ranks of from ten to fifteen in front, hallooing, and firing their muskets pointed at our faces, and occasionally even discomposing the regularity of our march by the irruption of an unruly horse. For although it is not in this soldier's-play intended to hurt, yet as all the elegance of the compliment consists in approaching as nearly as possible to actually so doing, and yet conveying to the person complimented the agreeable

surprise of finding no bodily injury sustained, the calculation, with the most adroit, becomes so extremely nice, that the slightest error in it, on one side, may produce a very severely felt effect. This is indeed the representation of their mode of warfare, of which more remains to be said.

Our advance was thus continued towards the city, notwithstanding all the complimentary obstructions and difficulties thrown in its way: it was wonderful, and a proof of consummate skill in this respect, that the *corps de musique* and *corps de ballet* in front escaped with whole bones, until we approached its walls. Here vast multitudes received us with loud huzzas (mark the *peripeteia* hereafter): they had been evidently prepared; and all the wall-tops and battlements, their ordinary occupants the storks evicted, were covered and filled with crowds of women, muffled however up to the eyes, to view our arrival. This triumphant entry rejoiced the heart of our friend the worthy alcaid Judar (of the Sultan's artillery), who took the command of the escort in the absence of Saadi Tor Finiss, the latter not afterwards joining us; a circumstance which has confirmed speculations already plausible. Judar had never ceased, during the ride of this day, to expatiate with satisfaction on the honours conferred upon us, as here recited, taking care no part of them should escape notice, and observing to us (what we certainly could not otherwise have known) that the Sultan had sent out some of his nearest relations to bid us welcome. All which he had, he said, from a foreknowledge that it would be so, given us to believe. We had no reason ever to doubt this worthy man's sincerity.

Exhausted by heat, deafened with noise, and nearly stifled by crowd and dust, we entered the venerable gate of the city, and within the precincts of its lofty, dingy, and mouldering walls: proceeding through new crowds, between dead walls, over heaps of dilapidating ruins and suffocating dunghills, we at an unexpected turn, and by instant transi-

tion, found ourselves at once in a delightful garden, secluded, silent, shaded, verdant, and cool; and at full liberty to take our repose. To some hours so passed, reflection and contemplation succeeded; and abundant matter in both was supplied. We were now in a country, be the world's opinion upon the subject what it may, very little known to it; in the heart of one of very extraordinary manners, at the seat of a government conducted on very extraordinary principles. Our time was likely to be somewhat limited, and it was our business to be inquisitive. The accounts which print has conveyed, down to the present date, are calculated only to excite disgust; the information contained in them being otherwise next to nothing. The impression received from them, therefore, as tending to prejudice, ought, so far from receiving advertence, to be banished from the mind. All we have to learn from them is the simple fact, that bigotry, in contravention to the ordinary and otherwise most powerful incentives and feelings of human nature, has here the might, by itself alone, to sustain a political power established by enthusiasm and fanaticism. To maintain this bigotry, ignorance alone is necessary. And here she has hitherto reigned triumphant. It remains now chiefly to be seen what moral effects, upon a people so strangely situated as the Moors, may have been the result of the lapse of half a century.

But first to look around.—These precincts, allotted to lodge the British embassy, are not extensive; not exceeding in their area two acres of ground; but they are not the less adequate to every required purpose in a climate and situation where all invites to repose. The wilderness style predominates, and to pleasing effects; the trees, which are all fruit-bearing, being planted without order. Beneath them, fountains throw up water; and in the centre of the garden is a colonnaded sum-

mer-house, of several apartments, around a hall wherein a fountain plays. And the lodging-rooms adjoining are dark and cool, the former a circumstance of no small luxury here. The fruit-trees, chiefly orange, lemon, and pomegranate, are now in bearing; and no object can be seen beyond the walls of this retreat, save the snowy peaks of Mount Atlas. As much pains seems to have been taken to obtain humidity for this garden, as we see employed with us at home to procure aspect. The esculent part is studiously sunk and levelled, to receive and retain it. Shade seems no nuisance, but rather a nurse to the tender crop below; and these square compartments for produce (the soil is a black vegetable mould) are formed by raised walks of a breadth of several feet, of masonry, four or five feet above their level. These walks being very neatly incrusted, over their whole surface, with gay painted small tiles, the ground whereof is white; it may be judged how effectual this arrangement must be for the purpose of retaining humidity, which in fact is all that it is here requisite to produce. Being arrived thus within the royal precincts, for such these are, about the hour of one o'clock, the Sultan's principal officers came, by his majesty's command, to bid us welcome. The scene around reminded us of Sir William Temple's account of the Moorish monarch of his day.—His words are: "Thus the present King of Morocco, after having subdued all his competitors, passes his life in a country villa;—gives audience in a grove of orange-trees planted among purling streams;"—a description conveying all the grateful impressions of repose and picturesque, and which it is to be hoped remained unalloyed by any disagreeable features in the background.—All corresponds essentially with the accounts which the ancients have handed down to us; all which, however desultory, appear perfectly correct, and furnish a picture far more accurate, as well as

pleasing, though only outlines, than any we have received from a modern hand, down to the present date of being here. Thus the poet perfectly coincides with the scene around us when he says,

"——Tantum Maurusiæ genti
Robora divitiæ; quarum non noverat usum,
Sed citri contenta cornu vivebat, et umbra."

Times and terms may have changed, but here is a basis of consistency. If a golden age has disappeared here in one sense, progress has been amply made in it in another. Corruption may engraft itself upon primitive manners, but these latter will remain where founded in Nature. Moral life certainly has not improved in the change. Investigation has not yet come to a due definition of these botanical terms; but here seems no reason to range in quest of new matter, when the fact comes plainly before us in the present day. Such is now actually the mode of life.

City *of* Morocco.—The Bocanum Hemerum of the ancients was situated somewhere about this part of the plain, and by the radical term is indicated to have been a seat of government. Thus we find a Bogh Ud, a Moorish king, at the battle between Cæsar and Pompey. But there was also on the Maurbeya river, which discharges at Azamor, a very ancient city named Ta Maroc. Among these radical terms here is ground-work for much confusion in a non-literate language. But let not the classical system of deriving ancient words from (*quoad* them) modern terms hope to avail itself thereof; here it may rest assured the prospect is utterly comfortless. The radical topographic term means any wide expanse of flat: land or water. It was appropriated to this tract long ere the Marabou fanatics, or their prophet, were thought of. The general diffusion of a word through the ramifications of language proves the depth of its root; and this is the case in regard to main lo-

eat epithets here. Whether the first-mentioned ancient site, as known to classic lore, quoted above, were here or not, or whether the capital of the ancient rulers of this country were on the Maurbeya river, it is still plausibly believed that a more ancient establishment of human association was planted in this site of Morocco before the present city was founded by the Marabous, or Moravidi (doctors), in the twelfth century, when they rescued the plain from the domination of the pastoral Arabs under their Sheiks. This was in the Caliphat of Keyem, these scientific or theological occupants of the plain being headed by their chief Texapin, whose claim, beyond success, to the honour is not explained. In about half a century after, however, and about the year 1170, the great Jacob Almanzor (the conqueror) sat on this throne. This seems to have been subsequently to the period when the Moiadi or Ommiades (the pupils now grown too great for their instructors), from the highlands of Atlas, roused by Fatimites who fled to those fastnesses from the Abassides in the east, descended into the plain, and struggled for the dominion of it with the Moors. Here then we see a contest, the invaders out of the question, between the two primitive races, Moors of the plain and Brebers of the mountain, and fanaticism guiding in every case the bolts of war. This power at least blew the trumpet as soon as the Mussulman creed reached the mountains; and this city, as well as the country with it, was subsequently struggled for and possessed, as the contending parties could muster force, or as accident favoured violence. The state of pupilage seems to have been felt as insulting; for it is doubtful if the distinction was submitted to for more than half a century, though no strength of measure was omitted to sustain it. The Arab power, however, seems to have re-established itself until the nation was enfeebled by the defeat of Tolosa in 1212; and it is probable that the Moiadi Fatimites, a branch of whom went into and reigned in

Spain, were powerful, until that event, on both sides the Straits. But on this blow to the Arab power, the Beni Merini, a faction headed by a governor of Fez, seized the throne here, and held it until superseded by the Oalazi, whose history is the most obscure of all, but who were succeeded by the Xeriffs (not the present dynasty). Such is the principal outline of events which have affected this place. Curiosity induced one of his majesty's sons to pay the newly arrived Christians an early visit. This young man seemed about twenty years of age, was well grown, being full six feet high, of jet black complexion, rode on a mule, was attended by two servants, and followed by two beautiful greyhounds.

"——" The prince then pass'd the gate,
Two dogs behind, a faithful guard await."

Could the parallel be carried on between the youthful hope of Ithaca, and the present specimen of royalty in Morocco, candour should forbid its stopping; but with regret be it said, Pallas had withheld her fostering hand, and all was as Nature left it; for little care indeed, even here on earth below, appeared to have been bestowed on this young prince's education. On the contrary, he appears to have been on this article, in the phrase of the comedy, "at large." After being announced, and having sat down, on a chair and in the European manner (it is noticeable as very unusual), he lolled and stared around him for some time in silence: his eyes were, however, at length attracted by the glitter of a gold watch-chain, the appendage of one of the party, and he made an alert and smart grapple to seize the tempting trinket to his use; but meeting with too strong an opposition from the person principally concerned to retain it, and the rest of the company possessing no great interest for him, he arose, gave a nod of his head, and took his departure in silence.—Next appeared two men sweating un-

der the load of a handbarrow, whereon was placed an enormous china bowl filled with the pride of the national cuisine, *cuscusu*. This being deposited, was followed by an entire sheep; skinned indeed, and bearing evidence of having undergone the process of the kitchen, but apparently yet possessing its intestines as in days of yore. The *équivoque* was, however, speedily solved; for, incision being made, a bounteous discharge of contents extruded, ready dressed, in various fanciful forms of puddings, forced meats, minced meats, and indescribable et-ceteras, wherein it seemed as if this Arabesque taste had been trained to adhere to the modes of Nature. And the process altogether brought to our minds the theatrical contrivances of Trimalchio's feast, to break the tedium of that greatest of all trials of human endurance, a *grand couvert*. One word more here in bidding farewell to the subject of the Moorish *cuisine*, a national subject every where worthy of a stranger's notice. For it is one wherein, it is to be admitted, he must bear a daily interest. It must have appeared already, as now, that stoicism does not rule here upon this subject as in Spain. In fact, this proves itself a land of plenty in the fullest sense; and the effects of this are obvious in the well shot up and full forms of the people, who never appear to have undergone, in any step of their mortal journey, a pinching process. Yet, if it be true, as it unquestionably is, as often said in the best organized societies, that one half of mankind is ignorant how the other half lives, double obscurity attends the subject here. The population of this city, in its myriads, clear of rags and famine, is a problem in statistics hitherto insoluble.——But to return to the kitchen, and to an article which takes a lead in it, and by its effects certainly cannot be offensive to the human frame, however much so it may be to the senses. This composition, though not presented to us at a regular meal, which we were frequently tempted with on the route, on the occasion when that *entremet* of the

table called in modern elegance "lunch," was judged opportune, is constituted as follows. Beef or camel's flesh is stewed in rancid butter, honey, saffron, and a plentiful infusion of that drug called origanum, used by us in horse-balls, and wherewith our rat-catchers perfume themselves to attract their game. Thus prepared, and with salt and other spices, it will keep a length of time in this climate, and it is served up cold, in general use.—The conveyance of the baggage to our quarters was consigned to the Jews. Strange transitions of life become the lots of some men. The person appointed to attend on the diplomatic mission of Britain is a native of Oxfordshire, and by Christian denomination Thomas Myers; but he is here a Mussulman, with the title and name of Alcaid Boazzer. His story, as given by himself, is, that he was shipwrecked here forty years ago, in the Inspector privateer, being then a boy, and like the rest of the crew turned to the Mussulman faith, to the glory, and in consequence of, persecution, in various modes of ill-treatment, during the reign of the preceding Sultan. He seems older than this account should make him, but dates and years unrecorded soon become indistinct. He is married to a woman of the southern or Tafilet side of Mount Atlas, and has by her a large family. In consequence of this connexion, probably, he is very communicative upon matters concerning the Brebers or mountaineers, of whom he, by his recurrence to the subject, appears to delight to talk. His complexion is fair, his beard long and white; he perfectly retains his English, and his appearance and whole manner are respectable and grave.

We find that he was formerly in command at Robah, and that he had made in the Sultan's service some money; which being taken as proof positive of peculation, and the punishment for this one crime at least being always here as prompt as convenient, he was thereupon convicted, and fined by his master in the full amount of all he possessed.

It should seem as if the resignation, inculcated by his creed (bearing misfortunes like a philosopher, if not a Christian,) was not the part of it which had made the least impression upon his mind. The business which particularly brought him to Morocco now was, attendance upon a young factor of Liverpool, who came from Sallee to make application to the Sultan on matters of commerce.

In the evening all the Europeans in Morocco came to wait upon the new comers. These residents consisted of Signor Ciappi, a Venetian, mercantile agent of the Sultan; Mr. Tagelkamp, a Prussian; and two Spanish monks, whose convent is at Fez, but who have a *hospicio* here, and who are engaged in the laudable occupation of redeeming Christian captives.

Thus ended the first day; one of as considerable interest, so far as novelty possesses it, as can well be imagined. The ensuing day was made one partly of rest, partly of preparation for the presentation to, and audience of, the Sultan, which, it is intimated, is fixed for the day after ensuing; our protector, Alcaid Judar, having received a hint to that effect at court, where he has just been, and whence he returned in a high key of spirits in consequence of the reception he was favoured with there. In the evening some of the party took a walk through the Jewry to the Danish garden; which last denomination, from the limited scale of the thing, barely marks that here is an establishment of that nation within the walls of the capital. The invitation was given with good-will, and the individuals it proceeded from were respectable.

The military alcaid of the escort paid the European party his visit of leave-taking this evening. He is by his account ninety-four years of age: he is a negro: his complexion jet-black, but his beard milk-white. He is a very cheerful old man, and observed, when his extreme

old age was remarked on, that "the Sultan had several years good service to expect out of him yet." (So completely, it seems, do all these people consider the monarch the breath of their nostrils.) The inflexible fidelity of the negro character, and their competence to business, in addition to the reliance to be placed on them, have advanced the people of that tinge in general into situations of confidence with every party in this unsettled country. This alcaid is not the only instance of a green old age that we have met with here. On the contrary, we have had reason to remark its frequency. It seems as if the sabre of Despotism mowed down here more rapidly than the scythe of Time; or that the latter respected what his co-adjutor had spared.

At the time which best suited His Majesty, the Sultan admitted the British embassy to his presence, by a sudden and summary order. Accordingly, at midday, the British set out for the palace, and entering the gates thereof, came into a large square, or somewhat oblong area, of perhaps two acres of ground, sanded, and inclosed within blank walls of very considerable height, white-washed, and the tops of which were covered by lines of innumerable storks, which birds breed here, not only unmolested, but objects of regard for their services. In a small round pond in the centre of this area were a few tame geese, the original breed whereof, as we were informed, came from England. They do not appear to have spread in their new domiciliation. The embassy having arrived at a point of station, was informed that His Majesty was at prayers. After waiting about an hour, at the expiration of that time it was conducted by the alcaid Tor Finiss (heretofore mentioned) to another open area, of about a furlong in length by a hundred yards or more in breadth, which led from the mosque to the apartments of the palace: the mosque where His Majesty then was being on our right-hand. We proceeded here through a lane of the

courtiers, great men, and guards, apparently about twelve hundred in number. The whole of these people were dressed in pure white, the total effect of which was merely varied by slight streaks of red from caps, sabre-scabbards, and belts; and with the white walls, bright yellow sands, and scorching noon-day glare unalloyed by shade or verdure, gave an effect totally novel to European eyes. The embassy was placed in line with the door of the mosque, at which stood the Sultan's horse, and by which was also, leaned against the wall, his crimson umbrella, the primitive distinction of royalty. In about half an hour more, we had the satisfaction to see His Majesty come out, mount his horse, and approach us. He had been, thus, fully two hours employed in the duties of devotion. On mounting his horse, the crimson umbrella was hoisted over his head, and, whilst so, was kept turning continually with a rapid motion. He was preceded by four tall men, carrying long red spears with red tassels and large heads of silver fillagree-work. One man walked on each side of his horse, somewhat behind, with a long white napkin brushing off the flies. The Sultan rode a bright bay horse, with furniture of crimson velvet loaded with gold and jewels; and as he advanced, at a slow walk, all, save the embassy, prostrated themselves in large groups, touching the ground with their foreheads, and crying aloud (tantamount indeed to shouting) "*Libir comer Saadi!*"—"Live our Lord!"—To which he made, repeatedly, a gracious reply, to the effect of "Rise, my people!" pronounced in a mild tone and consistent aspect. And then they accordingly rose. The whole ceremony was novel, grand, and impressive. Such numbers, of such various complexions, their uniformity of action, the expressions of devotion and awe, and the venerable and graceful figures of this vast body of men all arrayed in white clothing to the very feet, composed a spectacle most highly gratifying to observation.

The Sultan was considerably upwards of seventy-five years of age, very tall, very meagre, very much bent, his head and breast leaning forward over his horse, black, (his mother was a negress; and this description of the sex bears a very powerful interest, and has long done so here at court), with a long pointed white beard and thick white eye-brows. His eyes glance in different directions, one revolving upwards, while the other is cast on the person to whom he addresses himself, (appearing as if, like the eyes of the chameleon, governed by distinct nerves;) and his mouth, which he does not shut, has lost all its teeth save one, which protrudes*. He was dressed in long robes of white and almost transparent muslin, one end of which was flung over his head, whereon he wore a turban considerably larger than the vulgar costume, with the end of the robe down below his shoulders and over his back. His deportment was that of command and ease, but the expression of his countenance was shrewdness. From the description, it may be judged how impossible it was to prevent the imagery of the Gorgon recurring to the mind. When the Sultan approached the embassy, he halted, and the British, with the governor of the city, advanced; and the credentials, enveloped in silk, (usually a handkerchief,) being delivered to an officer, (for the Sultan at audience receives nothing into his own hands,) His Majesty, through the medium of the interpreter, a Jew, said, that whatever it was the wish of the British envoy should be done, he should mention to the alcaid Ben Amoran (a man of ephemeral consequence just at this moment at court). Hereupon the Sultan was informed, that the object of the present mission was, to assure His Majesty of the continuance of friendship on the part of Great Britain. The

* With every possible respect for exalted station, it was impossible to banish totally from the mind the close similitude here with the classical anecdote of the visiting Gorgon.

Sultan, then asked, if Great Britain had made peace with America? And an answer being given in the affirmative, he waived further discourse, turned his horse, and rode away. Whereupon the embassy returned to its quarters. The presents, however, which were partly held in the hands of those who had charge of them, and partly loaded on backs of mules, all formed, for the audience, in a rank behind the envoy, remained where they were.

Such was the procedure of the first interview with the Mauritanian sovereign, who was no more seen, save by the chief of the embassy and his interpreter, during the remainder of the time passed in his capital; where two gratifications, certainly not usually looked for in such situations, retirement and leisure, were enjoyed in their full extent.

It is even more easy to rescue the ancient part of the history of this country from oblivion, than to *débrouiller* the modern part, interwoven as are its eventful and political mazes, from the contentions of the two principles of action, the black army and the haram, which have succeeded to the phrenetic efforts of fanaticism. Yet who, possessed of reason, that visits a foreign country, one in fact almost new to notice, would permit himself to remain ignorant of moral causes, merely because they are deep-seated? could view effects, without wishing to penetrate to their causes? Supposing, on the other hand, a public literary taste so perverted by bad matter as only to be gratified with frivolities,—are there not many more reasons than one to call out the exertion of an independent pen? Adoption as well as selection, concentration as well as condensation of matter are occasionally requisite to put it in a clear light to the mind, when moral complications present themselves for investigation, as is the case here, where such extraordinary combinations have affected and afflicted human nature. The mind bent on pushing the probe of investigation to the utmost, must

have stronger reasons to induce it to desist, than shallow observers are able to urge.

Saadi Homed Ebu Abdallah, the present Sultan, succeeded his father Muley Abdallah, who died in the year 1757. Muley Abdallah succeeded Muley Homed Debby, who died in the year 29 of the last century. Muley Homed Debby succeeded the tremendous Muley Ishmail, who was the successor of Muley Arshid, which latter died in 1672. His predecessor was Muley Mohammed, son of Muley Ali, King of Tafilet or Sugulmessa, by election.

Tafilet, otherwise Sugulmessa, is an annexation by conquest to this empire, effected by Joseph Abu Texaphin, the leader of the Moravedi, or Marabouts as they are called, heretofore mentioned. Joseph Texaphin was a Libyan Arab, and, as we are informed, of the tribe of Lumthun. The epithet Abu, father, is honorific; and here it may be observed, that the title Muley, one of those adherent to this royal race, is the Gaelic *Mullough—excelsus*. Debby, too, is apparently from *dubh*, in the colloquial Arabic, *golden*. But oriental royal titles are all derivatives from various epithets, ascribed qualities, or denominations of the heavenly host; at the head whereof may be placed, without fear of controversy, the Sun. Saadi, (such is the national orthography, but it is pronounced usually Sidi,) that adopted by the present monarch, is from the root which expresses star; and is applied in the sense of lord or nobility, (for all our ideas hereon are oriental). All the Prophet's family, however individually reduced, bear this title; and his present majesty, who peculiarly prides himself upon his humility, will allow himself no higher, repugnating that of Sultan, which they here construe, Most Just; a title, as he observes, no one can be proved worthy of until after his life is closed. But with all deference, however, it may be observed, that as justice, rare as it may be on earth, is still so much more within

the reach of inclination than happiness is, a greater latitude might be assumed in this article than was allowed to the King of Lydia.—But to revert to the digression now engaged in, and the Xeriff or holy family of Tafilet. When the race of the Moravedi kings was extinguished in the civil wars of Morocco, the people of Tafilet recurred to the Xeriff race in the person of this Muley Ali, whom they elected their king, about the year 1500*. He was a private individual, born at Yambo near Medina, of the tribe of Hachem, a branch of the Beni Hassan, descended from the Prophet's daughter Fatima. This dynasty has effected much; for the descendants of Muley Ali Xeriff were Muley Arshid and Muley Ishmail (sons or grandsons is a point not very clear, but their mother was a negress). Muley Arshid annexed Fez and Sus (Gætulia) to his empire. He also reduced and combined the Arab polygarchy of these plains into somewhat of a political state; and his brother and successor Muley Ishmail, by the unlimited prerogative of his sabre, completed the work. The conqueror Arshid left children; but Muley Ishmail, who during his brother's reign had led a quiet private life, engaged in pastoral and mercantile pursuits at Mequinez†, then only a

* About the year 1520, two Xeriffs, brothers, killed Muley Nazr Buhentuff Edutela, then reigning here, and succeeded him. The fact is recorded. The time may come when with things will be collated, and accuracy obtained. Such, however, was the mode adopted here in the holy family, which, in its common participation of right, and exercise thereof, to the throne, seems to have adopted as a maxim the severe censure of the poet, when he says "*Nil pudet assuetos incepta.*" But it is the nature of man to imitate. The Mohammedan reigning powers are thus to be classed in series down to modern days, Caliphs (Arab), Moravedi (indigenous), Moiadi, Beni Merini, Oatasi, Xeriff, first and second dynasty.

† This castle Mequinez appears to have derived its name from its founder, pronounced Macnassa; in which we recognise the Numidian (now Algerine) Massanissa, the ally of Rome. The denomination is evidently here honorific, neither generic nor personal. It tends, as applied to this place, to prove its establishment anterior to the irruption of the Arabs, and also points to other deductions. Mr. Jardine complains of the climate of Mequinez as very severe.

solitary castle, on his brother's death deposed his nephews, like our Richard the Third, to whom he appears to have borne a most singular resemblance, and seated himself upon the throne in 1672, being then about fifty years of age. He is thus described by Buznot, and is too remarkable a specimen of what human nature may be, to be allowed to pass into oblivion, while any result may be presumed on in preventing it. The picture given of him at the age of eighty, by this priest, is as follows. He was of middling size, spare and lean, his beard white and forked, his complexion almost black, with a white spot near his nose, his eyes vivid, and voice strong. So active was he then, that he always mounted his horse by vaulting: of a ready and sprightly wit, anticipating the thoughts of those who addressed themselves to him, and returning answers always short and pithy. Brave and undaunted in danger, mistrustful, and of wonderful constancy and resolution under adversity, as indeed his history proves; no change of fortune ever appearing to have affected his spirits or exertions. Muley Ishmail had, amongst his numerous wives, one Englishwoman. It would be curious to know, were it possible to learn, how these so capriciously treated victims of fortune are mentally affected by their fate. To judge by what is observable in the other sex, it would be but slightly. Thus, too, the piratical system has produced blendings, the connexions of which, were they to meet, would require a strong sympathetic effort indeed of the force of blood to recognise each other by. This capital, the unfortunate city of Morocco, seems to have been ordained for affliction from the day its foundations were first laid. It is the bone of the contention of struggling parties. Thus, it was the scene chosen for warfare by the sons of Muley Ishmail, in their revolts. A son here is as much a state enemy as a brother is in Turkey. As to Muley Ishmail, we hardly find in classical history any parallel for one who combined such great

and such tremendous qualities. Melancholy to think, but the process of investigation tends to prove it, less violence would not have governed his state, such as it was. He died in his bed, which was hardly to be supposed. But he was feared and respected. Still more extraordinary, his successor, Homed Debby, was replaced upon the throne. The Caligula of his nation found adherents in adversity. A short abstract of the events of his day is requisite to understand Morochian politics, and what human nature is here. Homed, Abdulmelic, Ali, and Abdallah were the sons of Ishmail. Homed succeeded his father in the year 1727. He was deposed, and his brother Abdulmelic put in his place in the ensuing year. But the latter was also shortly after deposed, and Abdallah substituted, to be also shortly deposed, for Ali to succeed him; for a short time, however, as Abdallah, the father of the present reigning Sultan recovered, but did not retain the throne; for the wretch Debby found adherents to reinstate him, and, what is however not quite so extraordinary as that, thereon died. His inventive genius in human suffering had found out a new mode (we have heard of reward proclaimed for discovery of a new sensual gratification) of immuring. (Europe has the honour, too, of this practice.) He rammed the victims of his malignant and drunken caprices (Mohommed was well advised, be his adviser who he might,) into his composition-walls: for he too was an architect. The Prophet seems to have been well aware of the deleterious effects of the juice of the grape, upon those races by whom his proselyte ranks were likely to be filled; effects more deleterious to the mind, as in the case of this wretched man, from the mischievous associations which the indulgence of the vice in natural course brought about him, than any that could have originated from mere innate pravity; as no single human head or heart, uninstigated by vile suggestions, could have framed all the evils, moral and physical, which he actually carried

into effect: ready hands never being wanted when the word is given for a human victim to be consigned to the torture. And actual torture had fashion to bear it through at the court of that day. Homed Debby is calculated to have put to death fifteen hundred persons with his own hands, exclusive of the vestiges of his cruelty in maimed, disfigured, and wounded. Yet he had a very long reign, a powerful party in his support, and died at last as unmolested by resistance from without, as by conscience from within. So true it is, that there is no order of things in politics so monstrous but what will find supporters, and by the same rule, too, advocates, (in the justificatory sense to which the elegance of modern phraseology is pleased to prescribe the term,) in those countries where, as is by no means the case here, it is customary to talk upon matters of state. Where truth cannot appear, a certain degree of pity should attend inculpation upon these evils. The courtiers of his reign partook of his disposition, and were ruffian-like and ferocious; the faults of the present day here, for no day nor place is without its peculiar ones, are of a different complexion, but analogous derivation.

"——————————— our bloods
No more obey the heavens, than our courtiers';
Still seem, as does the king's."

The embassy recorded by Braithwaite was to this sultan; that of Windus was to his father Ishmail; who, though he appeared to sport with the lives of his subjects, as his sacred character, and their conviction in favour of it, allowed him to do,—for bloodshed from the supreme hand here never causes a murmur,—was yet of so tender, sentimentally tender a disposition in other points, that kid or lamb never appeared at his table, because "he could not find in his heart to separate the young*

* "Slay not a kid, a lamb, a cow, a horse, a cock crowing, or about to crow."—*Sadder*. But there is a *rationale* in this.

from its parent."—"We *trust* we have a good conscience."—The son was to the father, what Caligula was to Tiberius. But far hence be the injustice of exalting Morochian to the height of Roman atrocity. Such, however, are the outlines which sketch the two successive reigns which precede that of the son of Abdallah.

Saadi Homed Ebn Abdallah, the present sultan, is never seen but on horseback. Hence it can only be generally judged that he is very tall, meagre, and large-boned. When he goes out in his carriage, a common English four-wheeled post-chaise of yellow colour, (casually to be sure, but yellow is the vindictive tinge, the drapery of the Scythian Mars, and said to have been affected by his majesty's ancestors when they set out upon their blood-letting excursions,) drawn by one horse or mule, and the only wheeled vehicle in the country, the blinds are drawn up. Slaves also run before the carriage, with long and heavy sticks, to drive obtruders to their due distance. Some courtiers and relations by blood, Xeriffs, run by the side of it; and his majesty's negro guards, on foot, not in rank and file, nor in mass, but in an order somewhat between the two, bustle after. Of course it will be perceived that exterior dignity, all not personally inherent, is completely laid aside. On the whole, it is indeed a most unregal *cortège*, and gives a very different impression from the mounted appearance of the monarch, which altogether is oriental and military. This sultan is, as mentioned, grandson of Muley Ishmail, whom he in several instances considerably resembles; but not, however, in a sanguinary disposition. But he is, as part of the regal office, grand executioner of the state. As, in some countries, the throne is the fountain of mercy, here it is the altar of expiation for guilt. Shooting, beheading, maiming, and dismembering, all are executed as the monarch awards upon the spot; for he is always present. It must be recorded to his honour, that, contrary to the prac-

tice of his predecessors, all these ultimate awards are dealt out with a mitigated hand. Thus dismemberment is now the usual punishment for crimes, whereby death is supposed to be earned. The hand or foot is usually amputated. Boiling pitch is the grand panacea. Surgery is nearly put on the shelf by the adoption of this mode. It obviates all necessity for bandages, tourniquets, or dressings. A kettle of it is at hand over the fire, the stump is dipped into it, and the criminal limps off as well as he can, no further inquiry being made concerning him. The most assiduous and dexterous thief in Tangier was a man who had thus lost both his hands by the stroke of justice, and preserved his life by the foregoing process. Thus, of course, it will be perceived that his incorrigibility was on a par with his other qualities. No character on classical record in this way has ever equalled him; for the great hero of antiquity, in the thieving line, was eminent by his physical forces. As Witherington used his stumps to fight on, so this head of the profession used his to sweep the loose change off the shop-counters in the Bezar, into the folds of his clothing. And it may be supposed he did not fail to make good use of his legs while they were left to him. Some deny the statement that this sultan's hand has no tinge of blood upon it, and assert the contrary as eye-witnesses to reiterated instances. Such is the reliance to be placed on human testimony! For it is a strict fact, that he never did put a man to death with his own hand. The real case is, that the leaning bias of mankind, narrators and audience, to the worst side of the story, is such, that we may very logically conclude, a favourable tale, having nothing but its truth to recommend it to favour, is most probably possessed of that ill-received quality to sustain it;—although, indeed, truth and probability combined are unfortunately very feeble powers to drag their charge against the force of the moral current. This may induce us to strike off a round number or so from the

items in the account against his majesty's uncle and predecessor, Homed Debby. But, in regard to himself, it must be admitted that the charge has been very near capability of substantiation. Despotism has not succeeded to emasculate the Moor. One of his officers, thinking himself wronged by him, expressed himself so firmly in the royal presence, that the Sultan, enraged, drew his sabre, and cut him on the head, with a so definitively intended effort, that the weapon, by the violence of it, flew out of his hand. The officer took it from the ground, wiped, and presented it to his master to finish the business; which impressive instance of resigned resolution so struck the despot, that he relented, sheathed his sword, and took him into favour ever after. If, however, he be compunctious as to life, the like cannot be by any means said in his praise in regard to property; and as acquisition is the predominant passion of the Moor, (what a foundation for national advance!) and he values his possession more than his life; several instances have occurred of desperation excited on such occasions. Thus, in regard to court favourites, so far as dealings with foreigners are concerned, the golden rule the Sultan acts by, (or he is foully belied,) is, to affix a *minimum* upon the possible receipts, by way of bribery or otherwise, of those who have the happiness of basking (it is no place for slumbering) in the sun-shine of his favour, and he imposes his taxes on them by this scale. He thus, at least, cannot charge them with mercenary views. If he did so, they might retort, with justice, equal to Ancient Pistol on his master, "Didst thou not share? Hadst thou not fifteen-pence?" The present Sultan has a shrewdness not to be deceived. He evidently is of opinion that the worst people in his dominions are those who aggregate about his own person, and he treats them accordingly. Thus his chief vengeance, confiscation, upon that most convenient political principle (since adopted in Europe) of making crimination a source of revenue,

is unremittingly enforced on them; whereas death or corporal suffering is inflicted on the lowest classes with comparative lightness. In his various points of concurrence with his predecessor Ishmail, he is noticeable in thinking, or appearing to think, no trouble too great to obtain a quiet life by. This idea affords a clue at least to most of his habits. Ishmail, too, concurred with him in his idea of mankind, when he compared himself and his subjects to a man carrying rats in a sack: "If he do not keep the bag continually shaking, they will eat their way out." One particular relative to this throne is essentially necessary to be known to such as have transactions here, because they will find things very differently represented to them, if they go upon the plan of confiding to courtiers. No one dares address the Sultan until the latter speaks to him; no one dares start any subject, or enter upon it, until the Sultan has first touched upon it himself. He retains the absolute mastery over his communications, and no assumed, pretended, or real interest can prevail or countervail in this substantial piece of *etiquette*. This Sultan is now some years of age beyond seventy, but is strong and hale. So many years in absolute despotism, with every latitude allowed by prejudice, and no excess committed, is a proof that no corruption of a sanguinary nature exists in the disposition. But it is to be lamented, that this is only a temporary respite. And the struggles springing from the royal harem, amongst these Mussulmen Heraclidæ, will ever keep the unfortunate nation a prey to the horrors and depravities of political revolution. It is an unmerited fate, for the Moors are not a sanguinary race. In their disputes (for disputatious the vulgar here, like all vulgar, high and low, are) they commonly scold, vociferate, and gesticulate, so that it would be supposed mortal consequences were ready to ensue. Yet blood is not drawn, nor does a blow pass, though weapons are usually at hand. And in an instant after they appear quite

cool, and all is forgotten. The same cannot be said of the Arabs, who are little scrupulous about human life.

An awkward opinion, however, lurks in the minds of (certainly too many) Mussulmen, that the shortest and easiest way to heaven is by putting an infidel out of the way here on earth. This is not Mohommedan moral; but it was once politics, and it still lurks in the shape of prejudice. The promises of the houris of Paradise, graven in stone, are yet extant in Spain, to such as shall dip the points of their spears in Christian blood; and to eradicate such deep-seated ideas cannot be the work of a day, no, nor of a series of centuries, with any branch of mankind.

Saadi Homed Ebn Abdallah has eleven sons and six daughters. It is at present thought that his son Muley Lezid, whose mother is said to be an Irishwoman, and to have a husband now actually living at Cork, will succeed him. He is the favourite of the black army, and of the people; but has, in all probability for this reason, a quarrel with his father, and has fled beyond Santa Cruz, to the Arabs in revolt there. This is the palladium of the injured or suspected of this state, amongst whom he maintains himself in a condition of independence. His father has often endeavoured to induce him to come to court, but without success. Two other of the Sultan's sons accompanied a sister to Mecca, where she was married to a Xeriff, a prince of the Prophet's family. One of the brothers returned to Morocco; but the other preferred the dissipations of an Arab life in the East, and headed that body of Arabs in the Desert, which massacred a caravan of six hundred Mogrebi, or western Arabs, his own countrymen, in a dispute about payment for the accommodation of the wells, lately; in which it is said the travellers were in the wrong. Thus, however, is confirmed here to its climax, the denunciation of the Prophet against political

depravation.—"Thy princes are rebellious, and companions with thieves."

The present Sultan is universally considered as mild, brave in war, fickle, save in what regards his own immediate interest, and very much flattered by being considered a good shot—at an enemy. He is no way distinguished in his dress from the uppermost classes of his subjects, except by wearing an unusually large turban. He is of the marketable tinge. His mother was a commodity of general sale, a negress. Both would have brought the Smithfield price for the hoe In what degree of the scale of anatomical progression and intellectual ascendency his majesty's head is to be placed, it not being here convenient or admissible to investigate how far the mouldings of the bust may follow or deviate from the Negro modifications; a mere visitant at his majesty's court cannot be supposed to decide. But it is no harm to caution Europeans, how far they venture to commit their own acumen against that which is supplied from the interior of this specimen of the seat of reason*, and not to place too much reliance on epidermis or cranium. These Blacks, when they obtain valid political title to white people, the having gotten them, no matter by what means, into their hands, maintain, and subject them to no hardship, save restraint. The

* The Negro skull is distinguishable by flatness of the side bones (such as occurs, as age advances, to the descendants of the other sons of Noah.) See Treatise on Skulls, and the ingenious tract on the scale of ascendency of talent from black to white. Some little mistake, however, has occurred in the calculations, like that which spoiled Gulliver's suit of clothes in the flying island of philosophers. But the results do not tally. The Negro skull is not more strongly distinguished than the Scythian or Abyssinian. As to tint, this is regulated by the claims of nature and climate. Certain superior muscular powers of exertion in the toes of the Negro race have been alleged as an argument for denying it the claim to a participation in human nature. But, with all deference, this natural accomplishment only proves the danger of possessing superior talent under inauspicious circumstances.

authority for the fact, that the Sultan allows five hundred dollars for the ransom of each Christian of nations at peace with him, from the Arabs of the south, is not to be doubted. Perhaps, all together, so much may not be allowable to say as to the fulfilment of the payments. The settlement between the lion and the jackal may not be always productive of a strict balance. The known protection, however, that this Sultan gives to strangers, and which is in conformity with his general principle, secures them from any serious molestation. A Moor will occasionally, it is true, point his musquet at, the women abuse, and the children pursue the *caffre* (infidel), the generic term for Christian here, as cuckold is for a Jew. But this is merely the laxity of police; as they well know that, if observed, they would be smartly punished. But as to slavery, as it is redeemed from afar, when occasion calls for it, so it is very slightly inflicted even when at hand. As to any labour undergone, it does not deserve the name.

Here are now some North (Anglo) Americans, whose nation the Sultan says he is at war with, (probably in maintenance of his maritime claim,) and who were in consequence taken at sea. The only danger he puts them to is by over-repletion of food: their only labour is how to kill their time. What once was slavery, is now only detention. So time softens down things by unobserved degrees. Surely this is a considerable advance in that code so useful to all, the law of nations!—in another word, common justice. The present Sultan was born in Tafilet, for which country he has the predilection of a native; and means to end his days there. Tafilet is indeed much liked, and favourably spoken of, by all such as have been there. He *means* to die there; for as the Moors (who are philosophers in the sense of resignation, and have, characteristically as such, a saying for every thing, a portable and at-hand kind of wisdom in proverbs, very convenient with a non-literate

people,) say—"We all know where we were born, but nobody knows where he is to die."—Notwithstanding his majesty's hesitation or forbearance on the subject of sealing himself with Aristides, Sultan is the term in universal use among his own subjects in speaking of him, as Emperor is that adopted by Europeans. Indolence is not his reproach. He does not sink into the lethargy of the Mohammedan lords of the East. Climate seems to have less effect of enervation upon an Arab than a Scythian emigrator. Indolence, indeed, does not seem to have been ever the morbid principle of the throne of this country. The constitutional bias seems, for the sins of the people, to have been to the opposite side—restlessness. The vices of exaltation, ambition, and avarice, struggle. But the latter, in old age at least, has the more permanent gripe. The paroxysms of the former are more violent with us, but for that reason terminable; whereas the latter never quits his hold or sleeps upon his post. At the siege of Melilla, in the year 1774, an object too very near the Sultan's heart, he caused every shot fired against that fortress to be booked. This procedure, not very tactical for a military nation, nor very rapid with a non-literate one, protracted the siege, and enabled the Spanish commandant, an officer of the Irish brigade, by name Sherlocke, to save the place. It had become, in spite of bad gunnership, a heap of ruins. He ceased to return fire, as if defence had been abandoned, and posted his small garrison in ambuscade among the rubbish. As he expected, the Moors advanced in incautious triumph; and the garrison, sallying out on them by surprise, so completely routed their unorganized crowds, that their army, such as it was, could never rally. And the guns now brought by the present opportunity to Mogodor, by the same vessel which brought part of the British mission thither, are such as were then saved, and which had been ever since left at Tangier. Taken throughout, Hamed Ebn Ab-

dallah is a strongly-marked character in human nature, and, as morally and politically circumstanced, well worthy the attention of such as think contemplation worth halting for.

The usual routine of courtly visitants; whose compliments are hints for presents, of eunuchs distinguished by their insolence and haughtiness even more than by their stations of consequence, of young overgrown princes *abrutis* into imbecility in the rank luxuriance of harem weeds, and turned out thus into the world as if intentionally to disgrace the palace, and of employed and mistrusted renegades, to recommend themselves to their master by their vigilance and malignity as spies, follow closely upon the heels of an audience, and engage the rest of the day.

Renegades are now rare here. The Moors are indifferent about making proselytes, and have a distaste for the proselytes* when made.

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* *Extract from the Morning Chronicle*, 1812.—"Roentgen, the German traveller, whose intention to penetrate into the interior of Africa was some time ago communicated to the public, has, there is unfortunately little reason to doubt, lost his life in the undertaking. He set out from Mogodor in the middle of July 1811, with the intention of penetrating to Tombuctoo, and, if possible, of reaching Vezemb or the Cape. He was accompanied by a German renegade, with whom he had become acquainted at Mogodor, and in whom he placed the most entire confidence. He was provided with two mules, five hundred dollars in money, various articles of merchandise, and drugs which might enable him to pass as a physician. He promised, on his departure, that his friends at Mogodor should hear of him by every opportunity. They however never heard from him afterwards. Three weeks after his departure, it was reported at Mogodor that the renegade and a Moor had been seen crossing a river to the northward; but as it was thought improbable that Mr. Roentgen should have taken that route, no attention was paid to the report. Seven weeks after Mr. R. had gone from Mogodor, intelligence was brought thither from Morocco, that a Moor, of the province of SUSBURA, had been *stopped* at Morocco, offering for sale a watch and other various articles apparently belonging to an European; which articles, on being sent to Mogodor, were identified as having been Mr. Roentgen's property. The Moor, on being examined, persisted in declaring that he had found Mr. R. dead, and in a very putrid state, under a tree, and that he had taken the articles in question from his person. Some time afterwards intelligence was received at Mogodor that the renegade had been seen at Azilla*, three hundred miles north of Mogodor. Mr. Court, a

* English were at this place in the year of the Hegira 314. We find a Mauritanienis a conqueror in Domesday-book.

This apathy prevents the balance of the trade of conversion being so considerably on the Mohommedan side as it otherwise would. They do not consider it any triumph to their creed, and therefore leave things as they are. Several persons of consequence here, however, are the descendants of such conformists. All those who are, call a renegade, uncle. It has been already noticed what victims these people are of the caprices of fortune. One now here is a Frenchman, supposed a Creole, and to have brought property with him. But indeed his history is unknown. It could be learned from no one but himself. He brought with him, however, his wife. But he put on the red cap, and received the name of Muley Edriss*. Neither satisfied with these epithets, though honorific and sacred, nor with the country which bestowed them, as it gave him nothing more solid to maintain the dignity, he wished to try the world anew, and hired a Spanish bark to smuggle himself and wife from this part of it. But this he found a thing more difficult to do

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friend of Mr. R.'s, in consequence sent to Azilla; but the intelligence could not be ascertained. A month after this, a Jew from Mequinez told Mr. Court that he had seen and spoken to the renegade in that city, and that the renegade was very shy of speaking to him. Mr. Court concludes that there was very little doubt but that Mr. Roentgen was murdered by this man. As the dollars, the mules, and the various articles with which they were laden, were sufficient plunder, the wretch might have neglected to strip the body of his benefactor and friend of the articles which the Moor found on it, and which were of comparatively trifling value. The murder must have been committed within three or four days' journey of Mogodor."—Here is much matter of reflection. Among so many to criminate, it seems an European was the perpetrator. Were not the foul deed as well traced as it is, it would have remained a stain upon the nation. And this by proselytism! Whereas, it appears, information was communicated, and suspicions acted upon, with an alacrity that would have done credit to the most polished nation. Crimes are extant every where; but the same cannot be said of public sentiment of abhorrence, or vigilance of investigation. It is much to be regretted that such a spirited and judicious enterprise as this of Mr. Roentgen's should have had such an unfortunate result. It appears to have been very well digested, and only failed by too great a display of resources, and confidence unfortunately obtained by that plausibility which a renegade, by his situation, so readily acquires.

* Edriss is the Mohommedan saint whose discipline has the most political influence in distracting this country. The troubles in the East (in Arabia) were a family quarrel.

than to get here. He was seized in the attempt, and brought in chains to the Sultan. This monarch now and then indulges in a joke; and a joke from a high quarter falls with powerful effect. He told him he should be named anew—Muley Ebliss*—My Lord Devil—and Muley Ebliss he remains in common acceptation, at least within the precincts of court, bearing his new-blown honours with the most perfect philosophic (Christian he can lay no claim to) resignation. His wife has some employment in the royal harem.

The list of presents and articles transmitted on this occasion to his majesty comprised a gold repeating-watch, also one which his majesty had sent to England to be repaired, some bales of scarlet, and some of blue cloth; also thirty-eight bales of fine linen by his own desire; and, what was most highly esteemed of all, sugar and tea. The gratification derived from the use of this leaf is as powerfully attractive here as in England. As a proof how highly it stands in estimation in this country, no fewer than four nations, British, Spanish, Swedes and Dutch, at this moment here, (however some of them procured it,) all concur, and

" ——————on bended knee,
Present the fragrant quintessence of tea—".

For specimens of each were referred to the British embassy to pass judgement on; and, unfortunately, to give a conscientious verdict, they were obliged to pronounce against their own; awarding the palm most decidedly to that transmitted by the Dutch. It somewhat resembled what in England passes under the denomination of cowslip-tea. The Sultan, or others for him, valued the British presents at nearly three thousand pounds sterling. It was rather contrary to expectation that they should have been over-rated nearly double. Somewhat frivolously,

* Ebliss is the instructor of magicians and evil spirits.—*Sadder*. The radical is obvious.

some will think, a hand-organ constituted a part of these propitiatory offerings, and is said to have entertained the ladies of the royal harem in a very eminent degree; nay, people even went so far as to say that the ears of majesty itself condescended to receive gratification, and the hands to take an operative part in this elegant selection of harmony. True it is, here was no Apollo to contend with, and the decision in favour of its pipes was attended with no risk to the organs of taste in music, such as befell a former monarch when he deviated into judgements upon matters out of his line. However, it is necessary for the benefit of future diplomatists, who, as it sometimes happens, may have matters confided to their arrangement, of which they are not perfectly *au fait*, to state the embarrassment which occurred here, and which, had it not been rectified, would have really put to a trial the skill of the royal group in acoustics. When the presents were unpacked, in order to be transmitted, application was of course made to this instrument, to try how far its tones were responsive to expectation; but nothing could be extracted save inarticulate querulous sounds, high and low, interspersed with interruptions of agony: and all effort to extract a more favourable return was, after repeated trials, abandoned in despair. Certainly, had it been presented in its then temper, it would have come as a most strange propitiatory prologue. Still, trusting to the affinity of its discord with the national harmony, which it seemed to resemble in a very considerable degree, it was determined it should go with all its imperfections on its head. But an obtrusive visit of the French renegade Ebliss, who, like him whose name he bore, appeared never to sleep, and whose ears were as alert as his eyes, totally subverted all speculations to this effect. Luckily it was discovered, just at the moment the cause was about to be finally abandoned, that the lead weight upon the bellows had been—misplaced.

The law of the court to appear unshod (half compliance subverted a throne once) is of most ancient derivation: "Take off your shoes, for the ground whereon you stand is holy." Those who, in conformity with the injunctions of court etiquette here, leave their *chaussure* at the palace-gate, are very apt to miss it on their retiring; nor is the loss easily recovered. The wrath of our good friend so served, on the occasion, a native of Cambria and merchant of Mogodor, was so audible that, to pacify him, and lest the Sultan should hear it, the officers of the court were fain to supply the defalcation from their own feet. As far as diplomatic characters are concerned, they are exempted from this humiliation, if such it be. But European forms must be so far abandoned by them, that all must wear light-coloured (certainly not green) slippers. Black, save in the human physiognomy, is an uncouthly and ominous hue here, and only fit for a Jew's back.

It is worthy of remark (however recent opinions may differ herefrom) how very little is known or understood in Europe of a court and country so near, so important, and with which all European nations, however reluctantly, consider it, with reason, necessary or useful to treat; and furthermore, how very little talent, skill, or knowledge of mankind, they think requisite to combat or supervene the acumen of an African intellect. Do people then imagine that mental faculty has degenerated on this side of the Straits since the days of Masinissa the ally, and Jugurtha the opponent, of Rome? of Jerbas and the Jubas? of Syphax who upheld Carthage, which power contested the fate of the world when at its vertex the battle of Zama? If such disparaging opinions prevail now, they are very different from those entertained in ancient days. Except in the present instance now under narration, and perhaps one or two more, the transactions of Britain with this country show a lamentable deficiency in the science of diplomacy, and

the critiques passed on them by those nearest at hand to judge, if detailed, would afford matter far more inviting to malicious curiosity than to mature reflection, save as a subject of avoidance. That labour to prove the perfect rectitude and infallibility of our own judgement, in all our opinions and adoptions however minute and inconsequential; the total disinterestedness of our arduous and laborious exertions in the affairs where others are concerned as well as we; our generous disregard of time, trouble, and expense; and the unmitigated erroneousness of those we negotiate with, have this unfortunate consequence connected with them, that the more triumphantly we succeed in our argument, the further we are off from our object. And in the contest of negotiation here, be it observed, a considerable deposit is made a preliminary, all which is forfeited in case of failure. Indeed, the most adroit diplomatist must feel himself in a difficulty, where no tenure presents itself for him to cling to, national or personal.

The object of the Spanish mission now here was hostility to England. It was probably derived from French suggestion. The mode in which the bolt was shot; was in form of an application for an exclusive trade to Tangier. In return for this, they offered the choice of any three ports in Spain, to be duty-free to the subjects of Morocco: a proposal certainly highly beneficial to the country at large, because any opening of a commercial nature must be so. But it was made to one, to whom individual advantage is the sole object, and that of the community he rules often a matter of indifference, very probably of serious jealousy. The consequence therefore was obvious: the negotiation has failed. A chest of tea to the harem will carry a point often, which national advantage is hoodwinked or sacrificed for. It would, indeed, be strange if Morocco were herein exempted from those feelings, and, in them,

motives of conduct, which sway mankind in the other quarters of the globe. The Spaniards have never neglected, or been, deficient in any occasion which presented itself of maintaining a good footing here: as, for instance, when applications were made, two years ago, at the courts of London and Madrid respectively, for ships to convey presents hence to Constantinople, the latter immediately dispatched a ship of war; while the former, with a tardy acquiescence, now sends a merchant-vessel at the end of two years. Another part of the Spanish mission here, was to foment hostility against Algiers. With all that the Government of Spain has to do at home, what can make them so busy abroad? It is curious, too, to think what should induce that Government to take all this trouble against a state, whose worst efforts of hostility a few frigates would be capable to parry. It can, to common reason and calculation, be due to no other cause than that of the cabinet being in the hands of those who wish to see a nation capable of great exertion thus idly employed, and wasting away forces that might rise to rivalry. So much more injurious is friendship than enmity in politics, such the means requred to, to preserve national political ascendancy! Although Spain be not exactly in the state to be ruled by a French faction, it is equally true that a French interest lurks in the cabinet. And how can this employ itself any way more consistently to more advantage, more conducively to its own views, than in supplying narcotics and rattles to what it must ever wish to retain in leading-strings?

As to this nation, here, Tangier is the only port in the north, and, with the exception of Mogodor or Soueca, the only port of its coasts, now open. But it has, as is well known, besides these, Tetuan, Larache, Salee or Robat, Santa-Cruz otherwise Augucr, and the fine Bay of Woladia, between Cape Cantin and Mozagan, thirty miles from the latter place.

It is wonderful to behold a nation thus shutting up the avenues it possesses to welfare, to grandeur, to happiness! But how rarely are human affairs any where governed by real interests!

The present British mission was fortified with extensive powers of action. Its rationale too was on a very respectable scale, as will appear from the outline of instructions given. These were, to examine as accurately as possible into the capabilities and resources of the country it visited, to ascertain what beneficial commercial relations might be adopted between the two nations, to endeavour to obtain access for Britain to all the ports, and residence for a British consul at Tetuan, to which place considerable importance has been always annexed. The amplitude and tenour of these diplomatic instructions evidently demonstrated that the British administration of the period in question was, very differently from what has been observable on other occasions, fully impressed with the importance derivable from an intercourse here; a truth, indeed, too glaring to be withstood: and they in consequence extended, wisely in this case, their views far beyond the mere provisioning a fortress which they were fully inclined to have left to its fate of war, whatever that might have been, during the emergency; but which was too great a favourite with the people of England to be renounced, and too ably defended to be lost. The principal object of the remaining part of the life of the great man who was then at the head of it, and continued for several years after so to be, was to prove, that as his fortress was defensible against all the power of man, so it was also maintainable in total independence of the supplies of this country of Morocco, and its port of Tangier, about the closure of which against him Spain was now so anxious. Be this part of the question, however, as it may; certainly, if Gibraltar is to remain an annexation to British dominion, the way to pay its expenses is by

making it ancillary to an intercourse upon an extended scale with this African nation, upon which its influence is obvious, and the powers thereof extensive. As to the main objects, the results have subsequently spoken, with due perspicuity, for themselves. They may for the present be passed by, in this view of the subject, only observing, in regard to the last of them, the proposition for a British consul to be allowed a residence at Tetuan, that the Sultan was thereon for a moment in a state of concurrence; but suddenly recollecting he "had an oath in heaven" that no Christian should ever enter that place, he retracted. As far as justice must be reason, his majesty had the latter on his side. Europeans must be circumspect when in independent nations: and beyond all others it behoves British subjects to be advertent hereupon, brought up as they are in ideas of liberty, and in a country where, the laws being sufficiently strong to take care of themselves, every thing is left to them. Intoxication or provocation will afford neither plea nor extenuation here, where prejudice runs very strong against the spilling the precious blood of the faithful by a Christian hand. It might shake the Sultan on his throne, though unlimited master of the lives of his subjects, when he condescends to put his own hand to the work, to attempt to compromise a similar procedure from those of others. It is a magisterial office, and not to be performed by deputy. The Sultan has had no scruple to explain himself to the same purpose upon another, a more tender subject still to the Mussulman,—the invasion of his harem by the profane. A British subject had killed, or dangerously wounded, a Moor at Tetuan, and this was an inexpungible offence. It is to be observed, as men have their own notions of liberty, so too they have their own notions of slavery. And upon both subjects equal diversity of opinion may exist. Perhaps it may occur to the erroneous conceptions of some free-born men, that every man whom they consider as in

the other situation, is liable to such exemplifications of their superior state of things as they may choose to impress him with. On the other hand, if the slave is, as one may imagine to be now and then the case, attached more to the mode of his bondage that he has been always used to, than to the thing itself and for its own sake, he will be very apt to become indignant at this new light so unsolicitedly and forcibly obtruded on him, and will wield his chains, not against his oppressor's, but his insulter's head. These people, too, may be barbarians. But it does not thence follow that they must relish our barbarism. A strong magisterial power should be lodged in some hands here, among themselves, over Europeans, for common security. The *lex talionis* seems a law implanted by Nature herself; it sounds so exactly justice; that it seems wisdom: and a nation must have acquired a considerable advance in political knowledge, to have gained such a view of things as shall enable her to clear from her eyes the films of remote antiquity, and view the truth. At all events it is yet the law here, and likely to continue so. The speciousness of the claim will long be urged, and operate against innovation in the way of justice. The first effort towards the abolishment of this system, which would lead to the extinction of human nature, is commutation by fine, that early effort at true policy so depretiated by the shallow and presumptuous—the price of blood—an idea which it must, to be sure, require a vast power of influence to overcome the repugnancy to in the human mind. One of the natural rights, too, dearest to man, is that of being his own avenger. Where such ideas stand in the place of laws, it needs no more to be said to prove the necessity of caution, and how much more it is to be looked on for reliance than reason or justice is. But an Englishman, too, is so conscious of the high class he holds in human nature, that it is apt to make him conceive himself much nearer on an equality, in point of cere-

monials, with persons of acknowledged elevated station elsewhere, than the latter are inclined to accede to. Many instances of this kind have occurred. Thus Mr. Park was advised not to offer to shake hands with the Negro king (who is addressed by his own subjects with the attributes of the Divinity and the heavenly host, from the splendour of whose countenance eyes are averted, whose feet the ground is not permitted to touch). But it may be, perhaps, supposed that there are certain traits about the character of a Moorish Sultan not exactly compatible with an effort at any indecorous degree of encroachment, and that therefore, in this instance at least, no incorrectness of the kind could occur. This is not the case. But as to the particular subject of diplomacy, as well as this immediate one, there are certain habits of thinking and speaking which militate strongly against success in that procedure, and which must be, at least, as preclusive here as elsewhere; which is saying enough *. But to the particular subject, negotiation: it behoves us to observe that this, here as elsewhere, may be defeated in its views, from the apparently most feeble, the most despised, neglected, and unsuspected quarter, and that the slightest provocation may trip up all its hopes of success. At this court all make a plea of power and inclination, two matters of very problematical calculation here. Whatever debility may attend the efforts of service, those aimed in the other direction are never to be slighted. All whose offers are not embraced may be set down as enemies, and the numeration will be found correct enough. Few of those paid for it can be supposed to have the interests of aliens at heart. It would be incompatible with any rule applicable to human nature at large, to do so. And fewer still of those who may be sincere, and have the inclination, possess the power, as indeed

* See the Memoirs of the King of Prussia.

is sufficiently obvious alone from the manner in which his majesty regulates his intercourse with his courtiers, as has been heretofore mentioned. But the officious would-be agents who present themselves (the more respectable characters, as elsewhere, keep in the back-ground) must be looked on in another point of view; as leeches put on by their master to suck the stranger, and disgorge to him; (they may be compared, too, to their own mosquitos, which always attack the newest comer with the keenest appetite;) to them is left only the little which they can absorb *in transitu*. There is a homely proverb in our language, however, which says, "It is a bad cook who cannot lick her own fingers." They do contrive certainly, wherever they can lay a finger, that it should not be drawn back unfructuously to themselves. And for those who meddle in every thing, the gleanings at the end of the year must amount to somewhat. The inculpations of meanness of conduct, so frequently and heavily bestowed on persons here, are not, after all, matter of such deep blame to them, even if founded, generally, in point of numbers, which they are by no means alleged to be*. Political circumstances characterize a community. The moral man is the creation of them.

Alcaid Judar, our friend, and a man very well entitled to that epithet of worth he was, being the commandant of the Sultan's artillery,

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* Destitution of literature tends to unsettle Mohommedan politics. A man here is a fanatic or a nullity. The bad scale of education limits the expansion of the mind in one sex, and the community loses by the debasement of the other. Physical causes will ever preserve the superiority of mankind over the rest of their brethren to the temperate climates. So much moral result is thrown in to the common benefit by the influence of women in society, an advantage hardly to be hoped for where they lose their personal attractions before their moral powers can come to maturity, where they must be decrepid before they are wise, that the citizen of the world can hardly hope to speculate upon an equation of social happiness throughout all mankind. There must, after all, be gradations; a better and a worse state.

must be supposed to have stood high in his confidence. And the situation he was placed in, as protector and conductor of the British embassy, indicates as much, and may well be supposed to have been conferred for the purpose of bestowing a bonus on a favourite. But as the same object strikes the faculties of different persons, each one in his own way, some were inclined to ascribe his *bonhommie*, his zeal, his attention, and activity, to general philanthropy; to a sense of the natural fitness of things; to pure disinterested love and affection to the British nation, which he never saw;—to any thing, in short, except a wish to put a moderate sum of cash into his own pocket, in remuneration for a considerable appropriation of time and trouble in attendance upon the public service. Great disappointment was consequently incurred in important quarters, when any appearance indicated the obtrusion of this collateral cause of action into his conduct. He was a very good-dispositioned man, spoke Spanish fluently, and, in conformity with the customs of ancient oriental descent, was somewhat hyperbolical in his compliments, which, however, to British ears, unused to make allowance in this article, sounded more like matter of fact than the strain was intended to verify. Some doubt was in consequence entertained, if any thing in the way of the tender of a present would not either overwhelm his feelings, or rouse his indignation. But at length resolution was plucked up, and it was determined, *coute que coute*, that the experiment should be tried. Due care was taken, however, that it should not be of a very oppressive nature—two hundred dollars. The poor Alcaid's feelings were thrown into a state of agitation, desperate indeed upon the occasion, but by a cause very different from that surmised. He declared with the most violent emotion, on seeing his tendered treasure, that he would immediately hurry off with it to his lord and master, lay it at his feet, and summon his witnesses

duly to prove that this was *all* he had received. The poor man was in fact fearful that, when he had undergone the process of his master's lancet, and been tapped *ad valorem* to the computed ratio in the scale of court bribery at which he stood, he should be, as sometimes happens to administrators, a loser by the bequest. However, the duplication of the sum operated as a calmer to his mind; and four hundred dollars, it may be recorded for the benefit of future diplomatists, are the medium price of a friend at the court of Morocco, taxes included.

It is convenient to despotism to consider all men as knaves; and if this be the way to make them so, it has the powerful argument of *ex post facto* justification to support the principle. But Alcaid Judar on another occasion expressed a sentiment worthy of a better political state, and master too; too good for one who, in his usual policy, if chicanery may be granted that epithet, gave indefinite orders that he might afterwards avail himself of their ambiguity to pass censure, or at least withhold reward, as convenient: and this latter was rarely otherwise.—A Moorish merchant was appointed to act conjointly with the Alcaid, by the Sultan, in the business on which he had been sent to Gibraltar—the procuration of warlike stores; and as the two were one day discussing the point, whether to send the purchased artillery on-board of ship or not, as they had no positive orders, and being completely aware that do what they might they should be found fault with, "You," said Judar to the merchant, "who have a wife and children, it behoves to take care what you do: as to myself, I will act and run the risk singly; for I am a soldier, and my head is consequently always ready at my master's disposal." A strong expression, too, of the precarious tenure at which human life is rated in this country. Where such inconsistencies prevail, strangers of every description, of course, whether diplomatic or mercantile, must make up their minds to a great deal of endurance. The

young merchant of Liverpool already mentioned, who came from Robat with Alcaid Boazzor, (the English renegade Thomas Myers,) had obtained the leave of the Sultan to fix himself at Salee; (the French have a consul here, be it observed;) and in consequence thereof took a house and landed his goods (the commercial enterprise of Liverpool is well known: this young man was a factor). He had hardly done so, when he received an order from Government here, to remove himself and them by land to Mogodor. To this he remonstrated that the carriage of the goods thither would exceed their value, and he requested leave to re-ship them. This was refused him. But he received an order to come up to court for future determination, under the care of the English renegade. To make an end of the story, Here he was kept a month; at the end whereof, his business unheard, he was ordered to Mogodor, and to get his goods there as well as he could. He accordingly set out for that place; but when half way to it he was recalled hither, where presenting himself on his arrival, he was informed that—the Sultan had nothing to say to him, and that he might pursue his journey. The speculation thus arranged can produce no profit, save experience. Sovereign mandates such as these are of course conveyed by especial messengers; but in the ordinary and commercial mode of communication the process is as follows: Once a month regularly a courier goes on foot coastways, between Mogodor and Tangier, taking up the letters at the different places on his route. In the intervals of these periodical conveyances, letters must be transferred by especial hands; but a courier will go from Mogodor to Tangier for ten dollars. The accounts of the expedition of these people are surprising. To see them, it would be thought their very accoutrement was an obstacle to celerity, in their loose dress every moment requiring to be gathered up, and a pair of slippers having no tenure on the feet, but which they

notwithstanding never lose. But to recur to the chapter of grievances, or, in other words, of dealings with Government. A respectable merchant of Mogodor undertook for the present Sultan, and at the desire of the latter, a contract for battery gun-carriages from England, at thirty pounds sterling each. When they were delivered, the monarch refused payment,—having obtained, as he said, the notable information that they were to be had in our island for the sum of four pounds ten shillings each. The merchant lost the surplus, and his majesty is now reduced to really money dealings. Such are the vexations to which commerce is liable here; the first step to the rectification whereof is, that they should be known. It is probable that the readiest access to commercial intercourse would be to make the despot factor-general to his subjects, and let him know the sweets of it. Instead of intrigues, bribes, and moral declamations to be laughed at for,—if some negotiators possessed of a little share of acquaintance with the true principles of national intercourse, with some degree of experience in the true springs of human action, and divested of that national *ton de supériorité* which naturally conjures up the fiend Antipathy on the opposite side, could form a statement founded on facts, calculation and principle, it is hardly to be conceived that judgement so acute as that which now rules here, should not concur. At least the experiment would, for once, be very well worth trying. But for these purposes it is necessary that instructions should be transmitted from home; and the diversity of impression which reigns there so generally diffused, is too obvious to present any ground of hope (as has been since substantiated.) An enlarged scale of procedure would preclude the bad effects of such rash and deteriorating speculations as those of the young Liverpool factor, which could only have taken place under the profoundest ignorance (which, think otherwise who may, prevails equally to the present hour)

of the state of this country. Under the suggested arrangement, the operative details of commerce would not devolve into the hands of Moors. The Sultan would consign them to agents of the Jewish nation, the peculiar situation of which, here, is too important in a mercantile point of view to be passed over in a cursory manner. But, for the present, to get through the subject of trade*, a few observations yet offer them-

*On this subject, for various useful information, and for the prospects of an inviting nature which this country offers, see Saugnier, who was wrecked in the latitude of 24°, in this very year, the date of these now related occurrences and observations. His work is addressed to the French Government, by which, whether acted on or not, all communications on national subjects were congenially acknowledged; and disinterested activity, the result of energetic mind and patriotic impulse, was never chilled by the cold insult of a negatory reception. He too recommends the penetrating into the interior of Africa by Morocco (there is a striking coincidence upon this subject amongst such as have thought upon it, and the point has not been invalidated by the misfortune of the regretted Mr. Rolentgen). Saugnier gives an enumeration of articles for the African trade, of about a hundred, to which addition could be made from England. He suggests the throwing into the Sultan's hands by post trade (the duty being one-twelfth) the articles now conveyed by caravan. He considers the trade in general in various points of view. He speaks of that to Tombuctoo, and of the unseen traffic,—that without an interview,—so very ancient in principle and practice, and extant here to the present day. He gives very useful instructions for a stranger; and the ancient articles of peace between the two nations, fifteen in number, one of which is (be it remembered), that a stranger, when he commits offence, shall be responsible to the laws of the country. It may seem superfluous to note this; but those who have heard the conversations in European societies here upon the spot, would suppose very opposite ideas prevailed on this subject. Saugnier's work is very worthy of attention, and a stranger coming to fix himself here will find literature an advantageous resource in a double point of view. Let him then include in his portable library, with Mr. Jackson's work and the French traveller Marmol, Leo Africanus, Herbelot, Mouette, the History of Muley Archy, the Spanish History of the Xeriffs, Poiret for Botany, Ruinet (Mequinez 1701), St. Olonne 1699, Windus 1720, Braithwaite, Phytologia Tingitana, Philosophical Transactions at large, vol. 19; Jetreel Jones from the same work, Lempriere, Jardine, Brinson, and Chenier. (This last-mentioned public character gave great offence to Sultan Hamed Ebn Abdallah.)

There hardly is extant, or ever was, a book from which *nothing* could be learned. The most active man will find, as well as scope for his inquisitiveness, leisure to pursue study in Morocco. As travelling is seldom a very prepense undertaking, such literary preparation as is here enumerated may escape recollection, or perhaps even knowledge; and the consequents resulting from this would be, a man coming back about as wise as he went. A traveller should make inquiries abroad, whether he choose or choose not to incur the charge of *making* books when arrived at home. To obtain answers, too, he must be prepared with matter to inquire upon.

selves*. The articles of import for a general, and of course needy Mohommedan population, it may be supposed, could be easily reckoned up. Yet the Moors are not inconsiderable consumers, as will be hereafter seen. The population is great, and every family must have, of a few articles, at least one each. Every individual is similarly circumstanced in regard to his own personal wants. Among the upper classes, the consumption of the harem cannot be trifling; and in the Moorish costume a good deal of stuff is used, these people being obliged to dress for two seasons, as will be noticed in its place: for the climate is such, as renders these defences of poor human nature imperatively necessary; nor is it requisite, as in many other cases, here to show mankind their wants in order that they should be felt. The whole winter, inland, may be justly termed severe: and a vast tract of habitable country touches upon the same atmospheric zone with Nova Zembla The more one contemplates this wonderful country, the more is the mind stricken by its peculiarities, its analogies, its contrasts! But a time will come for such reflections. Hardware, turner's-ware, elegant china, tea equipages, delf and crockery, red, blue, and other cloth, manufactured tobacco (the Moors do not smoke, but take snuff; their own is of an indifferent quality); patent medicines of not formidable operation, but gratifying to palates, and cordial in their effects; spices, linens, cottons, muslins, and beyond all their darling tea, would constitute somewhat of a general catalogue of the commercial demands of this country. They are articles well worthy of consideration in this respect in England, and some of them as well adapted to the Sheik's tent, as others are to the Bassa's house.—The sweets of the Morochian trade were well known to

* Although, since Mr. Jackson's excellent statistical work, all collections on this subject are become nearly superfluous.

the Dutch, and also to the Marseillois while they could reach it. As the articles above enumerated are very few of them of an extreme costly description in the first instance, the worst that could happen, the plunder of a warehouse, should the country unhappily relapse into anarchy, would not be of ruinous consequence. It has been repeatedly observed how fond the Moors are of tea; dear as it is, they will go the length of paying for it rather than not have it. They have a proverb, "Given vinegar is sweeter than bought wine."—This candid avowal reminds us of Swift's friends, who, as he observes of them, loved wine which cost them nothing. So, throughout, human nature is every where the same at bottom; it is alone in modes that we differ. Any thing that passes under the name of tea here, sells for about a guinea a pound of our money and measure; yet, as observed, purchasers present themselves for it. Imperative as may be the duty of the traveller to keep his feet within the track before him, strong as may be on the other hand the seductive blandishments of digression, not even the specious extenuative claim to *digress*, shall be pleaded in defence of this uncharacteristic practice. The epistolary traveller, it is true, is allowed scope, from the Newtonian system of attraction down to a slanderous anecdote, and an eminent author thought himself entitled to digress in praise of digression. But, disclaiming all indulgence founded on toleration or example, these infractions upon viatorial unity of action, time, and place, shall not be obtruded without an apology; and in order that the justification become not a crime greater than the original offence, let one plea of mercy serve for them all, past, present, and to come.—Why should man have this unconquerable, this universal relish for what is useless, but remote from attainment, but that Providence intended that all the world should be open to man; that the whole human race should live, not in independence of, but by the joint aid and

concurrence of each other, in this implanting mutual wants? Then, to what extent would this pursuit of unnecessary gratification go, were it not for the political intervention of tolls and customs, which, by imposing some limitation, are morally of use! Man's artificial wants, ascertained as soon as seen, are not felt until then; but, when once felt, they incite with an attraction as impetuous as those which Nature herself imposes. It seems as if, in them, the appetite increased in the ratio of the remoteness of the object sought. This is one of the main holds which humanity presents to the able statesman: the supplying, by concurrent measures, those demands which individual exertion is incompetent to the attainment of. Taking then the whole subject into calculation,—the more diffused, in every direction throughout human life the scope of artificial wants, the better for human nature at large. This is a science in which commerce gives rapid instruction. The Chinese thus, too, seek in other countries for their favourite ginseng, because they have tea at home.—Wine appearing in the shape of a sow, among Mussulmen, may excite surprise as an inconsistency: but though all are cautious in public, (for the upper classes of Mohommedans know the value of appearances better than we do in Europe, or find more success in the practice of them,) and although the principal part of these classes are rigid and no doubt conscientious adherents to their laws; yet there are to be found amongst them (often indeed, it must however be confessed, owing to European seduction,) *bons vivans*, who may cope in deep potations with a Scythian; who show that the children of Ham, in point of good disposition, are by no means behind their Japhetian kindred in devotion to their father's science, and its practical application. Some are to be met with, who will hurry on to the happy state of intoxication as fast as they can, apart and secluded from all social interruption that might interfere with or molest their satisfaction in the

process; will then sleep themselves sober, and be ready to commence again—"*decies repetita placebit.*" With such characters as these, it is hardly necessary to add, all this is understood to be at the expense of others. They have secrets too for the recovery of lost sobriety,—recovered only to be lost again,—that would honour the ingenuity and experience of an Epicurean of the Northern latitudes. Still here attaches, as in Spain generally, a somewhat of disgraceful to the idea of intoxication,—probably one inherent in Nature while unperverted by example and habit which can make a pride of a disgrace,—the "nakedness of the man!" and what must it be if exhibited as of old in view of his children! *In vino veritas.* The tiger or the monkey then breaks his chain or slips his collar.——But now to revert to diplomacy, and somewhat of political matters. It is convenient probably to be known, that an envoy here is liable to very awkward consequences, from the system of interpretation, of which, be its effects or defects what they may, he is obliged to avail himself without resource. This office is usually performed by a Jew; and when the state of that people here is considered, it will readily be judged how little they are competent to deliver a meaning which they consider as not acceptable to the higher powers. For, with all their characteristic firmness under persecution, the honour of suffering is not be supposed sought by them; were it so, it is rarely but *à portée* here. Sometimes, however, it has happened here, and according to the current style of diplomacy it may do so again, that the interpreter has been more cautious, perhaps judicious, than his employer, and left those elucidations in obscurity, which had they shone out in their full lustre of indiscretion upon the despot, all the little regard he might entertain for the law of nations would hardly have refrained his hand from taking vengeance for them, if judgement to this effect is to be formed from the treatment which befell Mr. Logie. During

this gentleman's consulate, the Sultan expelled the British out of his dominions. In an interview Mr. Logie had with the monarch, the latter was told by him, *totidem verbis*, that he had broken his word; to which his majesty is reported to have coolly replied, that "had he kept every promise he had ever made, he should not have been then Sultan." But the result is observable. The procedure was done at the instigation of, and as supposed by bribery from, the court of Madrid. The British consul, being of an open generous disposition, had gained great popularity among the natives, and more especially with the Negro army. The Sultan therefore, availing himself of this, affected to believe that he was fomenting an insurrection, as was suggested to him to be the case. To those who have felt the roughness adherent to Moorish compliments and jokes, it will readily occur that a premeditated insult from such people is no child's-play, but, on the contrary, rather remarkable for strength than delicacy of application. The Sultan sent his Black troops with orders, each man in file successively, to pass by the consul, point his crooked dagger at, and spit in his face. This may be called a hint to a man, *à la Moresque*, that he is not altogether as well at court as he ought to wish to be. It certainly could admit of but one interpretation. But, by a rare instance of human forbearance, these courtiers underacted their parts in the pantomime. For Mr. Logie behaved with infinite firmness. He told them, from his house, when they came, that, if it was for the purpose of insulting him, he would die rather than submit to it. The result of this is worthy of notice, as it shows what this people may be, and indeed actually are. They replied, that they were truly sent for that purpose, but that he might be assured he should sustain as little wrong from them as possible. Accordingly, each man came only to the apartment door, drew his dagger, and then went through the motions of offence ordered. This was but one of the many

instances of ill treatment which this gentleman received, and acted under with a firmness highly conducive to impress the people here with respect for the nation which sent him. But as to the situation in which a stranger, especially one in official situation, may be placed, and how he may get into that place, supposing too, no matter how improbably, a rationale in all things, an accurate interpreter, and one not liable to intimidation, must be a very desirable *amicus curiæ* here: and where is such a one to be obtained? Not in the country certainly. As for this court, few will be found so Utopian as to count upon disinterested services. Let it not be hoped, either, to defeat African acumen by circumvention. But, be a people what they may in their dealings with others, fair dealing in return is the soundest policy with them. There is nothing in the way of manœuvring that will not soon betray itself to an African head. But in regard to general principles of politics, as it is not with mankind, any more than with certain other animals of inferior class which need not be here specified, what they have gotten, but what they expect to get, by which they are led, a permanent annual stipend would be the best and cheapest way of making friends in this country, liable ever to revision in the object of it. At present, we Europeans are not domestic animals fostered for the eggs we are expected to lay, but birds of passage to be shot flying if attained at all, and open game for every sportsman. In consequence of his majesty's misconduct with regard to Mr. Logie, and intrigues with Spain, while he thought England embarrassed, the Sultan was, at the period now treated of, very apprehensive that the latter power, now that her hands were disengaged, would pour her thunders upon him: and persons well apprised of the secret springs of action, and feelings, within the palace walls, (which persons, it is to be observed, are very little sought for or adequately appreciated,) said, that a little interposition of lofty lan-

gouge, just at this moment, might have had the most beneficial effect. But the instant it was declared to the crafty despot, that no crimination was adduced against him by Great Britain, he instantaneously resumed his composure and usual policy. The demand of the British Government was, specifically, to be put on the *same footing* as heretofore. Double advantages, if they had now been insisted on, would have been more easily obtained. This oversight on one side being so palpable to the other, supplies the clue to the residue. A house for a consul at Tetuan has always been a threshold step, and a primary stumbling-block, in the negotiations between the two countries. A former mission to the Sultan on this subject was entirely baffled. His majesty has, at his audiences, a *corps de musique* of most formidable establishment, equally in point of execution as of numbers; the striking up whereof is a complete refutation of all oratorical argument, bold or persuasive, and may be truly denominated his *ratio ultima*:

> "Bagpipes of the loudest drones
> With snuffling broken-winded tones,
> And kettle-drums whose sullen dub
> Sounds like the hooping of a tub;"

all at a glance strike up in concert; and negotiation is thus put an end to, the jarring political interests still left uncompounded, and in a double sense a prey to discord, without further ceremony, and as little rejoinder. There are two modes, obviously, of proceedure upon a negotiation; namely, compliance and non-compliance. In the latter case, which generally predominates here, in the exterior relations of the state, the policy of the court with foreign nations is, to get as much in hand as possible: that done, no objection is thrown against promises to any extent, in regard to more in the sequel; for all such are, the first requisite, the deposit, effected, most cordially received. Compliance,

certainly: answer, if possible, on the points required, is during this time most studiously evaded, until the duration appointed by inflexible etiquette for the stay of the embassy, three audiences, is expired; and then dismissal ensues, with a general answer, that what yet remains to be done (which, it may be observed, is nearly tantamount to the whole of the business on one side,) may be concluded by letter; which letter, by some unfailing casualty, never arrives.—Such is the general outline of cabinet procedure here. In the audiences, which are nearly *têtes-à-têtes*, as the Sultan guides the conversation, it is ever foreign to the real business. Thus, on the present occasion, he was particularly anxious about the island of Minorca, which had been recently ceded to Spain. He could not be made understand, by any explanation or force of argument, (and this will be ascribed by some to the obtuseness of Black faculties,) how it could be, as he was now for the first time informed, unworthy the trouble of any longer retaining. The force of habit is certainly very strong, and prejudices the mind throughout. It had never been his majesty's own way to give up any thing he could possibly keep; and there were very few possessions of which he would not contrive to make something. It is possible, it must be admitted, that these considerations might have actuated his mind in the present instance; but certain it is, he remained unconvinced upon the subject to the last. Still, during this discussion, a procedure which perhaps some will think as out of time and place as in a book of travels, the hour glided away and the *last* audience finished; not however without his majesty's having obtained, on his own part, from Britain, promise of an eighteen-gun frigate, gratis, completely armed and appointed; which promise he took care to have duly put into writing at the time, even to the number of feet of water that the vessel was to draw, (a little mistake occurred in the interpretation, fathoms for feet; but such deeds are to be

construed liberally and not literally,) and which promissory note he took care to present, in due time and place, for payment. From the horror and surprise the appearance of this document excited, the frigate ought to have borne the name of Medusa.

Some of the etiquettes of his majesty's court are rather whimsical; therefore, perhaps, the more necessary to be known. The negative particle *no*, in plain terms, must never be used. It must be put in some circuitous phraseology. *Black* is a term in the same uncourtly predicament. *Five* must be expressed four and one, which would appear to vulgar calculators to amount to much the same thing. A very ancient radical idea is, however, traceable here. An imprecation is supposed to be conveyed in it; and we perceive, though they know it not, here, the mystic, symbolical, and physical annexation of ideas of power and force to the hand, their emblem. The other prejudices are probably equally deeply seated. But as to the dreadful word *death*, it must neither be used nor alluded to. And if in conversation any subject is unfortunately started which might indirectly lead towards it, the turning the discourse in a delicate way, and relieving the company from its embarrassment, is considered the very summit of good breeding and refinement; and the *tact* of the person who has thus had the discretion to turn away the bolt, is the theme of expatiation. This brings to mind the courtly divine of our own country, who knew the rules of good breeding too perfectly to introduce the word *hell* before a *polite* congregation. It is remarked, that every custom of Oriental descent is opposite to what is European; and it may be taken as a truth: as for instance in the case of a beckon to a person to come, the European turns his hand upwards towards his face, the Oriental downwards towards his feet; and this contrariety appears in divers points. Some,

however, have naturally remained in Spain beyond the time of the people who brought them there.

Charity is part of a Mussulman's prescribed duty; and it is, no doubt, generally most conscientiously and willingly performed. But mode is in many cases of life as important as matter: and that observed here in the present instance, by the head of the State, is as follows:—An entertainment, at the due period annually, is laid out in an open area of the palace, to which a numerous company of such poor as have no insuperable objection to enduring rough courtesy are induced to come. The *maîtres d'hotel* and their assistants are, as badges of office and instruments of arrangement, provided with, not absolutely white wands, but ponderous white staves of some six feet length. With these, well employed, the company is without much further persuasion or ceremony induced to take their places, and without allowing the meats to cool by unrequisite delay of arrangement; and, after a meal of not much protraction or colloquial intercourse, under the like ceremony or discipline, (for it will bear two constructions,) induced to depart, like Malcolm and Donaldbain, "not over dainty of leave-taking, but posting thence with all the speed they may."—But the injunctions of charity and hospitality are complied with (who can deny?) in as due form as we see instanced nearer home. Indicative of the same principle, two dishes of cuscusoo, "royal fare, I warrant!" follow, borne on men's heads, his majesty in his excursions. These ragouts he sends or invites to, according as he judges proper to confer the honour; to decline which would be the height of indecorum, however inconvenient it might be, at the moment, to have repletion inflicted. But to say the truth, the stomachs of his majesty's courtiers are rarely indisposed to accommodation.

An African Juggler.

Amongst other visitants to the embassy, at leisure hours, was a juggler. He had five serpents in a leathern budget: these he had made docile, and when enlarged they meandered about the floor, keeping a harmonic action of cadence to the sound of his tabor and pipe. And he also bore upon his bare shaven head scorpions nestled under his turban, which ran in and out at the word of command; and he flourished his cups and balls with as much dexterity as is seen in Europe. His serpents were of various descriptions; some such, indeed, as have baffled all subsequent inquiry. Probably they could be found, were the special distinctives given, in the catalogue of those Libyan reptiles transmitted to us by Lucan. All that could be done on the occasion, in the way of ascertainment, amounted only to prove that they were none of them of the deaf adder species: for they did in good sooth listen to the voice of the charmer, although the wisdom of his charming was not powerful enough to touch dull mortal ears. Certainly the manner in which these animals' organs are affected by harmonic sounds is very curious. Such as these ungracious reptiles appeared an attempt is made to represent, generally, as sketched at the moment. Sketches of any description must be made in this country, for reasons hereafter to be given, as dogs are said to lap the Nile, running. Of course they cannot be as minute as they ought in physiology. The serpent-tamers, who are somewhat distinct from the jugglers, although the two professions are by no means, as is here seen, incompatible, exhibit in the streets to a circle of spectators. They take from a leathern budget, as before mentioned, seven or eight of these animals, which writhe around, whilst their master seems to hold with them a kind of discourse which affords entertainment, apparently, to such as have the good fortune to understand it. At intervals, the man plays and sounds on a small flageolet, to which he makes motions of his body as if in-

tended to imitate dancing. Part of what he did was evidently to irritate the reptile, which darted and bit at him with the greatest fury, whilst he handled and threw them about with perfect unconcern. One of these animals was truly malignity personified. It would be hardly possible for the ablest pencil to put into the worst of human, or diabolical physiognomies, malignity exceeding that which is the expression of this outcast of creation. A faint attempt is made at it in the plate. This retroverted and scowling specimen advances obliquely, and insidiously with the curvature of the body in front, to ensure his object, before he shows his teeth; and his eye indicates him ever possessed of design and inclination to use them to others' destruction. That which swaggers is black, and harmless as Ancient Pistol; although it would not perhaps be altogether discreet to warrant the security of a Barbary hen within reach of his fangs. This reptile but half claims the name, for it keeps nearly that proportion of the length of the body erect. It has a very small proportionate head, (the converse is the indicative of poison,) and its sense of self-importance inflates the neck to a degree that might cause it to be thought immediate apoplexy must ensue. It is thus broadened, and proportionably, to appearance, flattened to the shape of the feather-edged part of an oar. This species is to be seen in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. The serpent tribe certainly possesses a great proportion of mind, bad and indifferent. The largest of all the various kinds seen exhibited were six feet long and about four inches in diameter. The sound of the pipe draws the serpent from his retreat. The poison, they say, is extracted from the fangs by cotton-balls given them to bite on, and it takes time to form anew.

These exhibitors are not to be confounded with the sectarians of Sidua Ayssa (literally our Lord Jesus), who are frequently met with

A Serpent tamer.

Asking Charity.

having enormous vipers coiled round their arms, necks, and bodies. They are denominated after their founder Ayssa, a Scythic term, honorific, and in the sense of saadi or lord. These say that their founder endowed them with power over all venomous animals. They certainly have command of them. With a witless kind of wit, expressed by a broad unmeaning stare, they thrust the animal, which seems stupified, in the faces of such as are inadvertent enough to admit their approach. They bear a strange appearance, with their long, meagre, naked limbs, fatuitous countenances, and half-a-dozen of these animals of large size twining and hanging around them. This sect is distinguished by wearing a white cap, whilst the other Moors wear red ones. Once in the year these enthusiasts (they have not yet aspired to fanaticism) have their general meeting, which it is a service of danger to approach. Indeed about that season they are not safely to be met individually. They then seem really possessed, and are the most dangerous of maniacs. They fly at and tear with their teeth every object that they come across, animate or inanimate, that offends or excites their fancies. A band of them once attacked the house of a British merchant at Tangier; and although the inmates made a good defence, they would have been all destroyed had there not happened to have been in the house some powerful mastiffs of true English breed, which, being unchained against these naked wretches, soon brought them to their right senses by pinning them to the ground, to the general satisfaction of the peaceably-inclined of every sect. It is very probable they are a remnant of the Ophites of the primitive church, of whose ritual such strange tales are related. But the primitive idea is to be sought in the hot-bed of superstition—Egypt. That they are extremely ancient is past all doubt, far anterior to the Hegira; nor can they be of Arabic origin, but were probably found here by these latter invaders. Indeed

they seem to be originally indigenous, from the best information now to be obtained of these countries, that of the poets. For although these personages may shelter themselves under the privilege of "*Quis vates ad vera vocat?*" still it is the rule of evidence to take the best that can be had, so far as it goes. And until historians, with more pretension, cease to be poetical, there seems no reason why poets should not be admitted historical. From every local and moral circumstance, they re the people of whom (*Psylli—Shellu?*) it is said

"..... immunes mixti serpentibus essent.
..... a sævo serpentum innoxia morsu,
Marmaridæ Psylli: par lingua potentibus herbis.
.... vel cantu cessante potest...expurgat cantu...
.... luit serpentibus infans.....pestis excantata perit."

This is tolerably descriptive of the "*Gens unica terris*," the Nasamones or serpent-worshippers (note the accounts of the fane of the Libyan Ammon). *Nass*, in Punic, signifies a serpent. These Marmaridæ were a widely-diffused nation, wide as their own plains could admit, or the spirit of dissertation wish to follow, them. The radicals of names here present themselves to the idea. Tu Maroe on the Morbeya river has been already mentioned*.

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* Digression, discussion, and dissertation are ground which the traveller's foot is forbidden to tread on. As he is bound to adhere to his text, the line of demarcation may be, perhaps, preserved according to the due laws of war, when these matters are circumscribed in a note. A little roaming may be allowed, as people cannot be said to wander whilst they keep within limits. Thus, then, in the native pronunciation of the present day, the word is sounded Marogah—signifying (the of old) Mauritania, that country so justly celebrated by the ancients for its fertility.

"Ubere vix glebæ superat cessantibus austris,
Quum medium nubes Boreâ cogente sub axem
Effusis magnum Libyæ tulit imbribus annum."

It is impossible to describe the soil and climate more precisely. How consummate was the knowledge of the ancients! How modern investigation lags behind them! further even than time itself

By the Sultan's particular invitation, the British gentlemen were taken out to see the palace and its gardens; the idea of which was doubly gratifying, as licensing the hope of obtaining matter of observation externally, in addition to the interest botanical objects, collected all under a ready inspection, in such a climate and situation, must excite. But court intrigues will descend to the lowest minutiæ, when the purpose is to defeat what is well intended; and thus it happened in the present case. For, by a happy arrangement, it was most successfully contrived that nothing but white walls and yellow sands should be seen. Other occasions offered, whereby it was ascertained that the

in all these matters of more serious observation!——Now, however, to proceed to our resource in the poets,—and first taking the dominion of Jarbas we find

" .... Gætulæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
.... Numidæ infreni .....latè furentes
Barcæi .....
Massyli equites," &c.

Here the observation may be admitted, that the elephant-hunting of Gætulia may be considered as indicatory of more recent or scanty population; for both what we see and judge tell us, that these animals, wherever found, were the first objects of the chase. The horse was subjugated all over the world, and availed of for the chase before the use of the bridle was discovered. This the ancient monuments of India prove to us. But how correctly descriptive, how precisely chosen, are all the poet's epithets! Every word conveys the distinguishing characteristic; geographical relations are hardly to be regretted, where such accuracy of moral supplies the place. Thus of Juba's dominion:

" ..... Non fusior ulli
Terra fuit domino, qua sunt longissima regna
Cardine ab Occiduo vicinus Gadibus Atlas
Terminat; a medio confinis Syrtibus Ammon.
At qua lata jacet vasti plaga fervida regni
Distinet oceanum, Zonæque exusta calentis
Sufficiunt spatio. Populi tot castra sequuntur,
Autololes, Numidæque vagi, semperque paratus
Inculto Gætulus equo, tum concolor Indo
Maurus, inops NASAMON, mixti GARAMANTE perusto,
Marmaridæ volucres, æquaturusque sagittas
Medorum tremulum cum torsit missile MAZAX;
Et gens quæ nudo residens Massylia dorso

gardens all around the palace in its outskirts are of the description heretofore given; irregular orchards, as we may term them, containing every variety of fruit-tree the climate admits of, under the shade of which grow in profusion leguminous plants, by the sole aid of water most abundantly supplied. Their dimensions were usually somewhat conformable to that allotted to the European party as before mentioned; that is to say, about two acres. This, to be sure, may sound very *mesquin* to a modern embellisher, who will look for more scope to his capabilities. But it should be recollected that the gardens of Al-

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Ora levi flectit frenorum nescia virga,
Et solitus vacuis errare mapalibus Afer
Venator, ferrique simul fiducia non est
Vestibus iratos laxis operare leones."

We find radical characteristics, and radical names, local and personal, wherever we investigate. Swift endeavoured to prove all ancient language derived from the English, but has not convinced the world of the authenticity of his deductions! Our classic writers derive all language from Greek and Latin; and obtain the fiat of mankind to their dictum. Accordingly Morocco is thus named from the dark colour of its natives, *because* there is a word of affinite sound and meaning in the Greek.—And this goes down!!—Aye, but when those of the other way of thinking enter upon this subject of affinities, it seems due care must be taken that the spelling, forsooth! is adhered to, or farewell affinities! And yet languages were formed before letters, as we are given to understand. That the classics should thus subjugate or usurp the throne of science, may however admit of some grain of a scruple, if not a scruple itself. *Afaar*, *Ber*, *Num* (this last is a different idea from locality) are sounds of most ancient root, which branch wherever mankind has trodden; and are all found here flourishing. *Ger*, or *Gaur*, is another coeval denomination of the local class, personified, to be sure, as usual by the poets, here found under the metempsychosis of a beautiful nymph; Garamantis, mother of Jarbas king of Getulia, by Jove of course——

"Great Jove propitious to the Moorish race!"——B. iv.

A great chasm in human knowledge relative to these countries has opened in later days, and yet exists. It is requisite to collect and collate whatever presents itself to view on either side.

The traveller will often find the classic correct on a point where the tourist would mislead him. Language is an unerring clue, if duly seized. Hereby is proved the identity of Atlantidæ and ancient Canarians: that these islanders were the same people with the aboriginal race extending to the cataracts of the Nile, one word in four of Shellu and Canarian identifies, Teneriffe excepted, the vocabulary whereof bears affinity to Scytho-American dialects.

cinöus, which were the wonder of the world, which have been sung as such by the greatest of poets, and which are (with some plausibility) supposed to have belonged to the wisest of men, (a hint good use might be made of in the present day,) included but a double of this area,—four acres,—for walks, rides, drives, produce, lawns, and plantations! Ideas may expand, but discretion is a very unelastic substance, and here in Morocco they seem to have attended rigidly to precedent and prescription. It is wonderful how precise is the coincidence of every feature of one of these situations of pleasure and retreat, with the descriptions of such remote antiquity. A garden here could not be more circumstantially, more picturesquely described than in the very words of the immortal Greek. The water which makes all flourish, verdant and productive, is supplied by means perfectly conformable with those adopted, as seen in their ruins, by ancient Carthage. It is in Europe only that manners and ideas change.

The evening was squally, with heavy clouds obscuring the sky; sprinklings of rain fell, and volumes of dust rose, as the streets, or rather perhaps wastes, of the city were crossed, on this occasion, in search of—we could not exactly ascertain what.

However it may have been as to the botanical part, the important cause of which, time, the grand explanator, may hereafter develop, no such result took place in regard to the menagerie; our Ciceroni being more kind or more successful in that quarter than in botany. Moorish jokes, as well as compliments, it has perhaps been before observed, are rather rough diamonds. They certainly cut much more than they shine; at least so it was thought upon the present occasion. They are in fact *jeu vilain*, as will be readily admitted. The savage animals consisted of two leopards chained, and a lion and lioness at large. Little aware of this last circumstance, curiosity impelled the visitors to follow close

in upon the heels of the Jew keeper, within the inclosure: immediately whereon the gates were closed on those *within*, to the great diversion of the spectators, as was vociferously communicated from without. The sovereign quadruped treated his visitors with a total neglect, which they most heartily forgave. But it was by no means thus with his royal consort, who seemed to have a good deal of the curiosity of her sex about her, and honoured them with a marked notice somewhat affinitive to what the French mean by the term *fixer*, which would have been most cheerfully dispensed with, seeming indeed very much inclined to cultivate closer acquaintance. Fortunately for one side, however, the parties separated without further intercourse; or, in other words, the strangers, having sufficiently amused their friends without-doors, were permitted to conclude a visit, the actual duration of which could not probably be very precisely measured by the series of mental sensations or ideas, even by Mr. Locke himself had he been here in person. Some will say, the keeper being there was a sufficient security for all the rest; but those who know at how low a value Jew's flesh is rated in this country, less than that of the horse-carrion he bore in his hand, will never allow this for a criterion or guarantee. When this man gave the animals their portion, each of which seemed a few pounds weight, the male lion, an animal of prodigious bulk of bone, and aged, became playful in his own way, throwing himself on his side on the ground with a concussion, and tumbling the flesh over with his paws with a mixture of laziness and sport. The lioness allowed her portion to be laid before her, sitting prostrate, and never taking the least notice of it, or of him who presented it to her.

This menagerie opens into a large area containing two ponds, had they water in them, oblong parallelograms, to which the term canal might be applied. Every part,—walls, area, above and below, horizontal

and perpendicular,—was incrusted with small richly-painted tiles, green, white, and black, in very characteristic patterns—the manufactures of Mequinez and Fez. The whole appearance of the place is most melancholy. This palace is, as far as can be judged, a vast tract, containing thus inclosures in the form of parallelograms: the number of these is said to be six, but if left to the guess they would be taken at considerably more. Amongst them are detached buildings and gardens. Building up and pulling down being the Sultan's principal method of killing time, half of every palace is usually a heap of ruins.

The walls of the city of Morocco include a vast space.—Since it does not fall to the lot of many to be able to ascertain how much, there is great scope left for hyperbole and incredulity. As here is no *fauxbourg*, it could easily be ascertained by riding round them on the outside; to which probably no objection would be made. The towers are said to stand at distances of a hundred yards, and perhaps this is not far from the reality. Their number, with the general figure of the place, would thus furnish data for determining nearly the quantity of ground inclosed. But the area, even if justly calculated, would throw little light upon the question of population. The waste ground about the great mosque seems not less than thirty acres. Arabs encamp now in this tract, like gipsies upon a common in England. Yet this was once under buildings. The palace cannot occupy much less space, and the Sultan has various gardens besides those of his residence, and many extensive ones too are in the possession of his great men. The place of executions is a large expanse; and there are besides entire tracts, some under dilapidations of recent date, some under groves of palm-trees. How numerous are the Jews here! how populous their quarter! Yet numerically they constitute but a very small part of the population of Morocco. The crowds of populace, and their obtrusiveness as else-

where in the world, debar observation, and information otherwise obtained cannot be depended on. But these circumstances, above recited, go in corroboration of the accounts of the vast population of this city in former times. Moorish families are very numerous: all their habits of life are in favour of increase: several families live in one house: and in the occupied parts of this city the streets are narrow, and the houses closely built. To observation, in the present day, the youth, those under twenty-five years of age, greatly preponderate. In their vast crowds too, it is to be recollected, one-half of the human race, the female part, does not make its appearance. The system of caption or slavery, from the time of Spanish wars by land, always by sea, tended in some degree too to recruit numbers, although this is a resource hardly worth notice in calculation. It is said that, in the days of its glory, Morocco sent out of each of its twelve gates ninety thousand combatants. Had not this poetical historian's love of hyperbole been checked by a qualm of conscience, the computation would have been brought up to the round number, a hundred, or, perhaps for decorum's sake, "lacking one." (Jack Cade's regulations.) But it should be ever recollected, that the object of the statements made by mankind is not to inform, (who wishes to make others wise?) but to astonish. In how few cases in life does it occur that the appeal is to the judgement, and not to the imagination! How many millions present the latter hold for seizure, for one furnished with the former! Surprise too, rather than belief, is the superior gratification obtained in the representation of things, even where national vanity, as strong here as elsewhere, and pardonable every where, is out of the question. The last (recent) plague is reported to have carried off in Morocco three hundred thousand lives. Yet its population is doubted by Chenier at thirty thousand souls! Here is one of the general scales of population of

A Modern Building in the Sultan's Gardens.

The Great Mosque of Morocco.

this country given to us. Morocco two hundred and seventy thousand; Fez three hundred and eighty thousand; Mequinez one hundred and ten thousand; Robat twenty-five thousand; Salee eighteen thousand; Al Kasr twenty thousand; Tetuan sixteen thousand; Saffia twelve thousand; Mogodor ten thousand; Tangier six thousand; Larache three thousand; Mazagan three thousand. But it is impossible for an actual observer to subscribe to some of the items in this account.

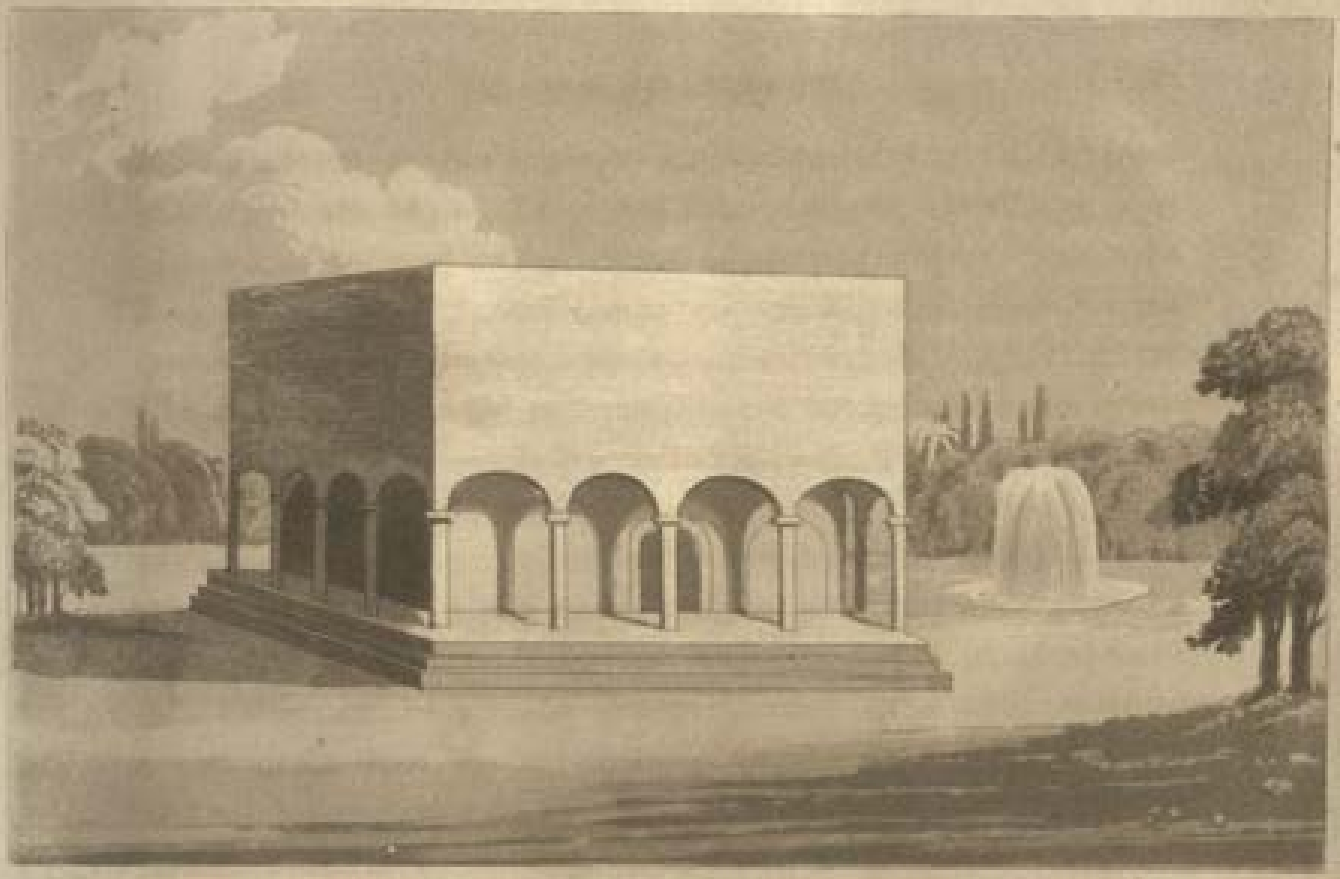
The Jewry is a quarter of this city. Its streets are narrow, dusty, and offensive to the nostrils. They are thronged to suffocation. The houses are of red mud, and mouldering to pieces over the heads of their inhabitants. The Lepers too occupy a quarter to themselves distinct, inter-marry exclusively among themselves, and seem no way sensible of the wretchedness of this situation. "*On s'accommode à tous.*" The call to marriage among these people is early, and very powerful. The leprosy is ascribed by vulgar prejudice, here, to a most curious origin, could there be any truth in the statement. It is one from which it is indeed impossible to imagine it could ever be propagated.

The gates of Seville, the triumph of the mighty Almanzor *, are not to the great mosque, but to another ancient one. The visitors were brought by their guides to no fewer than four, previously to hitting upon the right one. They are covered by horizontal plates of thick brass, which lap, each, over the one beneath it, in part, like the boarding of a boat. The great mosque, which, as before mentioned, stands in a vast open area, was built by the architect who constructed the giralda of Seville: and the principle of structure in both towers is the same. The mosque, though in itself a considerable building, dwindles to a

* Almanzor, like Don Sebastian of Portugal, still wanders. The latter has been, we are assured, occasionally seen. It is a lot, to do so, only claimable by the great. The list is at this moment not inconsiderable, and time will swell it. Their rencontres must be interesting.

mere barn by the side and under the shade of this vast tower. In this latter no exterior reduction takes place; a mode of structure which adds considerably to effect upon the eye. This principle seems peculiar to Oriental architecture. But it may be said, What architecture is not Oriental? The elevation of this tower is nearly, it is probable precisely, the double of the circumference, or (about 6,28 or 6⅔ nearly) six diameters of the base; for there seems to have been anciently such a rule, and the radical of the idea is obvious enough. This is not inconsistent with the system of the dedication of sacred edifices of *seven* stages, to heaven, with spiral ascents either external or internal; which last is the case here. However varied in mode or diffused in situation, such is the plan universally adopted by nations of old, whether applied to the natural hillock dressed into regular form, or the highly wrought perpendicular tower the foundations whereof are laid by human hands. From Morocco to Japan, and eastward still to Yucatan, all is the diffusion of one primitive idea: "Let us erect a tower, whose top shall reach towards heaven." The mode of roofing in the mosque annexed to this tower is worthy of notice; but its details could not be precisely ascertained without a view at the inside, which is not practicable except upon a condition not readily submitted to. It is adapted to countries where large timber cannot be procured. Beams at right angles with the side walls, or perhaps stone work substituted, form the support for rafters placed parallel to the ridge and walls. A powerful roof may thus be constructed of very inferior materials. One so obtusely angled as this, with such a weight to sustain, requires very correct architectural principles and proportions. Some curious coincidences in science and practice may be observed here. Still, when the public has once *fiated* a fashionable writer's lucubrations, his waking dreams, many will say, the subject which has pro-

Style of Modern Architecture in the Emperor of Morocco's Gardens.



Sanctorcum.

duced so much entangled discussion must now be considered as put to rest. Discretion steps in too, and observes, it is wrong to unsettle men's minds on any point by the starting of new matter. In fact, the being set to think is not a mental process very gratifying to sensation. Error growls, too, when she is jogged in her den:

> "——the moping owl doth to the moon complain
> Of such as wandering near her secret bower
> Molest her ancient solitary reign."

She can call up a very chivalrous spirit in her defence too. But the fact is, that errors, popular or not, are lawful game, and free to every one to hunt down. He who destroys one of the brood has done good in his generation. The origin of all architecture is obscure. Who can say he has traced the most eminent, to a certainty, up to the radical idea? A gentleman of ready pen several years ago dreamed that the Goths, who entered upon countries under-inhabited in proportion to their actual structures, being, on casting their eyes every where around, at a loss for models whereon to indulge that mania for architecture of which they never exhibited any symptom at home, rummaged their recollection for the imagery of those forests which they had encountered so many dangers to get away from; and modelling thereupon, invented the most complicated, experimental, and practically delicate branch of the science extant, the pointed or double-centred arch. However, passing by what else may be thought respecting this, as the Normans, that truly great nation, of taste equal to their enterprise, had the judgement to adopt this order, in preference to that of their brethren on the coasts of the Mediterranean, there seems no reason why this branch of the science should not be left in their hands, or at least go by their name. The architecture of the Arabs, of which the great mosque here is a specimen, is no more connected with the foregoing than it is with Grecian

or Egyptian. But the specimens we have of it are as ancient as any that have come down to us of the other, and are, like every description of this noble art, fully worthy of consideration in their way. But upon the subject of the science in general, it is to be observed, there seem to be three * radical styles (Hogarth's not included) pure and distinct; namely, the Egyptian, derived from the Troglodyte, distinguished by its entablature, and of which the Grecian orders, as they are pompously called, are a derivation; the pointed architecture, the original ideas whereof are traceable into East Scythia; and the Roman, in which cements and the key-stone were established and prevailed. The Arabic architecture does not usurp the distinctives of any of these, although in inferior modes, in its details, it agrees with the Scythic,—a matter worthy of animadversion. The Arabian nation, although of the highest antiquity in point of descent, is, as a civil body, modern. But the Caliphs were monarchs of elegant taste; talents and capacity were diffused throughout the people they ruled; and they had the experience and works of all their predecessors among mankind at large to select from. Thus they chose the clustered column of Egypt, the arch of Rome; but reserved their ancient propensity to the construction of high towers, the tops of which should reach towards heaven; for they ever were inhabitants of plains, and devotees of Sabaism, the planetary worship.

The shepherd's hut of inclined poles tied at their tops and covered with skins, nearly the wigwam of America, is as capable of supplying original ideas deducible to any extent, as the cave at the cataracts of the Nile. The ideas upon the subject have ramified from both. The word now applied to convey that of the monarch's palace, originally signified the shepherd's shed. These western Arabs did not adopt the pointed style; in fact it had not reached the West in the days of their

* The Cyclopean too has a well-founded claim to originality.

glory. Their windows have flat imposts. The Egyptians, though ignorant of the key-stone, used, for convenience, the form of the arch, and knew too the power of abutment, to full effect. It is curious to observe in how many instances purblind man has fluttered around the light of discovery, without being able to cry *Eureka!* But many a pointed arch was made before the key-stone (the principle whereof is distinct, the former being independent of it) was stumbled upon; for such has been the usual process in great discoveries. The Egyptians abutted inclining inwards two straight stones, (to have dropped in a third would have been but one step,) and knew the power in confirming the process by superincumbent weight of impost. Here, and in the clusterings and crownings of the lotus, are to be found the radicals of structure, whether original in Egypt, or derived thither from Scythia. But with them, and of course with their pupils the Greeks, entablature stood in the place afterwards consigned to the arch, upon the principle whereof the cupola is a refinement, and forms a marked step in the progress of the art. It is curious to observe, in some ancient buildings, the cautious hesitations of the architect as to the power of the arch for superincumbent weight. Judgement and experience point out to every nation the species of architecture best adapted to its circumstances. Caprice, absurdity, prejudice and false taste, transpose this, from Indus to the Po. The Scythian dives into the earth to avoid the sweeping blast: the Nubian, horizontally into the face of the rock to escape the inundations of that river which feeds his crops. The shepherd loads his light frame-work on his beasts-of-burthen, and follows with it his flocks. Shade, shelter, and safety are the calls which produced the original ideas of domestic architecture, from which the sacred stands totally distinct; save where modern absurdity lends her ever ready and obtrusive hand to blend them. It seems to have been latterly resolved there should be, in spite of re-

fatation, a Gothic taste on earth*, and present days may boast the merit of having produced to light the hopeful bantling. Grecian architecture, like its prototype of Egypt, was governed by rule and scale; that which the Normans adopted by the sweeps of the compass†. The elegant and convenient variety and effect, the scope of power which an artist gifted with talent could exhibit, immediately banished in the eyes of this tasteful nation all competition from dull technical monotony, which, for only resource in way of retaliation, recurs to terms of reproach, terms which mark only their own absurdity. See the clumsiness of the Roman, in its child the Saxon, architecture. See the comparative destitution of effect in the most laboured structures of Greece! A man recurs to his scale in order to discover their perfection. The efforts of true taste speak for themselves. A hillock to the igneous ritual, shaped if natural, accumulated if not found ready to hand, the shepherd's summer hut of twigs and skins, and his winter cave to lodge his family and flock in, where the first efforts of human ingenuity were to roll a stone close to the entrance, and make an aperture above for the smoke to escape, are the sources to which all structure and architecture are to be traced, whether sacred or œconomic, through their long and diversified gradations. The Arabs, with a national characteristic, adopted the horse-shoe in their architecture. It is totally false in principle, but its effect is pleasing. Being false in principle, it cannot be admissible as a distinctive style. The Arabesque

* Architecture has ever preferred strong claims. In former days these extended beyond science, even to præternatural resource. Etymology proves this, and Gaelic, Keltic, and Teutonic, all contribute their concurrent testimony to this effect. Passing by the Punic *Soffite*, which is modish enough, *Daruzh* and *Brujo*, preserved in each sense in their respective tongues, prove the connexion of associated ideas.

† Counter-segments are the distinguishing feature of Scythian architecture. Of the pointed style, an emanation of this idea, the church of St. Sophia at Nicotia is the most ancient specimen.

ornaments of this arch are placed so as to correspond with the nails of the model. In the architecture of some years back, here in Morocco, the outline of the horse-shoe arch is obvious; but the contraction beneath is contrary to principle, and man has a faculty to be gratified independent of the eye. The judgement tells him here is something wrong, and suspends that approbation which a first glimpse calls forth. Whether it has been the result of reflection and experience, or not, the fact is, that the architecture of the present day here adopts the Roman arch, and column also, which is not characteristic, nor has it such good effect as the ancient national one. As to the arch, the semicircle, here adopted, is probably of all figures of this description that least pleasing to the eye. And no figure possesses such powerful harmonic scales of proportion as the arch. How this science has travelled to the west from East Scythia, or by what route, might be still ascertained, were due industry employed. That which the Normans adopted seems to have reached them about the tenth century; in fact, as soon as they had acquired the power to carry it into practice. In the seventh century a Persian architect was much employed at Constantinople, and this city was an *entrepôt* of ideas from east (the moral source) to west. The characteristics of the branch are to be found in sacred works of the Greek empire. In the details of it, the ideas of India prevail; and in that country the art of painting on glass, now lost here, has existed from time immemorial. The effects of this structure are awe, grandeur, lightness, airiness. It has been the happy lot of later ages to disparage it, for disparaged it is wherever deviated from. For the true Arabesque, Seville and Granada supply specimens. A comparison of the affinities between the two branches affords some curious matter. The modern style of this country is adapted to the climate, uniting coolness and cleanliness. Experience, which obeys Nature, has

dictated it. But defence has always been a governing principle, from the time architecture advanced so as to be thus appropriated. It was a natural consequence; but people wished to connect convenience and beauty therewith. Hence grew the castellated taste, which pervades the ancient Arabesque, frittered to a certain degree, but obvious, and elegant too. To convey a cheerful idea, buildings must be preserved in the most perfect order; but decay without dilapidation, by breaking the surfaces and softening the outlines, gives to a building a beauty beyond the reach of art. And to this pleasing state, the architecture of Morocco of Arabesque, or, as it may be called here, ancient style, tends with a most happy rapidity. The modern domestic architecture here has no military ideas of ornament; nor has the military architecture any decoration, possessing much of the character of that of the Romans,—hard in outline and paltry in effect. The embattlements and gates of Morocco are very rich in ornament here, the rest of the work usually plain.

Little has been as yet said of the Jews, frequently as they present themselves here to a stranger's notice. None can be more important among the people of this country to a European, for on them he is obliged in almost every respect to depend. By them it may almost be said he is to live. They afford a lamentable instance of the depth to which political degradation may morally debase human nature. The facts will speak for the causes. Under all their vexations, their honourable attachment to their religion is as inflexible as elsewhere. Christians renegade daily; or, if they do not, it is for want of encouragement: but such a thing is unknown among the Jews. It is probable, however, Mohommedism would not permit itself to be polluted by the introduction of a Jew convert, any more than it would feel a triumph in making one. However, they perform their ritual in their synagogues here, to the honour of the established religion, unmolested

by outrage or mockery. Men and women, at their service, recite prayers with somewhat of a musical cadence, nodding the head as if keeping time. They have no objection to the appearance of strangers at their religious ceremony. The rabbi also reads and expounds to his flock the holy writings. It appears as if with them the exercise of their religion was a compensation for every evil in life. How great, how diffusive a blessing! They afford a revenue to the state for their toleration, as subjects, paying a capitation tax on all males who have reached the age of puberty. This capitation tax is a kind of political protection. They are at worst not the outcasts of the state, although they do not soar to the degree of *serfage*.—If the period of payment be disputed, a string is put round the lad's neck and afterwards doubled in length and put in his mouth: if then, and thus, it pass over his head, he is deemed an object of taxation; if otherwise, not. This procedure passes under the inspection of the heads of the Jew nation here, who rate each individual, or ought to do so, according to his ability to pay, and thus make up the sum required. Each Jew appears in person to pay his quota; and this being done, a Moor touches him on the head with a switch, and says, "Jump:" whereon the Jew goes his way. It is remarkable how these people here delight in personal finery, almost equally as it is by what means they acquire or retain it. Young and old, although they hardly dare venture to stand still or look around them in the streets, from fear of personal outrage, will have an ample stock of splendid clothing, (totally indifferent as to the selection, or blendings of costume,) in which they cannot venture, however, to be seen beyond their own doors! The opposite neighbours for instance, at Mogodor, of this description, were frequently observed passing a whole day, a sabbath or holiday for instance, on their house-roof; the women loaded with trinkets of value, or glitter at least; the men in velvet, and laced like Spa-

nish admirals, but their whole clothing from head to foot arranged in the most whimsical combinations or contrasts. For instance, on a man a greasy nightcap on the head, just barely showing that it had once been white, surmounted by a great three-cocked hat with a broad gold lace! Any one who has visited these countries will hardly require to be reminded of the beauty of the daughters of Israel. Ovid's characteristics are however still too applicable. All have fine eyes, most have fine features: nor is beauty so transient a flower with them, or its loss a cause of such early regret, as in some other countries. The matron Jewess has that of her period of life, more powerful often singly, than with youth on its side. The widow often shines as pre-eminent amongst them as in the eyes of our Scandinavian ancestors of the cold shores of the Baltic. Unfortunately, they seem to hold no beauty of complexion in estimation, save that which is the result of the labour of their own hands. In consequence, the colour-box is a great deal too much recurred to, and distant effect much more studied than closer investigation will bear out. As to the little managements to give relief to the eyes, that is no way exceptionable; but the use of white paint is deleterious in a high degree. As before observed, notwithstanding all this, a Jew is not permitted to appear without-doors save in black, a colour of evil omen in Moorish eyes. Avidity to obtain, and art to conceal money, are the main stimuli of action with this people, and the tendency of their industry and earliest education.—From among them, chiefly, the Christians take their domestic servants; because, although not so cleanly, they are less scrupulous about forms than the Moors. As a community, they are subject to every oppression. So circumstanced, it is unnecessary to add that, as individuals, they must of course be daily subject to every injury. A Mussulman child of eight years of age already begins to exert his early-felt power to tyrannize, and reviles in

premature malignity, by abusing, striking, and stoning the Jew, whose hand, he has already been told, if raised against him, is infallibly cut off. It may well be judged what must be the effect upon a community, in point of depravation, always to see at hand a people the ready inviters, by their debased political situation, and convenient conductors, of the ebullitions of the vilest, but at the same time earliest, and certainly most universal, emotions of the human mind. How the tyrant is degraded in the scale of human nature, in comparison with the unfortunate slave to whose lot of life it has fallen to be domineered over! But Christians and freemen,—so seductive are example and impunity,—will assume the Moor here; and so inconsistent is human nature, the chivalrous spirit will then seize the Mohommedan, and make him step forward as a protector of the weak and prostrate! Such things are; for they have been. A Moor cannot (and these are the rights, liberties, and privileges of the nation, to which these people are as much attached, and have as strong an impression of, as Britons can for the souls of them be, or have, for theirs,) be put to death for killing a Jew, although he may for killing a Christian. The one is an outcast race endured for convenience; the others are only natural enemies—a wide distinction in the scale of human rancour. If a Moor, *pour se désennuyer*, just for a little innocent amusement, he means no more, or in other words to indulge the play of malignity, goes into a Jew's house, disturbs his family, and grossly insults the women, the Jew dare not insinuate to him the slightest hint that his walking out as soon as suited his convenience would be any way acceptable. He must view and be conscious of all without a frown, or still less a murmur; either would be considered and revenged on the spot as an insult. A Moor may beat a Jew as severely and as long as he pleases, without being called on to assign any reason for it. Children are seen to strike them in the streets, for passing them dis-

respectfully, or, as they term it, giving them ill treatment. They are obliged to walk bear-footed by the door of every mosque, and also by those of the houses of the officers of state, unless they should be elevated to the dignity of a Christian's servant, in which case they are exempted. —Their religion prohibiting the use of any food not killed by themselves (the importance annexed to this process of human life extends amongst other ancient nations as well as this) causes a positive internal association amongst themselves, which is adhered to with a rigidity of which rare specimens to like effect can be boasted by Christians or Mohommedans. The Jew interpreter of the English embassy, by name Isaac, in compliance with his law, which admits of no dispensations, would eat nothing but eggs on his route, from the time he left Morocco until he reached Tangier; and, had he not met with them, would certainly have died sooner than have broken his fast. The treatment of this nation in England, *mutatis mutandis*, was little better than here, as may be seen in "Anglia Judaica," and the "Chronicles." It is not consistent with historical dignity, which ever must be the historian's first object (truth owes about as much to history as science does to the classics), as it is (like the master's honour in those of his servant according to Swift) in his hands, to notice such a trifle as a massacre of eight or ten thousand incorrigible unbelievers, deaf to argument and blind to fact. It is therefore useless to look for information in that quarter. But facts are stubborn, and must make people weigh well, before they may feel authorized to throw exclusive censure on others. But the motive, to be sure, was good: A murdered infant was found in a ditch; and this was Jew-work, in mockery of our Saviour's crucifixion. Engravings to similar effect are at this moment in circulation in Spain. Such is the cordial propensity to halloo man on to persecution! But in the situations now recited, this wretched community furnishes a lamentable proof of the

folly of a people venturing upon the acquisition of property, under any state, without being duly guarded by the possession of an adequate proportion of weight in the balance of political power, whatever form that latter may happen to bear. Still, however, it is but common justice to admit the Jews to the benefit of their own golden rabbinical law, which inculcates it as a point of justice, not to condemn the conduct of others, without first considering how we would ourselves act were we in their places. Keeping this most just principle in view, the discussion this people here in their circumstances demand shall be proceeded in. They were ordered no doubt to, and did, in consequence, send their present to the representative of His Britannic Majesty. To a party straitly lodged, and in a warm climate, it was rather an inconvenient acquisition,—a cow and her calf*! Although fully sensible of the value of the one in œconomies, and although the other did not amount to an abomination, such as their history lamentably testifies, not being of gold, yet it was absolutely necessary to decline the politeness of those who sent them. But although the utmost deference was used in so doing, and an appeal to their very feelings made upon the circumstances, still those commissioned to present this national offering departed evidently mortified in the failure of their mission. But not to pursue discussion unless where at least supposed sufficient grounds present themselves, and to proceed with general observations:—It must be admitted that the faults of a people are to be traced into the vices of their government; nor, if it be much easier to reproach than to reform, will this convenient system force its way into sound argument. Here is a people absolutely brought by its political situation to buy and torture each other, in the expectation of making something to themselves by it! Incredible as it may sound, it is as well authenticated a fact as any in

* Happily, no bribery was intended, and in consequence no mystery requisite on this occasion. Had it been so, the procedure would have amounted to a very serious inconvenience.

history. A Jew bid for a Jew: of course some pretext in the way of inculpation is requisite in order to save appearances, for the advantages of moral life; but that is readily found in such a case. He offered to the Sultan a specific sum, to get out of his brother all he could—by the aid of pincers and hot irons. The speculation was thought a good one, because, even if no pecuniary advantage followed, the pleasures of the torture were certain. The person bid for, of course defended himself at the same weapons. Protection by some person of consequence is now chiefly sought by them, as is always the case where a people has none, or merely a nominal one, from the laws: nominal indeed here, if extant at all. For it may readily be judged how effectual these must be to the purpose, when originating in, and administered by, those who have an interest in their perversion. Indeed a case will hardly be supposed in which a Jew should recur to Mohommedan law for support, this is mostly general moral; and as to that of the land, it is all in the mouth of the monarch of the day. But the more dependent a situation is, the more facilities it will possess of that substitute called protection; for it must pay the higher price, be prepared to make the greater sacrifices, to obtain it. Hence its numerous instances here. Such drudges, such services, so easily rewarded, readily find masters. And under such as have any consequence, the Jew's case is materially altered. The great man's Jew must not be molested with impunity; indeed the former takes as an offence to himself, the very touching the hem of his dependent's garment; and resentment accordingly ensues: so completely does he identify with the idea of property. Protection, however, is all the wages paid. It is strange to see a nation once so brave and warlike humiliated to this degree. It seems as if all their energy left them with the destruction of their temple: like the bees, too, in another respect, they clung with an instinctive perseverance to its cinders to the last, until indeed they afforded an item in the sad catalogue of vic-

tims to Roman *virtue*, until by it thrown to perish in the flames. A strong affinity runs here throughout between human nature and animal instinct. They are now the swarm without a leader or a habitation; whilst in attendance for the one, indifferent about the other, and living on hope. The reasoning in the plain of Shinar was just. Oppression, however, as well as poverty, seems to act in aid of human multiplication; the mandate of God prevails over the wrongs of man. In poverty, if exempted from the actual visitations of war, pestilence, and famine, the numbers must still increase, still swell beyond the actual bounds of maintenance; for it is a procedure in which calculation takes no place. The business of government is to still extend proportionately the action at least, and therewith eventually the power and resources of the state, by still finding useful employment for the only real wealth of the community, the number of its hands. The wisdom of power is proved in the results. Wisdom was bestowed on man to conduct to happiness: and we may be assured, if political evil prevail in a commonwealth, there must be folly somewhere in the machinery. As in the lowest part of the community the great law of Nature is ever operative, so there is in aristocracy, the deficiency whereof as a body is of such bad consequences here in Morocco, a dominatory process ever operative, though not so conspicuously in converse. Aristocracy, however absolutely necessary in politics, is not founded in nature. Here is no branch of trade in which the Jews do not take an interference, none in which their so doing is not useful to the Christian merchant. They are active, deeply intelligent, and labour, as may be supposed, for very moderate profits*.

Among the extraordinary traits of character which mankind presents, and which are, perhaps, no where more strongly marked than in this

* Buzaglo, so well known once in London, was a creditable specimen of a Moroquin Jew.

very country, and the people now under observation, some may think it not the least so, that one so completely prostrate in the dust should show sentiments of emotion and resentment in the face of power. And yet such is the inconsistency of man, that this has been the case, and recently. A few days before the arrival of the embassy at Morocco, a Moor murdered a Jewish merchant, cut his body in pieces, and threw them into the shafts or ventilators of the aqueducts in the plain, already described. The Jews of Morocco, with a zeal and energy hardly to be expected from a people so circumstanced, and which show the stuff yet latent in the nation, by a most active sedulous search, in spite of power, awe, or connivance, discovered the murderer, who was seized and thrown into prison, where it was intended to have punished him, not capitally, because in this respect the monarchy is a limited one, but by a severe bastinading, which, it is to be observed, may be so managed as to have all the *effect* of death. The Jews, however, in the interim, under a strong sense of the wrong sustained, collected in crowds around the palace, and clamoured for justice. Inclined toward the heaven-descended principle as the Sultan then was, when his ears were assailed by this unaccustomed sound, and he learned that it was these infidels who had dared to raise their voices around the precincts of royalty, he ordered his guards forthwith to beat them home to their quarter; an order which they had a great deal too much at heart not to execute, *con amore*, with an unmerciful punctuality of obedience and energy. And to their quarter they were, in consequence of this indiscretion, confined on the arrival of the embassy in this city; in consequence of which its throngs surpassed imagination. The opportunity was not omitted of imposing a heavy fine on them. Crimination a source of public revenue, delinquency an object of fosterage as a prop of the state, private vices public benefits, all the political Jesuitry of Europe will meet countenance on this side of the Straits. All labours here

beneath Mohommedans devolve on the Jews; such, for instance, as carrying a Christian through the surfs of the Atlantic, burying executed criminals, supplying the calls of the menagerie. In fact, whenever power has a call for a scavenger, that office devolves upon the Jew. It does not require so strong a picture as that of a Jew of Morocco to make a Briton's mind revolt at the idea of slavery, nor is contempt a just sentiment towards the wretched beings so enthralled. How are they to extricate themselves? But it is curious to observe the modes and steps of this political abuse. Blackstone says of the game-laws of England, which (however justifiably is another matter) he thinks more oppressive than those of old, "Formerly there was but one mighty hunter in the whole land: now there is a little Nimrod at every hedge corner." Such is the analogous relation of the thraldom of the Moor and the Jew, and the effect upon the character of each has been accordingly. The Moor is an absolute slave: his life and his property are every moment at the mercy of the despot, his sole and mighty lord. But the Jew is forced to submit to every petty tyrant. The consequences are, that in the former, the political only, in the latter, the natural situation is debased. And this has made each what he is. Despotism does not degrade the individual: when he looks around, he sees all, save one, at his own level; neither does it, in consequence, extinguish pride of character. It is the petty tyranny of the mean, mean both in moral and political sense, which carries conviction every hour, and everywhere, home to the breast of degraded manhood, of the degraded, because moral, state of slavery; thus rendering men either abject or desperate. As to the summit of the pyramid of power here, a European gentleman lately remarked to a Moor of distinction, that his Sultan was a personage of ability and knowledge: "Doubtless," was the Moor's reply, "or God would not have made him Sultan." However the head may be affected, here was no symptom of a vilified

mind. It is the misfortune of strangers, and perhaps more particularly of such as come in a public situation, that they must be chiefly conversant with the worst samples of the nations they visit; the dignified and respectable characters reserve themselves in the back ground, the worthless protrude themselves. How unjust, then, to judge a nation under such circumstances! Such as present themselves for hire and reward, it may be supposed, have very few scruples. It is their business to crave and to ask. They can have neither pride nor shame on these points. A gift to them is only an incitement to a new demand. The circuitous or decorous way of asking a present is to send one. This is usually a *bouquet*. But the return must be more substantial; of less transient value; more commodious too to conveyance, and perhaps, for reasons that may be guessed, concealment, than that of the Jews before mentioned. A hundred oxen roaring at the *levée* of a Moorish courtier would excite a degree of attention that he could well dispense with. All decorum, however, on such points is occasionally thrown away. Thus, an English gentleman unadvisedly showed a penknife of curious workmanship to a Moor in rather a conspicuous situation of life, who immediately, on a slight inspection, pocketed it. After several delicate hints for the article to be returned, such, for instance, as the cutting of love, and the like, which passed unheeded, the European was under the necessity of telling the other "he wanted it." "Oh," replied the Moor, "as to that,—*I want it* too." The suitor certainly took the weaker purchase of the argument, and he failed accordingly. In regard to general intercourse or dealings with these people, however, it is to be observed, here is no very exalted idea entertained among them of European talent. And as to principle, that part of the nation with whom strangers unfortunately have to act, the instruments of a depraved system of government, the morality confined to a rigid conformity with the exterior forms of religion, a Pharisean exhibition of long

prayers before the eyes of the people, or counting over a string of beads while the thoughts are revolving on things below, cannot be supposed, by aught believed of it, to convey to the minds of the community any very correct idea of the application of this tie and cheek in the intercourse of life. As to foreigners too, and the business which brings them here, the prospect is likely to be but little amended. In censuring the Moors, we should look about to see *if* we contribute, by our intercourse, to improve them. Unquestionably, England is more respected than any other Christian nation here. But matters considered by us as trifles, make very serious impression on the minds of this people. Exterior gravity, manner, the extent of the mind, a thing very independent of the antecedents, but which they, though not bookish, have a wonderful knack at reading, are all seriously adverted to by them. They are, still, very apt to judge of what they do not see, by that which they do, like other men. Europeans are not sufficiently aware of the necessity of this advertence to exteriors. The free manners of their own countries are by no means compatible with the ideas of a people which considers decorum a leading virtue. Our diminutive stature, compared to their portly forms, so humiliating to us, and our faces divested of the masculine appendage of a beard, to which they annex so much respect as to deem it hardly a degree short of sacred, disparage us further in their eyes, "Nosotros somos *hombres* a *muchachos*"—"*We* are men, you but children," was a phrase which, often as it was dinned in the ears, in case of altercation,—a procedure one would think no person would voluntarily get into here, where neither politics nor the bottle come in support of the life of conversation,—did not improve by repetition.

The young Moor is occasionally inclined to the vice of youth everywhere, arrogance, (if it abandons age, it is only from conviction of its futility,) and nothing is gained by endeavouring to set him right, in teaching him his true rank in society. A thankless good office, indeed, in

most cases throughout the world! Here, certainly, very refractory and contumacious pupils would present themselves for instruction. Gravity, however, seems to have been ever a national characteristic; for Cervantes, a tolerable definer of mankind, speaks of it. The private life of a Moor is insipid, as may be supposed of people who have no pursuits, and whose heads, from their limited education and observation, cannot be over-stocked with ideas. Their amusements are cavalcading (a remnant of old Arabic chivalry), seeing the performances of jugglers, or sitting in groups and taciturnity under the shade of a lofty wall, looking at the passengers in the streets. In the house, one entertains the rest by telling a story. Of course it may be supposed that the epithet of a matter-of-fact man, which satisfies us in Europe, would not be esteemed a very gratifying compliment here. Probability must be indeed the least interesting feature of the colloquy, and this too must have a strong moral effect. They have also professed story-tellers, who are paid. They play at what we call Polish drafts. Prayers however, the Mohommedan ritual, occupy the principal part of the daily attention. They smoke little, but are fond of snuff and of opium; and the commonalty, to get rid of the *tædium vitæ*, that mental incubus, use the plant they call *ashisha*, a species of hemp, the *bang* of India. It has the general effects of what is sought for the purpose, being aphrodisiac and narcotic. They dry the leaves over fire, reduce them to powder, swallow this, (it brings to mind the Scythian customs described by Herodotus*,) and thence, by the tension the nerves receive, derive a delirium producing not delight and gaiety, but raving and frequent horror. They soliloquize and tremble, they seclude themselves; fear and despair, the physiognomial horror, seize them, and are strongly depicted. Yet they will recur to this situation, with all their experience

* The Scythians dried the herb they used for the purpose on a brass plate or pan, and *tambeco* is the word in modern Scythic for this utensil. Tabacco is not a word of genuine American root.

of it, and go through all the trouble of the prefatory process, with malice prepense against themselves, rather than sustain the *ennui* of remaining in their senses, of communing with themselves—such bad company is self found to be. Education alone can check the propensity which pervades all mankind. This here is an evasion of Mohommedan institution (*on s'avise jamais de tout*). The irksomeness of mental inaction, which Tacitus charges to the ancient Germans as an inconsistency, that mandatory principle, which compels to moral effort, good or bad as it is induced by the objects which present themselves, is most predominant with those who are capable of reflecting the least. Hence man recurs, for respite from his own persecutions, to every palliative, from *œil de perdrix* to hang and the toadstool, according as his situation places him in the temperate climates, in the Deccan, or at North Cape. The same *penchant* governs from the equator to the pole, Spain perhaps excepted, where stoicism seems to have completely supervened it. The abstraction which Mohommedan institutions induce from science and study, must have powerful moral, as well as political effect; political, in debasing men's minds from those legitimate and useful pursuits whereby the common stock of knowledge is in a regular progress of increase, at the same time that a due share of individual occupation preserves to them that equilibrium of life so little known here, where no third estate exists between torpor and turbulence, whence arises the spirit of intrigue, that curse of political organization, with all its baleful consequences.

As unquestionably a divine truth as it is, that POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS SHOULD BE REGULATED BY THE SCALE OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE, it is no less a point of fact that education should be diffused and advanced in proportion to the growth of nations. The immediate effect of want of education on the moral man is destitution of ideas: whether this be, or be not, negative happiness, here is now no

occasion to discuss; but certain it is, man cherishes and adheres to the ideas he does possess, with an estimation proportioned to their rarity, and this constitutes narrow minds. When a portrait of an European of distinction was shown here to a certain Moor, not of the ordinary class, he looked behind the frame to see what was become of the rest of the man. Convinced that the similitude thus effected to human nature was powerful, his observation was, "Why does nothe speak?" Among the various effects of ignorance upon the mind, not the least noticeable is the impression that any power, the operation of which is beyond the comprehension, is competent to—infinity. Now as most powers, to a faculty thus circumscribed, are out of its bounds, the ignorant man cannot conceive that it is not as easy to make speak, as look. If the facsimile is practicable in one case, why not in another? He must be a dull fellow indeed, who, having got *so far*, should stop *there*. But such are the effects of science having fallen into inadequate hands!!—How different would it have been had the business been taken up by those competent to such a thing!!—Here, however, we have a radical of various fable which pervades the world, from its very infancy down to this day. We meet with gross absurdity daily at home, but the difference is in the mode; and it is modes that people go abroad to see, for man is the same every where. Mr. Hamilton, in his "Egyptiaca," justly observes, (strange, that a country which has been the grand *entrepôt* of ideas, should now have become so barren of them as to be quoted for obtuseness of perception!) that any thing, to strike people of the class of mind of the natives there, should seem out of the bounds of nature. Whatever is within them is no wonder. The ingenuity then of the European is judged by the criterion of Moliere's cook: "Any cook can give a good dinner with money: if you assume excellence, produce us one without it."

What the Moors were in Spain, why should they not be in Moroc-

co*? They were there held in good estimation for their moral qualities by their Christian neighbours; and this could hardly have been the case if they had not deserved it, earned it by their virtues. Sancho Panza is a sufficient testimony to this effect. He is not one from whom liberal ideas applied to an opposite sectarian could be expected of luxuriant growth. Yet they existed. On their expatriation there, and redintegration here, they had no resource but the cities. This too was, it may almost be said, their natural life. They were more than gregarious, they had become almost artificially civic. The manners of the Fezzians, as described in the last century but one, are in all probability characteristic of what prevailed in the preceding one, and on the other side of the Straits. They probably so existed until an ungenial political state, wielded by that reformer of human nature, Muley Ishmael, demoralized all here. The narrator is Jezreel Jones. The private life of the Moor is nowhere so successfully detailed, and the *bonhommie* of these good-humoured Fezzians entitles them to a better lot than their descendants have drawn in life. They had too, in the wars of the country, management and firmness to capitulate with this royal and powerfully gifted ferocious savage, who does not appear to have broken faith with them. One word of credit at least is due to this man's character. In the ensuing days of anarchy he was regretted throughout his dominions; so true is the proverb amongst the Turks, who have too good substantiation for it at home. Besides, he was too competent to his business, to require the aid of subaltern tyranny. But for the Fezzians.—"A Moor at sunrise washes, dresses, goes to mosque, and breakfasts on thick barley, or wheaten gruel, with herbs and spices, among which origanum predominates, (no wonder that rats colonize the plain of Morocco,) together with hot bread, or hasty-pudding, with butter and honey (a

* For Mohommedan respectability in point of personal character, ask their neighbours on the side of Hungary. They need not shrink from any competition.

pretty tolerable commencement of the day's business).—Consistency prevails throughout). Cuscusu* is eaten with flesh, with milk, with roots. Their mid-day repast consists of kabab mutton (chops wrapped in cawl), alsdouf (vermicelli), and meat, spiced meat, savoury broth; stewed mutton with forced meat in onion coats, and green grapes, all stewed together and highly seasoned with pepper, salt, and saffron. The hedge-hog is a princely dish with them. The porcupine is a favourite, stewed. Fish they have of various sorts. Capons, ducks, teal, mallard, curlew, plover, snipe, (Mount Atlas in his various climates supplies these latter luxuries,) ox-bird, piper, and partridge, swell out a bill of fare capable of establishing this city of Fez in the class of corporates. Carrots, cabbages, peas, beans, in plenty and very good, (this vegetable, the bean, marks a gradation of climate,) are supplied from their gardens; and fruits, from the dates of Tafilet (of which this traveller enumerates ten kinds) to the cherries and apples of the North, fill up the dessert. Snails boiled with salt they consider a very wholesome food†. They eat every thing save swine's flesh, and that wherein the blood had remained at death ‡. They abstain, like Mulcy Ishmael, from veal, lamb, and kid. Turkeys and geese they have in their markets. They

* This has been described: the etymology is worthy of notice; let also be observed the affinity of this word with the name of the intoxicating drink of America. Adanson mentions cuscusu as common to the Negro nations. Every family here, Negro, Moorish, or Arab, has usually three large dishes for the purpose of preparing and serving it up.

† In Spain they are eaten boiled, with a sauce of oil, vinegar, and salt, and are as favourably considered as here. Generally speaking, it is only the worst parts of the Moorish *cuisine* that their neighbours north of the Straits have borrowed; but it is a point whereon the latter do not pique themselves. Indeed they are right to waive it, it would be given against them.

‡ "The blood, which is the *life*, thou shalt not eat." An ordinance evidently pointed against the ancient Scythian custom. This prohibition of Moses may also have been intended to operate in mercy towards the brute creation, and to prevent the Israelites, on taking possession of the land of Canaan, from giving into the cruel and abominable practice of the idolatrous nations there, and of most of the inhabitants of Africa, many of whom practise it even at this day, of eating raw meat cut out of animals alive. "Eat not the flesh with the blood thereof, for the blood is the life thereof."

are of the wild kind, not being domesticated here. These good Mohommedans planted vineyards and drank of the wine, and so forth; not to particularize further, leaving it for our authority. "When a number of them, with every one his mistress, appoint to be merry, they retire to their vineyard or garden, where they have music, and *all or most* of the above dishes, and there sit and carouse over a great earthen bowl full of wine, of four or five gallons, drinking round out of a cup holding nearly a pint; and they seldom part until they have made an end of the whole. When one neighbour has a guest at his house, others on knowing it send each his dish, and come themselves to keep company (thus we find the origin of pic-nic, and thus nothing is new under the sun). The Jews here are equally hospitable. (See Saugnier's testimony to their honour, of recent date, in the South.) They eat the young bees whilst white with the honey, use the left hand in eating, and lick their fingers clean" (a remnant of the ancient and sacred kitchen system)*.

The inhabitants of the (*soi-disant*) ancient towns consider themselves as of a more honourable extraction than any other people in this country. Such are the resources of vanity:—one piques himself on being an invader or conqueror, another that he is an aboriginal. These civic Moors are indeed in many instances the descendants of the scientific and *chevaleresque* race of Andalusia and Granada. Considered as obtruders by those who had stepped into their places here, their ejection from Spain was peculiarly cruel. They had been so long addicted to civic ease and bookish indolence, that they were, when forced to return to Africa from the Peninsula, utterly unable to cope with the barbarous fanatics who had usurped their primitive soil; and they became, or continued, tradesmen and artizans, leaving the cultivation of the earth to

* A dog-feast is a favourite one with the Indians or Savages of North America, who are supposed to be of Tartar descent. And their solemn treaties or agreements of association are generally ratified or solemnized with such feasts. In most of their dogs there is a mixture of the fox.

the Arabs. And even at this day, under every disparagement, the perfection to which they carry some manufactures proves the extent of their talents in that line; and under, too, that discouragement to all industry, genius, and enterprise—the insecurity of acquirement. For here the wealthy man must be at least as assiduous to conceal as to accumulate*. With all his vigilance, however, he can scarcely hope to protect his acquisitions beyond his own life. The monarch makes himself the heir-general of all his wealthy subjects. Elsewhere he is the fountain, here he is the vortex of property. And the children of the affluent frequently have, in great measure, literally to begin the world, as it is termed, anew, and under the double disadvantage of an undue preparation: for they are brought up upon the scale of the parent's means. Hence much treasure is buried and totally lost: to this is owing the dilapidation of the towns. In proportion to the citizen's wealth he assumes the exterior of misery. What a check to industry must be the consciousness of inability to enjoy its results! Yet many of these houses, so mean looking without, are, we are assured, the converse of the Pharisee, beautifully fitted up and furnished within. This shows the tendency of the taste of the people. Thus in checking expenditure, and thereby deadening the springs of its own resources, does the wretched policy of despotic, and consequently ill-advised government, defeat even its own and immediate interests, while it entails misery on all around. The Moors (strangers must observe) are much more strict than the Turks in regard to their mosques, not permitting any but the faithful to enter them. This is the more particular, as the grand signior is considered as the head of that religion since the extinction of the caliphat, the removal whereof (it may be observed here by the way, with due apology for the formidable digression,) from Medina to Bagdat,

* Mequinez and Fez manufacture silks, leathers, and pottery beautifully. None is wrought at Tangier and Tetuan.

very materially influenced the events of this country, rendering the lieutenancy the government here stood on, next to nominal. And things would have gone on better, could that empire have been duly substantiated.

The Moor's hours of prayer are sun-rise, mid-day, sun-set, eight o'clock, and mid-night; so that a Mussulman's devotion is not permitted to doze. On ordinary days a white, on Friday a blue flag gives them notice during the day; at night a crier pronounces from the summit of the mosque-tower the Prophet's creed, "God is great: there is but one God, and Mohommed is his prophet." A pithy sentence. Of course the Moors will be concluded superstitious. Atheism at any rate never appears to have entered their minds*. They are usually convinced of the existence of a class of beings of a spiritual kind (as so many in Europe still think), which haunt and occupy every object of Nature that attracts notice, whether "mountain, river, streamlet, grove, or cell," who are actuated by gratitude for due respect shown, but of otherwise a highly irritable disposition; but who are equally and principally roused by the two very opposite excitements of neglect and obtrusiveness; so that they seem to possess a strong portion of the capriciousness, whether they do or do not the various other *penchants*, (very serious annoyance they would afford to Mohommedans,) of the classical divinities: that *elegant* mythology, (such is Mr. Gibbon's term,) the details whereof were furnished by the luxuriant imaginations of the philosophic loungers of the Piræus.—Some Europeans indiscreetly bathing late, and having thereby caught cold and consequent fever, were, as the natives termed it, "stricken by the spirit of the river

* Atheism is a sentiment unnatural to the mind of man. Even the savages in America have an idea of both a good and a bad spirit. To the latter they ascribe earthquakes, hurricanes, and convulsions natural and civil; and to him they sometimes pray and make propitiatory offerings; taking it for granted, that the former or good spirit, who is supreme over all, will not hurt them. They also suppose that there will be a state of future existence, in which they will be indulged, provided they behave well in this, in their favourite pursuits and enjoyments.

for disturbing him at an unseasonable hour." Night is, as with children, the season of trepidation. Many Moors will not go out of their houses after dark, from dread of spirits: and no inducement could encourage one of the lower class to try the bottom of a spring in the Dutch consul's garden at Mogodor, from the same reason. It is however more material to observe, that, offence to local divinities out of the question, it is very dangerous to remain near water here at sun-set and shortly after. Tempting and inviting as the situation is, the dew falls, or rather is condensed, in and at such a place and hour, with intensely baleful effect. As to the custom here, formerly mentioned, of hanging upon trees votive offerings to local imaginary divinities, the idea is derived as remotely as from Scythia, whence indeed, if, as is the case, Egypt was the hot-bed of superstition, she has invariably received her seeds. In fact it is, like another custom here, so well known in Ireland, that of lighting fires on St. John's eve of our calendar, within a few generations as ancient as man himself. The old leaven is still latent in the race.

The Mohommedan law and religion, which are so closely interwoven, injure the moral sense of decorum in some delicate points, and so far deduct from what little dignity poor human nature is able to assume or lay legitimate claim to, which is but a modicum at the utmost. Decency is the first, and probably the only innate idea of the abstract description in the human mind. We see it in the infant at the breast. If so, it certainly was instilled for wise purposes, and why should man step in with his pains to cancel that which is implanted from above? After all, the whole profligacy and ill habits of future life, so deeply is it seated, are barely sufficient to do this completely. But here it is done by law. Most conspicuously, certainly, in the case of marriage. The Harem code, as it at presents stands, is an abomination; but it might be softened down. Pallas ascribes the vices of the Tartars, such as they possess, to a Harem edu-

cation, and justly. Under the system, the women become what they have been depicted in Egypt, *farouches et stupides*, and to such beings is confided the hope in the rising generation! The consequence is obvious: the young men must turn out into the world with all the effects of home education with us;—with gross propensities and vacant minds. But in regard to the rules and regulations of this institution, if they dive with an indecorous scrutiny into the minutiæ of nature on the one hand, on the other certainly due care is taken that rash charges shall not avail, as in some mighty important cases indeed, a complete jury, no fewer than twelve witnesses, are required to give testimony to a point of fact. In regard to witnesses, too, here is a most extraordinary exception. "*Idcirco ego inducturus sum malum in domum Jurobami, et excisurus sum Jurobamo mingentem contra parietem.*" Here is a denunciation. In this country it is an act of infamy. The Romans adopted the principle of the denunciation; for when they stormed a town they killed all the dogs. It has been attempted to make out an explanation of the extraordinary idea there conveyed, by this route; but insurmountable stumbling-blocks present themselves, and whatever road is taken this will not serve. Some circumstances should induce it to be thought that the idea was confined to the line of Japhet, as now it is acted upon: but are the Persians of this genealogy? And a most particular ordinance upon the subject is an article of the Sadder. Thus too we find, with their Greek brethren, the warning, "*Contra Solem ne meito.*" The most ancient of their didactics, the writings of Hesiod, relate also to this point. Such things induce the surmise that the idea was an annexation to the solar ritual. Its diffusion is a proof of its remote antiquity. A custom established in contravention to the ordinary dictation and process of nature—for the opposition of instinct and mode is reciprocal and complete, to the remotest undulations of the great circle of mankind, to its extremest radii—for it pervaded

America—clearly designates the antiquity of the regulation, however suggested, certainly derived from one of our common parents. East Scythia, trace its course as we may, presents itself as its site. It does not appear to have been inherited by those columns of the human race which quitted the common cradle of mankind by its western side, by the race of Shem at least, generally, but it is most decisively the case here. For, strange to say, although no regulation of the Koran, which circumstance should prove it not of Arabic descent, so strong is the prohibition here, that any person against whom the guilt is proved, any male, who is delinquent by compliance with the mode dictated by nature, is *ipso facto* degraded to that degree, that his testimony continues ever after inadmissible in any court of law. No sacred dictate can be more imperative, none more rigidly adhered to, than this unaccountable, and of course unaccounted-for injunction, none, the failure wherein is considered in a more conclusive light, whatever it originally was, whether mandate, prohibition, or imprecation. As to the dog, who with all his virtues seems to have been usually marked for disparagement,—an injustice, however, we can easily account for when we recollect he comes forward with *voluntary services* to *mankind*—the allusion conveyed there serves to bring to recollection that the nobler animals, the lion, the elephant, are retromingent, and both have supplied mankind with ideas of dignity. Has any corollary or deduction been derived therewith? If so, how far more durable and extensive is the prejudice, compared with the rationale, which indeed is here next to nought, and what becomes of the calculations of those who speculate, that the eradication of ancient error is the work of a day!

The Moors, although their climate may be called humid, and winters cold, dispense with fires except for culinary purposes. Indeed winter is not the season to visit these countries. This people seem, like the

Spaniards, to lay in a sufficient stock of radical heat during summer to carry them through the winter. From its greater elevation, the northern province here is certainly less warm than Andalusia. They do not however neglect, by a judicious mode of dress, to put themselves effectually *à l'abri* of the seasons personally. It is wonderful how few are seen in a state of wretchedness, in regard to this necessary accommodation of miserable human nature, in so vast a population. Enthusiasts and fanatical mountebanks out of the question, the proportion of the ragged part of the society to the rest is far less than in any country of Europe. This, however, relates to Moors and Negros, not to Arabs. The description of this article of necessity will prove they are no niggardly consumers of manufactures, and that this consumption is by no means a despicable object to a manufacturing nation. There is however no where greater variety seen, in the course of the day, whether in quantity or quality, from the Arab boy or even adult in the summer solstice stark naked, and of course at zero in the scale, to the stately Moor, turbaned and clothed from head to foot, in summer in fine muslins, in winter in thick woollens. The dress of the common people is of domestic manufacture, and denominated *al haik:* one long piece of their thin blanket stuff, a composition somewhat between blanket and serge. As it is their dress in the day, it will likewise serve them to pass the night in, though one of larger dimension, but the same shape and texture, is preferred for that purpose. They have admirable dexterity in the arrangement of this article of dress, fully succeeding in covering themselves in it when they judge proper from head to foot, and so folding it, beginning round the body just under the arm-pits, that, loose as it is, it seems to give them no trouble or require any further attention after first arrangement. When one end of this is thrown over the head of an old Moor, without a turban, it gives a lively specimen of the bust of Socrates. They are equally

adroit in the management of this so apparently cumbrous dress on horseback, and it rarelydecomposes, unless they choose it, in their most violent exercises.

When the embassy was leaving the city of Morocco, a young Moor of a very particular and interesting appearance came to see it depart. He did not obtrude towards the strangers, seeming to sympathize with them under the minute though various annoyances of their situation. Neither did he mix with the crowd of populace; indeed he had much the appearance of being a himself, at least to the aggregation about him. He was very tall, about twenty years of age, beardless, with Roman features, and a complexion of the deepest black. He was mounted on a very handsome horse, with rich caparison, and was clothed from head to foot in muslin of the finest white. It could not be discovered who he was (he was yet unmarried, for he did not wear the red cap); but he indicated in his aspect and behaviour a mind of a very superior cast to those about him.

In winter, the Moors of upper station, in short all who can afford it, wear, over a loose linen shirt and drawers, a cloth waistcoat of the hussar cut, and loose woollen trowsers: over these a white *silham*, or hooded cloak of a light woollen manufacture, and over that again a more substantial one of broad-cloth. These cloths are usually red or blue. On their heads they wear a red pointed cap from the æra of matrimony, which, wound round with white linen or muslin, constitutes the turban. But in summer, instead of the thick woollen clothing and *silham*, they wear a *haik* of fine linen or muslin, and a lighter *silham* when occasion requires. Linen is of course considerably used, when obtainable, in the harem.

The different races, which constitute the population of this country, maintain their moral habits distinct. A Negro wedding attracts its share

of spectators, numerously as may be supposed in a country and life where people have little to do save to look around them. Three negresses, covered with what were to them ornaments because they think them so, danced with all their graces, and with the clank of metal castanets, to the sullen dub of two drums beaten with crooked stieks. It is not easy to describe the dance. It certainly was long enough, for all the variety it contained. To our vulgar ideas, that which seemed to approach nearest to it was what the veridical Gulliver records of the exhibitions before the court of Lilliput,—jumping and creeping. The human race is here to be sure strangely heterogeneous, so far as the term may be allowed. Egyptians, Vandals, Arabs, Negroes, Jews, Christians, Mohommedans, Idolaters, Fire-worshippers, Sabeans, have all contributed a quota to the population of this border of the Atlantic. The political organization is now strangely chequered. The throne is in the possession of an Arabian: yet the Arabs are not the favoured people:—they are, whether it be cause or effect, too, the refractory part of the community. The people of the plains once, now the civic race, the descendants of the citizens of Carthage and subjects of Jugurtha, are the nearest about this Meccan throne, the stability whereof is upheld by negroes from Tombuctoo on the coast of Guinea. The same man who, if kidnapped at his parent's door and brought westward, should handle the hoe if sold in a northerly direction, wields the *baton* of command; and by his talents, steadiness, and bravery, is considered the pillar of the state. The same female who, if exported across the Atlantic, should daily be lacerated by the stripes of the cow-skin, be the daily victim of the brutality of one sex and malignity of the other, now sits upon a throne, because chance pointed her captivity hither. Many, no doubt, does this same chance doom unmeritedly in either direction! It is hardly possible to over-rate the Negro character

here: but the distinguishing trait is steadiness; inflexible fidelity strongly contrasted with the fickleness and tergiversation of which the history of the other nations affords such strong examples. Very few crimes are committed amongst them, but their well-known character for fidelity has often made their friendship superlatively dangerous to its object. "'A Negro has a soul, an't like your honour?' quoth the corporal doubtingly." This race has diffused itself considerably here, as may be supposed from the length of time during which intercourse has subsisted. The standing army here, as already observed, consists of Negro youths bought in their own country, or of the children of Negroes born here. They first appeared in the reign of Muley Momed, the second successor on the throne to the heroic Muley Mohommed, who died at the battle of Al Kasr. He conquered Congo and Tombut, and those nations purchased peace by a tribute of slaves. Muley Ishmael, however, first gave them their consequence in the state. Their number at one time, as is said, under him amounted to a hundred thousand. They were originally settled in various parts of the country as for instance at Soorlawid heretofore described. Most military offices are filled from this body. All rise from the ranks of the infantry, and being mounted is to them promotion: as indeed the strongest defined line in life, one of the radical classifications of society is that of horseman, and he whose means do not reach to mount himself. They constitute the Sultan's body-guard, and all castles and garrisons are intrusted to them. They are devout Mussulmen, and are both the curb and safeguard of the state. Whenever our English renegade Thomas Myers was asked the question, What was the pay of the soldiery? his answer, somewhat pettishly, always was, "All that they can rob and steal." Very nearly similar, too, were his words in answer to the same question relative to the establishment of the younger branches of the royal

family. However, some pay the former certainly have,—policy would demand it,—amounting indeed to somewhat about a penny* of our money (but this is all relative) per day. Besides this they receive an allowance of corn. It is probable the cash reckonings are not very precisely struck and paid off. It is more probable that grumblings are stopped by certain equivalents in the way of connivance; and that the military are not severely blamed if they reimburse themselves the balances due, nor is it very troublesomely inquired into if this be at the expense of friend or enemy.

Thus the Alcaid's statement may probably have some truth at bottom. In short, they are a privileged body. They look extremely well, being tall and straight-made†, their deep jet-black complexion contrasting with their white drapery, which is less full than that of the civic Moors. Their accoutrements, such as belts, scabbards, and pouches, are red. Having neither tactic manipulation nor the bayonet, it may be supposed their infantry is formidable only to the defenceless property included. When they first enter as foot-soldiers, they are supplied with arms and appointments; and, when advanced thence into the cavalry, with a horse. If they lose them, even in action, they are obliged to replace them at their own expense. It may be judged thus, that they prefer the peaceable occupations of life to coming to close quarters with an enemy. It may be doubtful even how far the observation of "*multis utile bellum*" is here applicable to this military body, being so

* 24 fluces make 1 blanquil, 4 blanquils 1 ounce, (a silver coin.)—8 ounces make 1 hard dollar.—14 ounces make 1 gold ducat, 9*s.* 6*d.*—But the ordinary mode of computation is 10 ounces to 6*s.* 8*d.*

A fowl costs a blanquil, (two-pence of our money). Hospitality is a duty not of severe imposition.—A cake of bread, weighing about two pounds and a quarter, is bought for three fluces, or one farthing.

† So says my critic.

regulated as to pay for all the honour and glory out of their own pockets. If they possessed the depths of the science, their campaigns would be rather of manœuvre and position than *coups de main*. All the race are very bold riders, and consequently good horsemen. Their dress is a single piece of white woollen, arranged so as to appear or serve both as plaid and kilt, and a red cap. Their arms are a long musket, and a sabre hung across the right shoulder by a red belt or plaited cord, and a crooked dagger, with the edge on the inside, hung in like manner across the left. They load their powder loose from a horn, and carry the balls in a pouch. They are now said to be in numbers eighty thousand. They are also considered as being in later years neglected, probably from the low state of the treasury. The annual national revenue, which has been loosely calculated at about half a million of our money, being outrun by the Sultan's architectural expenditures, or his closeness of disposition inducing him to disparage this military establishment, whilst he can get his business cheaper done by Arabs or militia. The establishment is heavy in comparison with the scale of the revenue. But this is the fault of the politics of the state; for it is obvious that the subjects are perfectly well inclined to be consumers. The mode of warfare, which indeed it has occurred to mention before, is to give one fire by the cavalry when advancing and at a gallop. They then throw the musket into the left hand, the butt upwards, and draw the sabre. The infantry charge in a cluster, without any rank, even in front; and a reward is given to him who first breaks into the enemy. The post of the officers is in the rear. The Moors do not attempt to bring artillery into the field. The renegades, deserters of various nations, chiefly from the Spanish garrisons, are appointed gunners or under-alcaids, and this body is to be considered as part of the standing army. There is no denomination of rank in the

Moors at Exercise.

The Vault

The Charge.

mili ary line, save that of Alcaid, to which is superadded for distinction the number of men commanded, according to ancient oriental practice. The musket of the cavalry is five, that of the infantry six feet long; they are home-manufactured, very short in the butt, well executed, and will carry a ball point-blank a hundred-and-seventy yards. The chief exercise of the cavalry is, as has been observed, firing at full gallop, either in ranks in front, or else singly at a red cap placed upon a post, with ball. In the degree of perfection upon this latter point lies the criterion of their military science. They will pursue their cavalcading exercise thus for hours together, to the exhilarating monotony of a band of their military music. It is indeed a martial spectacle, but, like the mysteries of *Magna Mater* of old, not to be viewed without some degree of danger by the profane. A European may obtain the unaspired-for honour of martyrdom when his thoughts are much otherwise occupied. Such a thing did *once* happen at Mogodor. An ounce of lead is easily dropped in over the powder; and a good marksman, liberally endowed with the spirit of fanaticism, insures his place in heaven at very little trouble, merely that of sending an infidel out of the world before him: "*C'est un homme de moins:*" There is an enemy to the faith the fewer. A good Mussulman no doubt shudders at such an idea; but fanaticism, we must recollect, will accompany all religions, as it is founded in human nature; and every fanatic, be his complexion what it may, would do as bad or worse.

The militia is composed of Moors, people of the cities, or of Arabs. The Moorish militia are provided, accoutred, and subsisted, while on service, by the respective places whence they are sent; and each man, on going home, is presented from the Sultan with either money or clothing, as a kind of free gift or bounty. When they have served a limited time, the militia-men are relieved by fresh drafts from their

towns or districts. These people serve on horseback. They are commanded by aleaids appointed by the Sultan, and this office has annexed to it a judicial power. The Arab militia receive neither pay nor gratification, and their tribe is obliged to subsist them, the Sultan finding nothing but tents. They skirmish in small bodies, with fire-arms only, without collecting or closing. Each district has its distinctive standard, but the number of men annexed to a standard is not definite. On the whole, the military organization of this country is far from despicable.

The Arabs thus, it seems, are destined here to hard treatment, and very capable they seem of enduring it. They are indeed an extraordinary people. Their columns, or wanderers from them, pervaded this extreme skirt of Africa both by the east and by the south, first showing themselves as rovers in the sixth, but exhibiting themselves as conquerors in the seventh century. They now occupy the plains from the straits of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Negroland. Except the Jews, they have kept their blood more unmixed than any race. In fact, who could become an Arab? He is a species apart, if such a thing could be. The roving Arabs seem to have chiefly come to this country, as well as to Tafilet, by the route of the Sahara. But the great political impulse was communicated by the east. Enthusiasm first, and fanaticism subsequently, were the springs. The sectarian controversies of Islamism have been one of the lasting causes of affliction to this country, probably because, by its situation, it was the spot on earth least interested in the struggles. Edriss, already mentioned as the great saint of the Moors, or his son according to some, fled hither, and a sanctorium to his memory is now extant in full glory near Fez, which (the old city) was founded by this sect. But the factions (for this is the epithet they deserve) of Ali and Fatima, of Medina, came in quest

A Western Arab. Morrish Winter and Summer Costume

of their ruthless animosities even hither, with that pertinacity and sanguinary vengeance which fanaticism alone can inspire; and to them are, as observed, to be ascribed those struggles* already recited, which, under various denominations and party designations, so long desolated this country. In considering these, however, it should be kept in view how the sectarian spirit became epidemic here locally, by districts. During all this time conquest, arts, and sciences, were in progress of diffusion, by this very people, throughout Spain. This nation, which followed the standards of its caliphs westward, in tribes, each under a sheik, preserves its genealogies traditionally. The numbers of these tribes respectively are very indefinite. Each tribe is distinguished by a sort of patronymic, if the term is allowable, for one is styled Willidi Jeddi—the children of the goat! The sheiks govern paternally, and endeavour as much as possible to defeat and thwart the claims of government upon their tribes. But the government on the other hand, aware of and calculating upon this premeditated delinquency, takes care to anticipate, and surcharges at once to double purpose, punishment as well as taxation, and the latter is frequently not obtained without bloodshed. Each camp has its respective sheik. But the sheik of the tribe is entitled *El Kibir*, the great sheik. Their camps here are

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* In the eighth and ninth century (during which period old Fez was founded) between (the Ommiades as they are named from love of confusion) the Moiadi and the (Marabous) Moravedi, instructors and disciples; which latter indeed appear to have speedily qualified themselves to enter the lists of competition with their masters in polemic theology and disputation,

> "For so of late men fighting name,
> Because they oft do prove the same;
> For where the one doth hap to be,
> T'other doth co-incidere."

The result here at least was invariable.—New Fez was founded in the thirteenth century by the Benimerin kings.

usually composed of from thirty to forty tents, and always that we saw, save in one instance of three concentric lines, in a circle, with the sheik's tent in the centre. Their tents are the labour of the hands of the family, the materials are plucked from the backs of their cattle (camel's hair), eked out with palm-tree fibres of bark. They are of a very dark-brown colour, inconveniently low, without side walls, merely a cover from the sun and dews for the family, horse-furniture, arms, and a few cooking utensils. Their numerous herds of cattle (and noble cattle they are of each kind) are tended, out, by men and boys during the day, and driven within the circle of tents at night. They consist of every description,—camels, dromedaries, bovine, sheep, goats, and horses. Here in the camp they are guarded by a multitude of vigilant and obstreperous dogs ever on the watch, and barking. Of their straw is usually made, to each tent, a hive, for it cannot be more precisely depicted or described. It is usually about nine feet high, and would be a palace for human residence compared with their comfortless tents. Their young horses are perfectly domesticated, and remain in and about the camp. The men of this race are smooth, that is, have little hair on their faces or bodies, and are thus, as in other respects, a contrast with the Moors. They are of a deep copper colour; their ears project, and are elevated; and malignity, acuteness, ferocity, and distrust, mark their countenances, the features whereof are regular, and in the small proportion; but, even at best, ever convey what the French term the *air caustique*. Such is the general description. But in the intercourse with a stranger, about whom they may take and feel an interest, that is, to cajole or to wrong, the countenance becomes suffused with the conciliatory pretext of the tiger when approaching the object of his fangs not yet within their reach. The women grow perfect Gorgons as they advance in life, although the girls at an early age are beautiful.

Arabs on their Route

Man is the sport of circumstances;—the moral vices of the Arab are the offspring of the defects of his government: the physical depravation, that, probably, of exposure to the vicissitudes of the climate his race occupies: one is no more his fault than the other. It is too much to say that good and evil are balanced in this world. But certain it is, that where the former prevails mankind has no merit to claim, and where the latter, those who suffer most by it are often the least blameworthy. The females being tataowed and punctured over the faces and arms, a practice untraced amongst Moors or Brebers, present herein an object worthy of notice, as indicating a nearly radical distinction in descent, and tending to connect the Arab race with East Scythia, closer than our highest authorities have hitherto been inclined to allow. The dress of an Arab family is scanty, and altogether conveys the appearance of negligence and poverty.

The allotment of the soil is done by the sheiks; the migration thence is urged by its exhausture. When they march, the women sit in a group, perhaps of three, on the back of the camel; the younger animals, such as children, lambs, kids, and so forth, are allotted their places in the paniers on each side. The fowls, whose forecast and vigilance predict the approaching movement of the menage in due time, look to securing themselves a settlement wherever a projecting point of the lean frame of the quadruped affords them a promise of security. These domestic fowls are a small breed: they have one here with double combs, which bear the appearance of horns. Thus, guarded by a few men on horseback with their muskets rested across their pummels, and the rest driving their herds, they are met in their migrations. Cuscusu, clouted milk taken indiscriminately from their herds, butter procured by shaking in a skin, the hair inwards, and esteemed in proportion as it is rancid, dough baked on a flat iron (called

in some countries a griddle) over embers, honey and dates, compose their ordinary food, save when a beast dies a natural death, or they can shoot an antelope, which animal, in consideration with its habits, is numerous here, but very shy from natural disposition and its many enemies. Caution however must give way to necessity, and it comes to the wells at dawn of day to drink; and then the Arabs occasionally shoot one. They have a way of taking out the carcase entire, through an incision of not more than a few inches longitudinally in the skin of the belly. These people have always a bowl of good milk, which the women present to such as visit their camps, an offering to the manes of hospitality. They however deign to accept reimbursement*. The men are most dexterous thieves, and on the watch for political concussion, on which event they immediately break out into open warfare with whatever of a compensatory nature comes within their reach. Saadi Homed has them, however, now in great subjection. Still, notwithstanding, taxation and declaration of war are with them synonymous terms; and the following is the fiscal system of the empire, to which this people contributes so considerably, at least in the trouble of the collection. Taxes are paid in kind, and are one-tenth of grain and one-twentieth of cattle, besides fines levied on districts where crimes have been committed, and the guilty not produced for justice. Perhaps something is to be said in extenuation of the procedure here; whereas in nations presuming upon a greater civilisation, and still recurring to it, it is left without excuse. It is a fact that frequently occurs, that an Arab seeing a stranger wandering from his escort will call to the latter, to warn the person they have in charge; and this the Arab does from an apprehension that his fellows might, by some act of ungovernable atro-

* The savages in America are extremely hospitable, without even the smallest idea of reimbursement.

city, subject the community to the inconvenience of the punishment above related. It is but candid to put each side of the case into light. To collect the revenue as above stated, an Alcaid is sent with a considerable force to a district annually; and while upon this service, he and his troops are maintained, by the people to whom they are sent, in provisions and forage, who pay six blanquils a-day to each soldier. This of course makes it the interest of the district to pay at least what is justly due, and thereby get rid of these burthensome inmates of collectors as speedily as possible. But that of the officers and soldiers runs in a counter direction, and tells them, that the longer final settlement is deferred, the better for *them*. Hence arises violence on the part of the latter to excite exasperation on that of the former, until driven into somewhat that may be construed resistance and reported rebellion. The soldiery avail themselves of that pretence, and seize all they have for government and themselves, for the revenue and trouble of collection. Certainly the union of the judicial military and fiscal offices is a combination most formidable to property at large. Thus the Tangier squadron (of cavalry) now here, and with which the British mission is to return, had lately lost two men and four horses in action with the Arabs of Sus, six hundred miles from their home, before they could fulfil the object whereon they were sent—the levy of the taxes: and at length, after a resistance of two months, they drove away all the cattle and ransacked the matamores (subterraneous granaries hereafter to be described) of the district.

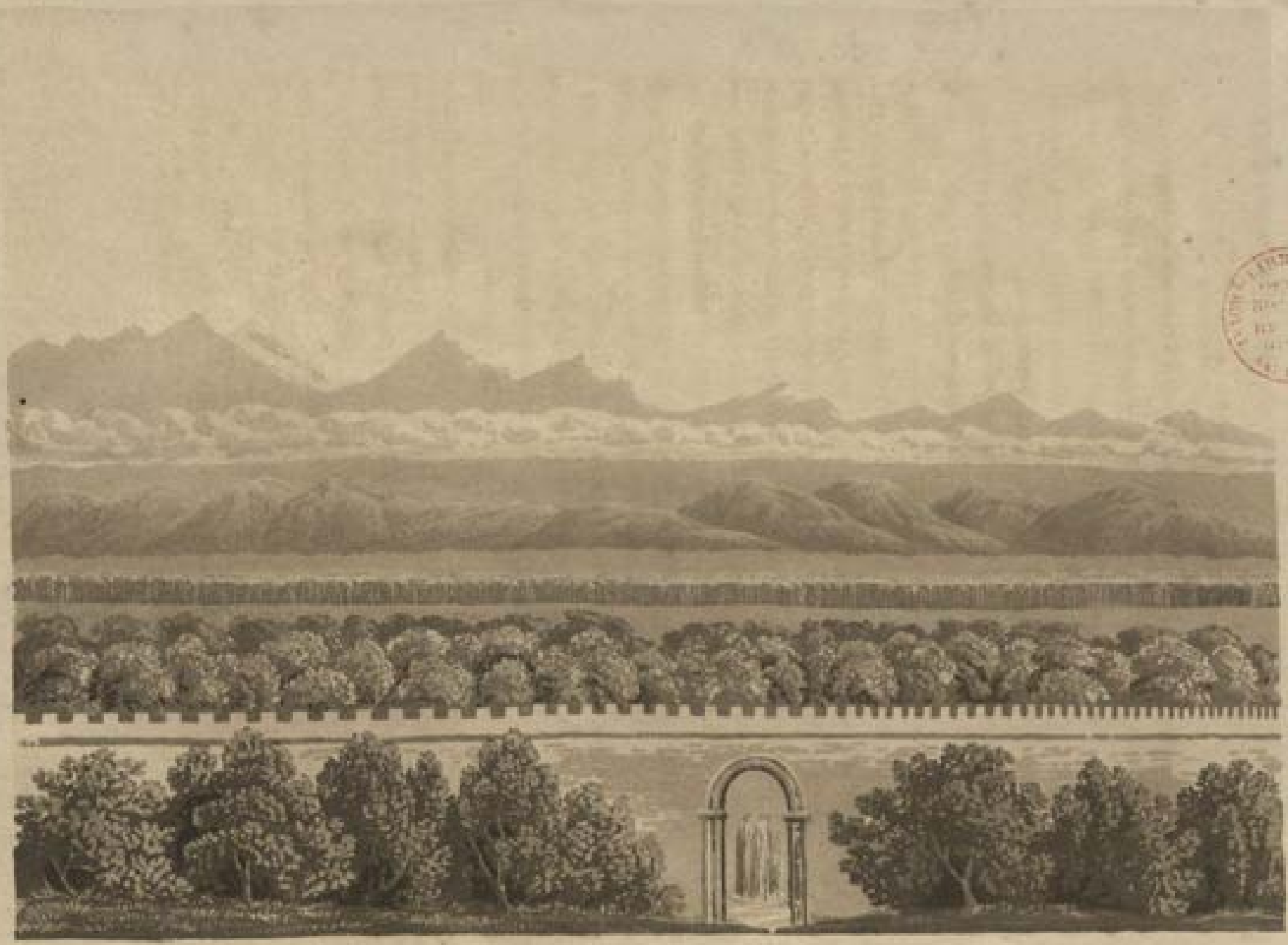
Although an Arab will fight against an Arab as if he were of a different belief on the subject of religion, and with all the *acharnement*, too, of which near neighbourhood supplies fuel to kindle the sacred flame, no dependence can be placed upon the militia of a vicinity for the collection of revenue. For in this case the community of interest cries

out too loudly and immediately in favour of the ties of society; the kindliest intercourse and strongest *liaisons* instantly take place, with forgiveness and oblivion to all past wrongs. For this reason the troops are sent hereupon from the north to the south, and *vice versâ*, whereby mutual retaliations and the broodings of revenge come in aid of the execution of the ordinances of state. And if the work be not performed *con amore*, it is done to equally powerful effect*. Somewhat too of Ishmael's recited policy is yet extant in the process.

Such are the different nations, or rather races, which occupy now this vast well situated genial and fertile country, teeming with production and life, and possessing every climate (an epitome of nature at large) within itself, the Brebers not included yet in the account. All circumstances considered, the lines of demarcation in mankind, moral and physical, are very definite. The greatest intermixture is that of the Negro with the Moor, which has produced mulatos, meztizos, quarterons, and all the shades of demarcation—*gradation* is an invidious term. The black dye is preferred for the harems. But the families of two of the sons of Noah at least, however met here, are perfectly distinguishable.

Mount Atlas, the companion of our route, continues here at Morocco the most interesting object of our eyes. His nebulous region is now, during the summer solstice, from sun-set a blaze of lightning and electrical fluid. The respectable and veridical Doctor Shaw, it is more and more obvious, has most unintentionally diffused very erroneous ideas on the subject of this chain of mountains. The highest peaks bear south-east of this place, where it appears by the maps to form an angle. From the manner in which it advances on the eye, it is hardly possible

* Chenier gives a list of the tribes, nominally. The number of males paying capitation tax, and of course of the age of fifteen and upwards, in the plain of Fez, is calculated at three hundred thousand; in the plain of Morocco, at one hundred thousand: a vast nomade population—two millions at least, evasions included.



View of Atlas with the ranges of Hills at the base of the Mountain taken from the City of Morocco.

to conceive the distance to be, as computed, eighty miles from the Mogodor road. It is however visible, they say, seventy leagues out at sea. Truly we see not why dissertation should offend, but it is the last sin of that description which this venerable ruler of the atmosphere shall be sought to shelter and protect. Like Louis the Fourteenth, he boasts indeed of being the protector of unfortunate *kings*: such, history tells us, has more than once been the case. One of the derivations of the name flows from the relative, *Attils*, Snow*. The great king seems to be a personification of the mountain. This system of personification pervades all the tradition of antiquity. It will not be attempted here to account for that apathy wherewith some are gifted, and enabled thereby to withstand the impressions conveyed by these sublime monuments of the struggles of nature; but the precedent will not be acted upon in the present case. Atlas, too, which it is not the lot of many to see here in his glory, is now about to be lost sight of for ever. This is a consideration which induces the mind to ponder.

The seat of Jove, resting upon the Nile, and extending by the Canaries† far into the Western Ocean, inhabited by a primitive race of men, here in its vicinity to Morocco, fertilizes, or at least presents

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* Teneriffe, notwithstanding its ancient denomination of Nivaria, does not reach the level of perpetual snow. Its height has been accurately measured, rate it at twelve thousand feet; *ex pede Herculem*—Apply this to Atlas.

† At the foot of Atlas, and opposite to the Canary Islands, is the road-stead of seven wells, to which considerable importance appears to be (deservedly) annexed.—The route of the Odyssey includes these islands, the true Hesperides of Hesiod,—so ancient is nautical enterprise! The quince is the sacred fruit which was to reward it. How much idea is involved here!—The quince sacred to Venus, and why? Was it from its peculiarity of requiring impendency over water, to blossom, and consequently produce? Few of the arcana of Nature were really unknown to the ancients. Ignorance could not then be kept in countenance by scoffing. What complicated etymological deductions present themselves in this direction! But solar, plastic, and nautical ideas have supplied the basis of nearly all fable.

means, were they availed of, of fertilizing, all the face of Nature to the very verge of the salt water. Some count fifteen, some thirty miles to the foot of the mountain from this town. What important points in Nature and tradition are here connected! It does not seem to be accurately defined what is the foot of the mountain. But the intervening plain is all one continuous garden, irrigated by the streams which descend from the vaporous region, increased in spring by the melting of the summer snows. The skirting train of hills, which every where flanks a great chain of mountains, is perfectly distinguishable from hence, with all their features, by our glasses, after rain, or probably when hydrogen prevails in the atmosphere; but at other times it is completely lost in the vapour and *mirage* which prevails near the surface of the earth. These hills, which are cupola-shaped, but intersected by very deep perpendicular fissures, are clothed with a bright verdure apparently of the finest grass; but their interior, when exposed, shows itself formed of red metallic tinged earth, or gravel. The varieties of climate here must present a rich harvest to the sickle of the botanist, containing within a day's walk all the climates from the tropical to the polar circle; and this too within a few days' ride of a sea-port town frequented by Europeans. Surely his majesty of Morocco could be induced to countenance a botanical incursion! The Sultan was at this day by no means disinclined to it, but subalterns were. As to the danger intimated from people who had never seen a Christian, it is by no means improbable that the chief danger the latter might incur, would be the result of being seen in company with a Moor. And without the latter, and a costly company of them too, fourhundred dollars they are rated at, the attempt would not be permitted. The mountaineers include all foreigners under one general name—Romans. They interest, as being the most unmixed blood now extant of the race of Ham. Those we happened to see were

well grown and formed men, with the features light, curled beards, and fair freckled complexions of the temperate climates of Europe. They spoke a language totally unintelligible to the Moors*. Our Alcaid, Thomas Myers, had married a woman from that country, and had resided there frequently. His details upon the subject were ample and minute. The women are considered beauties throughout these countries; but taste here is not only whimsical, but contradictory;—and *de gustibus*, &c.—The mountain is traversable by various passes. It is said that the easiest route is by Fez, and that from this place it occupies three days to reach the south-east opening. Probably it is fifty miles across. —It might be thought that the ardour of botany should have induced some of the votaries of that science to explore in a direction which promises such rich returns. And assuredly to a fossilist these tracts must present matter of the highest interest, and interest rising with the scale his researches extend upon. But it is not liberal to enhance one science at the expense of another. Both are worthy of our fullest devotion. Science is never ungrateful. The naturalist,

> "His life exempt from public haunts,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

Some people say that the mountaineers are by no means so inimical to Christians as the Moors would represent them to be. To the Moorish government they are decidedly so, from a very natural principle,—the feeling themselves much better without it. As to the local circumstances, some mention the snowy region as occupying two thirds of Atlas: but this must mean of latitude, not elevation; and this is said to be the case in summer. In winter the cold is extreme, and the roads

* For Shelluh, see Chenier's Vocabulary.

or ways impassable. Perhaps, to many, such a picture of the interior of Africa is somewhat out of the ordinary train of ideas. If it be, it proves that we do not yet know quite enough of that country. In the winter season, the mountaineers, true Troglodytes*, lodge themselves and their herds in caves, keeping all warm by great fires; they probably have an ample supply of timber. They till the earth, and raise corn enough for their own consumption, commencing their labours when the return of the sun invites them back from their caves to their villages. Who can hesitate in placing the solar ritual and astronomical investigation among the first impressions and researches of the human mind? Where should man receive their strongest impressions but in such a situation as this? Consequently such are the primitive moral impressions of the Troglodyte of Africa and the herdsman of Scythia. (The navigator, timidly at first venturing from cape to cape, explored in *his* way, and all combined to raise the superstructure of fable.) The solar ritual was unquestionably the first that would present itself to the senses. The mind must be enlightened at least by reflection, if not by revelation, to obtain a glimpse of a more just, but more abstracted one.—These modern Troglodytes here, being under little subjection to the general government, and having little or none amongst themselves, the tract they occupy is of course a continual scene of petty warfare between the adjacent villages, each no doubt containing within its own bosom the seeds of concussion, Pompeys and Cæsars for within, Alexanders for outside work, and consequent bloodshed; for which reason, no man here ventures out of his dwelling unarmed. Their arms are a musket and a crooked dagger. It is probable in their manners they considerably resemble the Druses of Lebanon: and so much is man subservient

* Divest the giant Polyphemus of his poetical ornaments, and what is he but a plain Troglodyte?

to his circumstances, probably, *mutatis mutandis*, such are the moral habits of all mountaineers.

But to proceed with the descriptions given by those who know them best. Notwithstanding their ferocious habits, which, if they be truly depicted, are imposed upon them by their state of anarchical society, they carry hospitality to an extreme. Their warfare is carried on for many days at a time, probably is terminated only, like greater ones, by the want of ammunition; the cessation of the means, and not of the causes, is what draws it to a conclusion. Brisson says, that a considerable manufacture of gunpowder, but of weak quality, is established at Guaudnum*. And this place, which he describes as of considerable trade, is probably the emporium of the mountains. In regard to the hospitality of the natives, our informants here acquaint us, that the arrival of a stranger amongst them, in the heat of their fiercest warfare, is a signal of truce; and that a white flag is hung out, and peace subsists until he has passed through, whereupon the conflict is renewed. Probably dispute and fighting, contest and conflict, approximate to identification in the true neighbourly manner. Could good inclination be at all times and in all places as happily carried into effect, how often would it happen at home in Europe! What then is there to make this improbable here? All this manufacture of ammunition, too, must have some vent. If, however, a poor traveller† sit down upon the steps of the mosque door, he has no occasion to solicit, his ap-

* An important etymology;—for the local see Laborde's map. Saugnier was wrecked in latitude 24°. In this year (1784) Brisson was wrecked in latitude 21°. He makes the observation that the currents set inwards strongly on this coast; an inference, indeed, that presents itself from the process of the trade-winds, and concurs with what is observable more northward. He enforces the necessity of sounding when the water acquires a clearer cast, and warns against the danger of being embayed; all which it is material to attend to, should the spirit of trade cast an eye this way.

† Homer.

pearance as what he is suffices; it is considered a joint call upon the sister virtues, Peace as well as Charity: truce takes place during his stay, (he is the bird of happy omen,) and he is supplied with provisions when he thinks proper to pursue his journey. Whereupon the parties, we may presume, cry with pious Richard,

"..... Now,
Doctors, to our holy work again."

The remains of Christianity, ruins of convents and of cells, are yet extant, as it is said. But is it conceivable that Vandal conquest could have reached, or any cupidity have excited, thus far? If the learned be, as is the case, constantly misled on such points, what must the effect of appearances amount to on the shallow and ignorant? These vestiges are of the most remote antiquity, possibly; and as to the alleged spurious Christianity, it may be a confusion of ideas derived from the establishment here of the creed of Moseilama, the contemporary of Mohommed, which denies the infallibility of the latter, as well as the divine spirit in the family descent of the Xeriffs, and at the head of which belief is its independent *Imaun*, resident near Cape Num, in a fertile and well-watered district. The diffusion of this term *Num*, in Guaudnum, *river*; Vellidi Num, *people*; and other instances, militates against the Portuguese derivation affixed in the style of Swift to this part of the coast. *Guaud* is Arabic, not endemial. *Num* is rooted in the Scythian, and ever conveys a sacred import. Brisson passed several days in the city of Guaudnum: and his account is of interest, as it coincides identically, in particulars, with what the British embassy was enabled to pick up as to the people of the interior part of this chain, at the same period at which Brisson writes; both in their coincidence establishing the fact of the original and primitive state of manners, which pervade throughout, and which seem to depict the rudiments of

civic life as originally exhibited in Palestine, and subsequently in Greece. The houses of Guaudnum are *claustra*. Such we see here. Literally, a man's house there is his castle. He does not, however, mention the prevalence of the belligerent disposition elsewhere so predominant, but which indeed is an amusement somewhat incompatible with the necessary intercourse of a trading place. Each of these castles is guarded by a number of fierce dogs. They are, too, *depôts* of manufactures; and a great trade is driven thence by regular days of sale with the hamlets of the interior of the range of mountains, more particularly by Jewish merchants, one of whom is mentioned with most respectable traits of character. It is probable that the vicinity of Santa Cruz to this tract was a principal cause of the former being shut as an *entrepôt* of commerce, the mountainous tract being thought quite near enough to communication with strangers at Mogodor, eight days journey. These people allege that the Sultan's mother was born among them. It is hardly probable that the orthodox, the family of the Prophet himself, would have gone among heretics to look for a wife. If such a spirit of commerce reign—if the mercantile spirit of Marseilles were alive to the sweets of it, surely it is worthy the attention of British enterprise. Although at the western extremity *bellum internecinum* is not an established intercourse of life, yet that compliance with custom, which ordinary decorum enjoins, requires that every man should always go armed. The state too of the interior may be calculated from the circumstance, that the fair and lawful profits of trade throughout these districts is rated at four hundred to a unit. Of course the risk cannot be inconsiderable, probably is beyond insurance. No business, in the commercial way at least, is done on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays.

Here are two races of men; a primitive domiciliated people dwelling in hamlets and castles on the summits and in the fastnesses of hills, and

cultivating the soil by a succession of harvests annually, the first of which is reaped in April; and for all which Nature fertilizes the soil by a rainy season of three months: also an Arab race, which has obtruded, introducing their sectarianism, and which has abandoned primitive habits to adopt civic life. But this last people, however, have taken here due care ever to keep open their retreat from any political wrong, which no situation can reconcile them to, into the Desert. Thus they are invincible: and they receive with open arms all fugitives of their race from Morocco, having at this time with them, to give the *ton* to the measure, the Sultan's son, Muley Abdarahman, as his brother, Muley Azry, is on the other side with the Arab plunderers. But this people here, taken generally, hardly acknowledges any sovereignty; their cities or communities being republican, and claiming independency, and being only subject in spirituals to the Imaun* of Num. Chiefs are elected by them, and only for the purpose of war. In the towns, at the schools, the children teach each other. The people of Arab blood range in the plain a hundred miles south of Cape Num. Numbers probably joined them from Morocco, on the accession of the Xeriffs of Tafilet. It is probable that subjection, here, is in a more undefined condition than even the topographical borders of the state themselves. For Spaniards (four who had been ransomed) shipwrecked during the cod fishery, on that coast, to which they had come from the Canary Islands, and who were at Mogodor in April last, stated, that the Arab sheiks, from whom the Sultan had ransomed them, acknowledged his sovereignty in every point save one, the *levying* of taxes; a part of the royal prerogative to which they never could bring themselves to subscribe. If troops be sent against them, and they find themselves weak,

* This word must surely be admitted into the radicals of general language.

they compound by *a present.* According to the account of these redeemed captives, the Arabs, with whom they were, traded intermediately to Barbary and Negroland, having vast numbers of cattle, which they barter with the Negroes for gums, ostrich-feathers, gold, and—children! so rooted is the abuse in its inveteracy! Although the French adventurer recommends to his Government to penetrate Africa by Morocco, certain prospects to that effect here are not destitute of hope. Why might not security of intercourse be taught by interest? From the concurrence of every account, the invisible intercourse trade is still carried on in the interior.

As to topographic matter, so far as relates to Sus or Guzzula*, the south of Atlas at his western hand (Geryon) Cape Ger, a dilapidated town presents itself as an object of inquiry. Such too are the alluvial fragments in the mountains, two days journey inland, north of Cape Bojador†; (how Scythia presents itself every where!) similar to what Mr. Browne observed on the opposite side of this continent. Atlas soared above the puny Neptunian invasion which swept away organized nature. His face is here composed of cliff and narrow defiles, covered below with woods, above with snow. (The intervening nebulous region, so grand a feature of a mountain of this scale, reigns in a vertical direction of nearly six thousand feet.) To the ancient history of mankind, two clues, independent of record, and not liable to its falsifications, are extant; language‡ and customs more inveterately and uneradicably implanted than language itself.

* Gætulia. See Virg. Æn. iv. also Lucan. These countries possessed more interest with the ancients than they do in modern days. The action of the world has fallen in directions presenting more convenience, and it has not yet power to occupy the whole of the field.

† Stentor—the Roarer. Honorifically applied. The idea is derived from the tiger.

‡ "Aye, but," say our classical philologists, "the spellings do not agree"—(*Laus Deo tonè§ intelligo*)—although the formation of language, and consequently its consonancies, preceded the ru-

§ Let not criticism ascribe—*meo periculo*—here. The author has the ægis of Holofernes to shelter him by.

Morocco, the city, and Fez, are both *entrepôts* of Tafilet. The communications with this country, the ancient Sugulmessa, are very important. The city of the name Tafilet is, by the route of the caravans, twenty days journey from Morocco, across, and four hundred miles from the foot of, Mount Atlas. And when trade has reached Tafilet, there is a further *trajet* to the utmost point in the interior, where is THE GRAND MARK; and during this, cruel privations are endured. Tafilet, besides its intercourse in that direction, sends tobacco and dates to Guinea, in exchange for gold-dust. But salt is the chief article which that country (Tafilet) receives from Morocco. The Tafilet caravans, in their way, too, to Guinea, experience dreadful hardships. A proof of the value of this trade is, that the Sultan has taken it all into his own hands. The caravan this year consisted of fourteen hundred camels. These caravans are always commanded and attended by Moors of distinction.

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diments of orthography.—It is by literature that languages have varied, since the great schism in the plain of Shinar. The term BARBER designates the population of the North of Atlas, and is a derivative of the radical BER, signifying 'mountainous tract:' whence, with the ancients, the giant BERGION, for thus they personified and fabulated their extensive geographical knowledge. Hence, too, all we hear of OSSERN (Ossian)—a connexion of geography and personification. The primitive Scythian idea of the universe is that of a giant, whose skull forms the heavens. Subsequently, those who took upon themselves the trouble of thinking for mankind ramified from this idea, (for the number of these mental principia is comparatively few indeed,) and, as Juliet would fain do with her Romeo, cut this giant into individuals, (with more success than Scriblerus with his shoulder of mutton,) and implanted them, not as constellations *in* the face of heaven, but as landmarks, conspicuous topographic designations, *on* the face of earth. Hence the figure these personages exhibit in fable, or mythology as some call it. Mountaineer and Shepherd have a close moral connexion. No wonder then, that the sounds which express them should be analogous. Thus we find, diffused throughout language at large, the terms *Berg, berger, brebis. Domicilium* or *claustrum* is the sense which rules the term. The SHELLU occupy the south of this range (Mas-Sylla was the territory of Syphax). The language of this last-mentioned people is worthy of close attention, and should be collated with the Breber. They may be identified with the Psylli of Libya, who were serpent-tamers. Takanarite is the name in Shellu for a certain fruit, the product of the Canary Islands. Closer investigation might give the system of deriving ancient languages from the modern, a blow here.

They take with them blankets of the manufacture of Fez, tobacco, and salt. Their great return is in the human traffic—boys and girls! Their chief suffering is in the want of water. According to the accounts of persons best acquainted with Tafilet, the product of that country is chiefly dates, the revenue itself being paid in this article of produce. The Sultan has, in one plantation, thirty thousand date-bearing palms. It must be supposed the produce of a tree is very considerable, for this number does not sound so enormous for a royal *apanage*. A plantation of this kind is spoken of as an adequate provision for a younger branch of the royal family. It seems by the description a happy country. All those who have visited it consider it as such. This tree affords here all that is necessary for the life of man or beast, save one. Of water Nature has been somewhat scanty, as may be supposed by the latitude and local face. The date approaches the nearest of any thing we know to what the ancients have bequeathed to us of the lotus. The people of Tafilet live, in fortified towns of about four hundred families in each, on dates, and the milk of their camels. Deer and ostriches are numerous. The country is a flat plain; what is not under trees is bare sand. Little corn is grown comparatively, and what is produced is sown by the bank of a swelling river. Such was the situation when the germ of agriculture was first planted. Man scattered the grain on the mud left by the receding current, and it grew. The result stimulated to greater efforts; and plentiful harvests are now reaped almost in the teeth of Nature, extorted from her most unpromising moods. The heat of the climate is intense, and it never rains. Such a climate combined with such a soil, constitutes a situation adapted alone to the palm-tree, the camel, and the ostrich. But man, as lord of the creation, adapts himself to all. Such was the primary ordination. The river mentioned is described as one of the first class of magnitude, of the old world. Its name implies

the gullet; given it by reason of a part of its course being forced through a narrow rocky pass in a mountain, or between two mountains. It overflows annually by the thawing of the snows of Atlas, enriching the lands which border it; and this inundation is celebrated by the natives with great rejoicing, music, and dancing.

Such is the account of officers and others, observing and communicative men, who have visited and resided there on business or duty. They added, in their communications with us, that the mountainous region (Atlas) between the plains of Morocco and Tafilet, to a vast extent, was intensely cold; and that south of this, but far in the interior, was an independent nation, a very brave people, honorifically, or nicknamed by the Moors, The Sons of Lions, who are *not* black, and whose religion is idolatry. They live by hunting wild animals, and on the milk of their camels, of which they have great numbers, not tilling the earth. They go naked, save a piece of blue cloth worn by the chiefs for distinction. They have a remarkably swift and serviceable race of horses, which, from the lankness of their bodies compared to the Barbs, are called snake-horses. Such was the material extent of the information that could be collected, and seemed worthy of being depended upon, from actual observers. Much has been corroborated by subsequent information.

Morocco is not destitute of learned Thebans, ready to supply most ingeniously imagined lucubrations, if duly paid for their pains, and fully competent to trace the pedigrees of nations up to Adam, without a blank. Perhaps to those who have more time and leisure, such investigations may present some reward. All, however, to be depended upon in regard to the history of this country, taken under a general view, seems to be, that what tradition gives us under the description of the Atlantic empire, is either a metaphorical or a poetical image, unless

it alludes to the primitive ages of the great ancestors of the post-diluvian race of mankind. That the plain of Morocco constituted an appendage of the Carthaginian state, was afterwards a Roman province, subsequently a Vandal kingdom, thereafter once again combined with Carthage, a Greek prefecture, and in process of time and human affairs a lieutenancy of the Caliphat, on the decline of which power in the west, the contests of the partisans of Fatima and Ali, of the male line and heirs-general of the Prophetic family, distracted it, until it was combined by degrees into the present empire, under the dominion of the Xeriffs of Tafilet. To such as say this country or its history is as well known as it can be, here in Europe, all that can be alleged in extenuation of redundancy on the subject, should such a thing be, is, that Europeans, and informed ones too, generally have been seen in Morocco unable *to ask* a question upon either subject.

Circumstances now verge to departure from a country possessing, it is conceived, obviously conveying, no mean share of interest. It is impossible for any one who has read what is here submitted to notice, to avoid being struck by the disparaging tendency which pervades all the accounts hitherto given to the world of this nation. Assuredly the minds of those who wrote them must have been brought to this country of Morocco in a state very little capable of receiving just impressions. They seem to have been, upon their arrival here, much upon a par with the centurion for reception of exterior impressions, when he asked, "Can any thing good come out of Nazareth?" Whatever moral subject of offence might exist, surely some physical good might have been traced uncontaminated! But they will allow nothing of the kind. A reader should always first observe whether his author has travelled in summer or winter. The labours of the diplomacy, however, as observed, had terminated. With what result time was to show. Blame was pro-

bably attachable no where particularly. If none were satisfied, it is a presumption that equilibrium of interests was preserved. Various and obvious reasons debar full discussion upon such points, even at a period, now so remote, that the feelings of individuals are no longer in danger of being wounded, could, as is by no means the case, any matter of disparagement be disclosed. Still there was a time when obvious motives must have debarred all freedom even of allusion to the subject. To compensate any disappointment on the one hand, due care was taken to put in a strong light, *en revanche*, that others (meaning the splendid Spanish mission) had failed equally in their object; so that in short the equilibrium of disappointment, at least, was duly preserved. Sufficient care was also taken on the subject of the feelings: for a very summary *concilium abeundi* (hint to depart) completely precluded all brooding over the disappointment that might be expected to prey upon the spirits. And as rejoinder is totally contrary to court etiquette, nothing was to be done but to prepare for return homewards.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE AND AFRICA.

VOL. II.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE AND AFRICA.

ROUTE FROM THE CITY OF MOROCCO TO TANGIER.

On the 27th of May the embassy quitted the quiet and seclusion of the gardens of Morocco, in consequence of a summary notice from the Sultan to that effect; and set out in the afternoon upon a journey of three hundred and fifty miles, to Tangier, under an escort of two hundred and fifty cavalry militia-men, commanded by the military alcaid of that place. These troops had been, conjointly with others, levying contributions in Getulia for two years preceding, and now were returning to their homes, a few men and horses lost in action, short of their original numbers.

All things being arranged as well as the shortness of the time permitted, the escort being duly prepared, and baggage loaded, our body proceeded through a great extent of ground within the walls of Morocco, of varying surface as heretofore described, until it reached the place of execution; where, as it unluckily happened, a large party of horsemen was cavalcading, according to their custom, in celebration of a wedding; and a prodigious number of spectators aggregated, either grouped in this vast area, or perched, like the storks, on the blank walls

and house-tops. The carrying off the fair Melisendra from Saragossa by Don Gayferos did not excite a greater uproar in the Moorish race there, than did the departure of the Christians from Morocco among this vast rabble their descendants, this concourse of the *gens désœuvrés* of Morocco: but unfortunately the Christian fugitives had here no Don Quixote to interpose his powerful arm in their defence, as was done once on the other occasion. When the attack began, our alcaid, who had grown old in the service, and who had blood in his eye, was by no means inclined to spare himself or the invaders, as he showed. Our whole number, mounted, exceeded three hundred; but a universal shout being set up by the mob on our appearance, and every missile article being immediately laid hands on by them and showered on us, our whole body was discomposed and dispersed in an instant. Evening was now closing, gloomy and inclined to rain. Orders were given by signal, which indeed was all that could be noticed, that every one should make the best of his way. This expediency, strong as was the call, was considerably inconvenient indeed to such as were at a loss to guess which way that meant; but exertion in some direction was absolutely necessary:—*sauve qui peut* was the word, and the cavalry rallied into a body again, drew sabres, and certainly did the best that men could do in the encumbered ground they had to act on, interspersed with dilapidated houses, deep pits, and clusters of palm-trees. But the populace was collected in such numbers, and was so active and malignant, that it was impossible to parry them every where. The foot-people too, sent to attend us out of town by the executive, laid about them, as in duty bound, with long heavy sticks; but their blows seemed to make no more impression than if they had been rushes. Having once rejoined, and regained the streets, the cavalry guard was of some avail, although the younger part of the mob pursued above a mile beyond the gates of the city, re-

viling and abusing. Such was the farewell bestowed by the place which had bidden welcome with cavalcading, music, and huzzas. But in the one case the populace was prepared, in the other left to themselves. Our alcaids were too much out of humour by the hard knocks they had received themselves, to offer any apology for their countrymen the inmates of Morocco, as was the case on the former occasion when the mosques were visited and the obtrusiveness complained of. The reason then assigned was, that a rude mass of country-people had thrust themselves in for some *reason*, and that such conduct was by no means that which distinguished the more urbane residents of the place. On quitting the city gate on the north side, a wood of palm-trees which extends for six miles is entered. These trees grow frequently in a cluster of six or seven from the same root, and seem here, by their height, luxuriance, and umbrella-heads, to be in their favourite soil—a mixture of argil and sand, in which the latter considerably predominates; a sandy loam favourable to corn, and commanded by a copious irrigation. The stream which supplies this here, and which crosses the road, abounds, like all the small streams of the country, with land tortoises. It is odd that an animal so destitute of resource in defence, concealment or escape, should have kept his race to this day without extinction, especially too when his head bears a price. In the evening after sun-set they aggregate in groups of twenty or more, in a circle, with their heads together as if immersed in deep thought and confabulation. They are used by many for food, and abound with eggs which are not ill-tasted, though gritty.

At about ten or eleven miles from Morocco the river Tensift is passed, there crossed on a bridge of twenty-seven arches of small span, which are pointed or double-centred. But this bears no relation to Arabic architecture; for it is a mere modern work comparatively speaking,

being constructed by the Christian slaves taken at the battle of Alkasr: and it must be admitted a specimen of no injudicious or impolitic mode of employing their captivity. The river Tensift disembogues at Azafin. The escort encamped here in the rich meadows by its side. Its stream is not just here and at this time deep, but, by the appearance of its banks and channel, is equally formidable in that respect as in the rapidity of its course, when the snows commence their melting on the side of Mount Atlas in order to resume and conform to their summer boundary. The rapidity of the course of this river proves a very considerable descent in the plain of Morocco westward.

It may be judged tolerably pertinent, and certainly is not premature, now that the second journey is entered upon, to risque the charge of digression, by describing once for all the mode of travelling with an escort here.—In the morning a hasty breakfast is snatched (very different in its abundance or diversity from the flesh-pots of Fez) of bread and coffee; butter is offered, but being churned (if the expression may be used) in a skin, is not adapted to a European palate, and is usually declined. And all, during the time the meal is preparing or taking, exert themselves, as it behoves them to do, to pack, load, and send off the baggage; on the due and timely performance of which depends what comfort may be hoped for during the residue of the day, by the punctual arrival of the beasts of burthen at the place of halt in the evening. The heaviest and most dispensable is loaded on the camels, which move slowest. The tents, of which it would be recommendable to such as can afford it to have two sets, are loaded on the mules;—and these are points whereon it behoves the Europeans who may travel here to advert personally, as, if left to themselves to arrange matters, the Moors will invariably load the tents upon the camels, which never arrive until four hours after the cavalry and mules. The camels being

loaded, proceed first; next follow the mules, with the tents and canteens, both under small guards. As soon as the last of the baggage is off the ground, the standard is raised; whereupon the troops mount, and, the whole being formed, move off the ground in a body. The rate of travelling upon the road is a quick walk of about three miles and three quarters in an hour. After about five hours thus proceeding, a halt is made if possible, and usually by a spring or well of water; and if in the shade of a tree, which generally presents itself in such situations, the more agreeable. Mussulman philanthropy considers the wants of the traveller, and has generally, with a benevolence beyond the charge or trouble of the task, by planting and taking care of a few trees, materially contributed to his relief. Such a situation usually presents itself here at the half day's journey, and here the travellers dine. The aleaid who commands, sends a dish of stewed meat which has been dressed the night before, and, being now heated over charcoal, is by no means bad fare. The apparatus for cooking on the road is peculiarly well adapted, and very simple. The only spiritous liquor procurable in this country (and without something of the kind the ill habits acquired in Europe will not be satisfied) is Jew's brandy strongly impregnated with aniseed, and thereby very irreconcileable with our palates, were there any alternative. But the conciliatory powers of necessity do not require to be descanted on. Such is the only resource this country affords to such as have not laid in a due stock of better provision, or husbanded it discreetly. Let it not be supposed, because we see it abused, that wine was not intended for the good of man. After a day's journey here, the call for somewhat to invigorate and exhilarate comes with a strength of which those who seek it only to relieve the tædium of home (the snug-parlour travellers of the critic) can have no idea—"*vinum lætificat cor hominis.*" A lemon, too, in this climate seems a

boon direct from Heaven: Cannot this be the fruit the poet speaks of? Bad water, bad food, are rendered acceptable, mental and bodily exhaustion restored, by the aid of this powerful corrective, which is felt to act upon the whole constitution; and a traveller most essentially overlooks his comfort, who neglects to lay in an ample stock of this most grateful fruit. The water which the traveller obtains on this route rather increases than allays thirst, from its maukish tepidity, even at the spring, by the heat of the weather; enhanced too (for enhancement can prevail by such a mean) by the rancid taste of the skin wherein it is carried, whereto the tar with which the skin is payed, and which elsewhere would cause the stomach to rise, almost acts as a corrective. This water however, be it observed, so carried in skins, is by the transudation the coolest the traveller will meet with, cooler than that from the spring. Still it participates of one of the torments imagined by the poets, for thirst still increases in proportion to the quantity imbibed. In some places on the present route to Tangier the springs are brackish, very salt in fact, and brinish would be a fitter term. Here is a subject for animadversion, but it shall not tempt us to digress—transgress perhaps would be the more appropriate term. Sometimes salt and fresh springs are met within a few yards of each other. Our standard-bearer previously to the order to dismount occasionally tasted the springs at which we halted, to try their quality in this respect, by dipping the butt of his lance in the water, and thus bringing it to his lips; and we frequently had to move further in search of a fresh spring.—Those who write upon the principle that it is as much the interest and wish of the reader as it is of the traveller to get to the end of the journey, will studiously avoid all deductions that may lead to dissertation. But it may assuredly be permitted to call on mineralogy to advert to this indication of the existence of rock-salt, in the classification of strata.—The anticipation

of the circumstance thus out of its place, possesses somewhat of a threatening aspect to those who appretiate at their full value the hours bestowed on a book. But repentance, which precludes the offence, must ever be well-timed.

The mid-day halt is of about two hours continuance; and the escort then proceeds about five hours journey further, more or less, according as the convenience of water presents itself; and there it halts usually about sun-set for the night. As the extent of the distance from water is tolerably well ascertained for the most part (though not invariably) so far as relates to time, the arrangements of setting out, and degree of expedition while going, are usually calculated with a due degree of precision, so as to come, as aforesaid, to the place of evening halt much about the period of the sun's verging to the western horizon, or somewhat before it. Here it is necessary to wait an hour at least for the tents, which, when arrived, it is the business of every one to aid in the unpacking and pitching of, and also in preparing the scanty arrangements for a speedy supper, in order to an early subsequent consignment of wearied bodies to what is called repose. The alcaid usually (as often as they can be gotten, it is doing him but justice to say,) sends in some live fowls, and half a sheep; and these articles are, after a process of preparation which deserves honour for its summariness and independence of established modes, placed upon the gridiron, whence, in despite of, or despair from, scantiness of fuel, they speedily reach the table,—the ground, to speak more precisely; for that is the board whereon they are spread. But indeed, from the short time they are permitted to remain there, it is hardly a circumstance to be noticed, every person feeling a common interest to save from encroachment as much of the precious and scanty hours allowable for sleep as possible, the utmost limits thereof not exceeding six. Hence it will be obvious that these are

not exactly the "*noctes cœnæque divûm*;" and that a fortnight thus passed will not bring back much luxurious reflection to the mind. Origanum, saffron, and anise, are a very indifferent seasoning to meat one half whereof is in a state of scorching, and the other of crudity; and to be washed down by tepid water! But although the lamentations *of* disappointment upon these heads be allowable in Sancho in his dear-bought state, murmuring would be inadmissible from those who *voluntarily* undertake a journey in Africa. At worst, however, these enviable repasts possess, what their contrasts are often deficient in, cheerfulness, and a community of determination to make the best of every thing; and in this way much more is done than from the description would be supposed possible.

Three fly-tents, with mattresses laid on the ground, accommodate six Europeans. One Moorish lad, a namesake of the Prophet, and therefore entitled Saadi (which honorific epithet, however, could not preserve him, if the higher powers on earth here willed it, from a bastinading), attends the European party; and his *bonhommie* and awkwardness, equally conspicuous, are so poized, that the irritation the latter excites is completely neutralized by the former. He is a specimen of a certain description of softness of disposition and intellect frequently depicted in the countenances of the young Moors, not belied by experience, and by no means, it is very much to be thought, repugnant to the capability of moral improvement.

After all, what a traveller suffers most by here, is cold. For an hour and a half before sun-rise, when the traveller first mounts his horse and proceeds, the air is very chill; and much worse is it if, as is frequently the case, a fog lurks on the surface. In winter at Fez the ice is an inch thick. The human body is made, too, the more sensible, by the relaxation from the heat of the preceding day. The extreme sleepiness super-

induced by this cold morning air, with the necessity of resisting the inclination and moving on, yet slowly, and not with a sufficient exertion to conquer it, is, perhaps, a torment as severe, for the time, as most that could be inflicted. It causes an abandonment of all effort; gives a wish to be precipitated, that the man's horse should fall under him, so that it were but permitted to him, when he reached the earth, to lie there and sleep. For this malady there is but one cure—the arrival at the halting-place, and consequent consciousness of full liberty to indulge the propensity. This point once obtained operates with a talismanic power, and the inclination from that instant totally ceases.

In encamping, the alcaid first sets up his own tent, to which those of the persons he escorts are pitched immediately adjacent, and those of the soldiers are ranged in an exterior circle around them; the horses being piqueted within this circle, each one opposite to his master's tent. These high-spirited quadrupeds are very restless during the night, frequently breaking loose from their piquets, and getting entangled among the cords of the tents: indeed they are the greatest possible annoyance and interruption to the few hours allotted for repose. Having reached the place of evening halt, and prayers having been said (by the Mohammedans), fires are kindled as soon as fuel can be collected, which is frequently a matter of no inconsiderable difficulty and delay; and the soldiers and travellers, after having tended their cattle, horses or mules, prepare their suppers as before described. About ten at night the sentinels are posted; and during this period until midnight are perhaps the quietest hours of the twenty-four. Subsequently, the restlessness of the horses, and the alertness of the sentinels, who pass the word with a very soldier-like regularity, and fire frequent shots at robbers, or what they choose to take or represent for such, at real or buckram thieves, banish sleep altogether.

As to the horse, he is the pride of the Moor. Indeed it is obvious in the faces of the lords of the creation, that they think the worst of this class of dignified quadrupeds too good for a Christian to bestride. The horse is indeed here an animal of superior beauty: he is more substantial, has more stuff in him, by reason of his fine pasturage, than the Spanish horse has; and his action and shape, too, differ to advantage. In his movement he does not raise his feet so high, but advances more; and in his shape he does not slip in his quarters as does the Spanish horse. The Moorish horses, too, do not pace: their ordinary progressive step is a long walk. Except the lacerations in their sides by those tremendous spurs, the Moors treat their horses with kindness, or at least what they intend to be such. In fact, the equine race meets with considerably more benignity and respect in this country than human nature does. A Moor would shudder or take fire at seeing bestowed upon a horse, a discipline with which he would have no scruple of treating his fellow-man every day, or which indeed he would submit to himself as the will of fate. The Moors do not, as is the usage of the Tartars, employ any thing by way of a whip; and rage inflames their countenances if they see a Christian presume to use such a mode of persuasion to an animal which has the honour to belong to one of the faithful: therefore it must be carefully avoided here. Their saddles are very inconvenient to a European who is not used to them;—but neither can the natives bear that an animal so respected by them should be contaminated by a piece of furniture belonging to a Christian, the more especially as every similar material so appropriated is derived in their ideas from the hog: for the mental association is insuperable. All this is well worthy the attention of those, who have no interest in giving offence, to advert to duly; and in consequence they will see the necessity of submitting on the points dictated to them here, whether by custom or prejudice, in philo-

sophic silence. Among their horses every colour is seen here, save black. Here are indeed amongst them horses which any one would take at first view to be of that colour, but on close inspection white hairs are always found scattered through the coat. They never dock their horses, but, until they are three years old, shave their tails; for what reason, unless to disfigure them, cannot be easily ascertained: indeed the Moors are not very communicative of their *rationalia* upon any point of practice.

These horses very frequently reach the height of sixteen hands. The bassa of Tangier had twelve horses of superlative beauty, all bred by himself, not one of which was under the height of fifteen hands and a half. But horses are generally bred by the Arabs, from whom the Moors buy them. Those bred by the Arabs are the gentlest and best-tempered of animals, being in a manner domesticated from the time they are foaled. Having practice but in two paces, a walk and a gallop, they are not so much on their haunches as could be expected; but they are, notwithstanding, very sure-footed, galloping safely over the most rugged ground. Mares drop their foals in January, when here is the greatest plenty of grass: so Nature harmonizes all.

Both Arabs and Moors are very particular about the sires. A horse of the first races, that is to say, descended of some famous horse of old, will sell for double the amount of one equally good, but whose ancestry is unenrolled in the records of Fame. When bought in the interior of the country, they are to be had cheap; but when brought down to the coast, where alone a European can procure one, a horse is seldom to be had for less than two hundred dollars; so that they are as dear as in Europe, not computing the relative proportions of current medium. It is difficult to export them, although they are sometimes smuggled out: but it is contrary to the Sultan's will, and the

prejudices of the people; and the former must grant his special permission in order for one to leave the country openly.

Every thing here in the mode of treating the horse is decidedly the reverse of the process of Europe. They begin to ride them, wisely, so late as at four years of age; and from that time every thing the animal experiences in the hands of man, is absolutely contrary as much to nature as to what his own free will would decide or dictate. The farrier's shop lies in a very small compass:—a leathern budget, like that of our tinker, contains an anvil, a pan for charcoal, a pair of pincers, a hammer, and one or two small instruments more. They pare the heel too much, and square the toe.

On the journey the horse sets out in the morning unfed and unwatered. Such is the effect of habituation, that, notwithstanding the heat, if passing a river he hardly puts down his head in effort to drink. The horse carries, besides his rider with his arms and his spurs (no trifle), a clumsy saddle of several stones weight, with a pair of clumsy stirrups each weighing some pounds, a wallet of food on each side for his rider and himself, and a powerful, though light, bridle. A mid-day halt is made, as already mentioned; but the horse gains no relief hereby, save from the weight upon his back: and relief it can scarcely be called, considering the process he is then subjected to in the piqueting, which is thus. The horseman has four small pegs like those of a tent, to each of which is a rope, snare, or noose, which is put round the fetlock of the horse, and thus his fore and hind feet contracted towards each other, as a greyhound stands, but the fore legs straddled apart like a feeble-chested horse. In this to him unnatural position he is fixed, a butt to the attacks of sun-beams and flies. This being all duly managed to the horse's comfort, the Moor hangs his arms on the pommel of the saddle, which last is never taken off until the journey's end;

and lets the bridle, which is ingenious as well as powerful, consisting of an iron ring, which acts in aid both of bit and curb-chain, with a light head-stall, and single reins fastened to cheeks which have a very small purchase, fall out of his mouth and down upon his chest, the head-stall remaining upon his head. The bit thus disengaged can be replaced without disturbing the head-stall; a great convenience in this way of life. At night, however, the bridle is taken off usually altogether, and hung, like the other things, on the pommel, the whole presenting a most ready and soldier-like arrangement. Thus are, however, left at the noon-day and evening halts, in the former case in the heat of the meridian and solstice, under a burning sun reflected from a parched soil, three hundred high-spirited stallions, who challenge and answer each other, and deafen human ears with their boastful neighings. And if one do, as is momentarily the case, get loose, a desperate fight (royal amusement here it is to be observed by the way) commences; so that it may be judged what a riot must be kept up in consequence between horses and masters, and how little this can deserve to be entitled a period of rest.

After a repose however of this description, and subsequent day's journey, on coming in at evening the horses are given first as much water as they choose to drink. They are then unbridled, and left accoutred as before described, when as much barley and broken straw is laid before them on a skin or cloth as they can eat; and this carries them through the twenty-four hours. But as to the famous snake horses of which we hear from the south, the stories we are told of them would induce it to be thought that they went through their lives and labours almost without the aid of any sustenance whatever. Habit, although not carrying its effects quite so far as that, may well be called a second nature. Thus it may be said that the horse here never lies down,

is never unsaddled, and never sleeps; for the latter process of nature is not perceivable among them. Yet nothing deadens their high spirit: and such is often the treatment for nine months in the year; indeed, in many cases, for years together. But when due opportunity offers, they are turned out in the winter to graze. When the horses are fed on straw, they, previously to watering them, rub their mouths with tar, assigning as a reason for the practice that straw-food is bad for their eyes, and that tar corrects this ill quality. A rationale and a recipe worthy, for consistency's sake, of insertion in the compilations of their brother-farriers of Europe. They do not curry; and whenever they can, swim their horses. These animals are here comparatively subject to few complaints; very little to broken wind. Indeed it is obvious, from the regime observed, that the pressure of combined causes, the distension from food and violent action, the case which occurs, of all the prone animals, to the horse alone, constantly co-operating, cannot have the bad effect it has with us in Europe. The horses here, when in action, are nearly empty: hence the stress upon the intercostal nerves is very trifling, being no more than the natural action of the lungs; and the complaint so common in Europe is rare here. They are, however, generally tenderfooted, and shaken in the shoulders, from the mode in which they are used. It cannot be otherwise with rough horsemanship, bad roads, ill farriery, and absurd treatment.

These people do not hold their reins in the European horseman's way, but as our coachmen hold theirs, with the middle finger between each, and the back of the hand uppermost. This mode is very convenient to the purpose of drawing up the reins, which are long, hanging almost to the ground, and usually slack; but when the horseman prepares himself to fire, he draws them up short, when he rests the musquet in the left hand. (See the plate.) It is equally convenient, too, for receiving the

fire-arm when he draws his sabre. The foregoing, and the crooked dagger, are his only instruments of death (our pistols they despise, probably from their comparative diminutiveness), if we except his spurs from that description, to which they in correctness belong most unquestionably, being six-inch daggers with guards to them like rapiers. They are left with the stirrups, in the proportions of which they certainly assimilate better than with any thing else; and the man can put his foot into spur-tackling and stirrup at the same time. Any one, to see the former unoccupied, would take it for some clumsy weapon of offence.

Itinerary. MOROCCO *to* TANGIER.—*Second Day.*

Mounted and marched off by sun-rise. The route before us for two leagues in length was covered by soldiers' baggage, and military stragglers going to Morocco from an encampment of the Sultan's troops somewhere in the neighbourhood of Fez now breaking up. Amongst the general crowd was an alcaid of rank, escorted by a hundred foot-soldiers, with whom were borne by mounted men nine standards of different colours, having gilt balls of the size of ostrich's eggs on the tops of the poles. The rear was closed by a body of two hundred cavalry, in front of whom rode a great over-proportion of officers, and with which were twelve standards, one whereof (for some reason no doubt) was not displayed. These persons were all very handsomely apparelled and appointed in their way, all being in white. They marched thirty in front. The first rank preserved its dressing, but the remainder did not seem to attend to any order. These troops were in march to constitute part of an army of ten thousand men forming for the purpose of levying contributions in Tafilet; so that they will have to traverse Mount Atlas; and would probably have afforded a favourable opportunity to Europeans, who could have availed themselves of it, to visit that country. They were nearly all Negroes.

Quitting the plain, the last view of Morocco is taken from a ridge or chain of broken rocky schistose hills of inconsiderable elevation, which run about east and west. Its last appearance was, as on the Mogodor side, the lofty steeple of the great mosque towering over a bright streak of green along the horizon—the heads of the palm-trees.

Five hours route.—At the hour of ten the escort descended to some springs at the foot of the hills, where halt was made for the rest of the day. At its arrival vast herds of cattle, cows, oxen, sheep, goats, camels and dromedaries were there watering, and tended by their Arab masters more naked and wild also than themselves. These cattle are the property of a great tribe now encamped on the left side of the road. Here the escort remained exposed to a mid-day sun, and for several hours, until the baggage arrived, it having been detained by the falling of several of the camels, to the injury of the loads. The road from Morocco to Tangier is whitened by the bones and skeletons of these animals, which have successively sunk upon it in the service of man,—a service essential here mutually to both parties. It is astonishing how the species could ever have been maintained in its abstract state of nature. To it, on the other hand, man owes little less than his existence in these climates; totally the power and means of traversing and occupying a considerable portion of the globe. His presence is hardly less necessary to the existence of the quadruped,—Who can say that this is the effect of chance? The whole duration of life of this animal, literally to be entitled a *souffre douleur*, now unknown, be it observed, save in a state of servitude, is a series of hunger, thirst, fatigue, and suffering, in and for the use of others, without the alleviation of a single momentary gratification. The Barbary camel is reckoned the strongest of his species, and his daily food when travelling is but a little barley and some thistles. The habits of this animal when contemplated appear most extraordi-

nary. By its groans and moans at the time of loading, it should be supposed to suffer the most dreadful pain: such too; sufferance, is the expression of its physiognomy. Yet it must be the most insensible of animals. We can hardly suppose gratitude for the operative human aid, which effectuated the congenial principle of such a wretched existence, to cause all this endurance. As to its wails, possibly it may be a habit acquired in the breaking, when they are incessant and intolerable to the ear. People in this part of the world do not subscribe to the opinion of the illustrious Buffon in his distinction between the camel and the dromedary. The latter is much smaller than the other, and so swift that he will go a hundred miles in the course of a day. The camel is an animal of slow action*. Dromedaries are frequently met with here! According to the accounts of this people, on a point whereon they have no interest to deceive, a dromedary is the offspring of two camels. What they say, and they all agree in it, is, that they do not know whether the young animal, when first dropped, is a camel or a dromedary; nor for some days after: but if it continue for several days (probably nine) in a state of unremitted sleep, then it is ascertained to be a dromedary:—thus we may say, the latter does not open his eyes so soon as the former does. We could not ascertain any thing conclusive as to the procreation of the dromedary; but from every inference it should seem the breed did not descend. There probably is yet a considerable degree of matter to be learned as to the natural history of this animal. The mules of this country do not reach the size of those of

* The double steps of the camel, that is the repetition of the same foot, are about two thousand two hundred per hour. This double step covers about five feet and a half our measure. The march of a camel is eight hundred miles in three hundred and twenty-two hours—Colonel Capper.—Two miles and a half per hour—Mr. Irvine.

The load of the caravan camel is about five hundred weight, he will not bear more; when overcharged he throws himself down, and wails.

Spain; but their other cattle are universally superior, not only in condition but in shape and size. The beef of Barbary certainly comes next in point of quality to that of the British islands. It is impossible to imagine a more beautiful spectacle, in its way, than was afforded by these numerous droves of cattle of every variety, but all unexceptionably fine in their kinds, at the halt of this day. At this place was exhibited a specimen of justice *à la Moresque*:—It was necessary to procure more camels in the places of those disabled; and an Arab received money from the alcaid on condition of providing them, leaving his brother in pledge for his return, and the completion of the business. Preferring, however, the possession of the cash to the emancipation of a brother, no more was heard of him: and our alcaid, when he found how he had been defrauded, was frantic with rage. He ordered the unfortunate hostage to be bastinadoed without mercy; which the soldiers forthwith obeyed, seizing the poor Arab by the arms and legs, and throwing him prostrate on the ground. The procedure, however, not producing in the eyes of the alcaid the full effect his expectations were excited to, he could bear no longer to see it in the hands of others, but, seizing the heavy stick himself, laid it on until strength and breath left him exhausted by his exertions and wrath; after which, the poor fellow remained on his knees, with his hands tied behind his back, and the tears trickling down his cheeks. Still the money, in spite of all these judicious efforts for its recovery, did not come back. When the alcaid had somewhat cooled (as second thoughts are usually best), it occurred to him as a measure of as probable result, to send off a party on horseback in pursuit of the delinquent:—and perhaps had this been done at first, it would not have been amiss—"*mais on ne s'avise jamais de tout*,"—and more especially when in a passion; and it now produced no effect; neither Arab, cash, nor cattle, being afterwards seen on that account.

The poor hostage, being therefore evidently no longer profitable property, was unbound and let go his way, to cast up and balance as he best could the family settlement.

The tract of country before us here is parched, and yields no water for eight hours journey—thirty miles. In consequence, it is necessary to set out at moon-rise: and accordingly, tents being struck at night-fall, the march commenced at eleven o'clock, with some confusion: but the early part of the night afforded a delightful ride, the beauty of the serene atmosphere bringing to mind, if not emulating, that season of the twenty-four hours in the elevated plain of Castille.

Itinerary. Morocco *to* Tangier. *Third Day, Fifty-eight miles.*—Passing some hills, in heavy fog, at seven o'clock in the morning, the escort arrived, after eight hours march, at some scanty springs; and after a halt of an hour proceeded four hours journey further to a river, at or about its sources. Thence the route was directed through a long valley, where, by the side of the road, lay the dead body of a man slightly covered with stones and rubbish. He was an express going from Morocco to Tetuan, and had been murdered yesterday by Arabs; for which the district in which it happened will be fined in the sum of five thousand dollars, unless the assassin be given up. This system cannot be improved on here at present. A consequence of it that occurs frequently to notice is, that if an Arab see a European rambling uncautiously, he will call to the Moorish escort to take care to get him warned back. This he does through fear lest his own people should by some outrage (and their malignity is hardly within bounds) bring the community whereof he makes one into trouble, feeling that he has no other way of preventing it.

At six in the evening, after a progress of sixteen hours, the escort halted at some springs in rich meadows at the foot of hills.—Two ca-

ravans going to Morocco crossed us on to-day's route, and six considerable Arab camps were in sight.

The European travellers on such occasions as the present are mounted on the horses of the soldiery; and the worst usually, by some fatality, fall to their lot: that is to say, the casualty takes place thus, when their backs are turned to Morocco. On the route from Mogodor *to* that city, each retained the horse whereon he set out; but on the present occasion, the alcaid, who governs all, directed a different arrangement, and each soldier gives up his horse in turn for the day. This he does with a hearty curse on the Caffre who causes it, although paid, or promised to be paid, at the journey's end. Any change is rarely for the benefit of the heterodox. It would be adviseable for such persons as may hereafter have these routes to perform, to make due stipulations upon this point. The country travelled through, this day, after light broke, is uncultivated and parched, until approaching the place of evening halt, where, on the hills, tillage appears. At this time of the year the natural herbage is already now burnt off such arid uplands; but they must be covered during the early season with an abundant verdure. What would the returns of this country be, did a judicious system of agriculture step in, to supply by human exertion green food in the destitute period of the year, which is from this time (June) until November! Every climate must have its season of want, although these duly vary: and then, without the aid of man, animal creation suffers. His object is to bring the seasons, as much as in him lies, to an equilibrium of sustenance for what he has under his care. In most climates Nature allows little more than the reinstatement, during the plentiful season, of what the vital forces and powers lost during the pinching part of the year. Her object has been to be adequate—to maintain the due balance. If man would have abundance, revel in superfluity, he must

put his own head and hand to the business. Deep-rooted plants, such as the sainfoin, would be the objects of the rational agriculturist here; for we see that the tender natural graminous fibres cannot stand even before a May sun.

Itinerary.—Morocco *to* Tangier. *Fourth Day.*—Tents were struck before, and the ground marched off from by, the first appearance of the sun. A gratifying procedure: the weather and season delightful, and all nature around cheerful for some hours, until the pressure of the sun's beams brings to our mind the story of the nation of old, somewhere in this neighbourhood, which misemployed its time in bestowing daily curses on him. All, however, did not behold the glories of nature around with equally gay sensations; for one poor fellow-traveller found himself robbed during the preceding night of his all. He was not indeed within the precincts of the camp, not choosing to pay the sum demanded for the same; yet hoping to gain equal protection by appearing in such respectable company. A mistake, certainly, in regard to which it was the interest of several to undeceive him. These are, however, all, the conjectures just as they occurred at the moment, without aught of corroboration to be sustained by. At any rate, it appeared by the result that he calculated very ill in thus pitching his canvass apart:—better would it have been for him to have had his habitation among the tents of Kedar! for he had two hundred ducats to be robbed of: and he fell among thieves, as it turned out; for he was robbed, as is already said, of his all, this night. An alarm was spread on the discovery; but this was made very late: soldiers however mounted, as in duty bound, and went in pursuit, all in due form. Time however now urged, and they did not make a very long quest. Those who whispered that the ducats were in the camp, and consequently safe, added that it was not needful. But it is impossible to expect to form correct judgement where the fault

lies, in such a state of things as exists here. Who can say, after all, that this is not a collusion for which the district will have to suffer? No one is responsible, where the traveller does not place himself under the especial protection of the escort. If, as is to be expected, the district is fined, none of this will go in compensation of his loss to the traveller:—thus the revenue and the robbers are the gainers by the transaction.

After three hours march, halt was called by the side of a rivulet; and after a time, progress being resumed, about three o'clock in the afternoon the escort, by a march of eight hours progressive, came to a venerable castle, by name Bulaughuan, built on a boldly elevated isthmus, formed by a large elbow or sweep of the river Morbeya (forty-springs). The flanks of the castle extend down the slopes on each side to the water's edge. An Arab town of mud-houses, without chimneys, windows, or doors, (except in the flatness of the roofs the counterparts of the human habitations of the west of Ireland,) now occupies a part of the internal area. Castle, soil, buildings, beings, and river are all of one tint of colouring, like what we in some instances see of the smaller insects and the plants they live on.

A few Negro soldiers, however, occupy the castle, which was built, as is said, by Al Moiadi, the fanatic subverter of the dynasty of Texafin, and father of the great Joseph al Mansor; to whom reflection would much more willingly ascribe such a work. The post is well chosen. Another Arab village is on the opposite side of the river. These Arab inhabitants subsist by the profits of the ferry, which must be very considerable. Pleasant gardens, when visible, situated at the water's edge, and nearly under the castle, contradict in one point the foregoing general remark as to the tint of the picture. Their verdure is as gratifying as it is now rare, and certainly possesses the full benefit and relief of contrast to set it off. Here the escort, having descended the steep

and rugged brow to the river's side, rested until the baggage arrived. The road down the hill is rocky; a descent by zigzag of about three hundred feet perpendicularly, and so steep that the loaded mules occasionally slide down upon their croups. It is curious to observe the forecast, deliberation, and discrimination, depicted in the countenances of these animals, whenever the difficulties before them present an option. Until then they proceed without hesitation; but when a choice is offered, not a step is taken without consideration of the result. Like chess-players, they seem always to look three moves forward. We were occupied until dark in getting the baggage across. The method is as follows; and so practised from the *earliest* times: as history informs us. Fourteen goat-skins sewed up and air-tight are inflated, and placed under two joined but separable frames, like hurdles. The buoys are double; that is, two skins communicate, so that one being blown into at the leg, both are filled. The frames placed on them then form a raft of fourteen feet by seven, on which some baggage, such as saddles and the like, is placed; and then three persons, having first taken off their spurs, the punctuation whereof to one of these skins would send all to the bottom, take their seats on this baggage, having duly fixed themselves, and been duly cautioned on a subject the prudence wherein required is not quite so obvious as in the case of the spurs, save and except to such classical transmigrators as recollect, from their Pantheons, the conditions whereon mortal coils were once allowed to be resumed from below, and the unfortunate effects of disobedience. Two Arabs take the raft, one at its leading corner, and the other at its diagonal. As no formidable *veto* is pronounded of destruction in case of looking back, the passenger has a very pleasing view of the shore he quits, from the water; with which he may try, if he can, to console himself, for a very awkward and apparently dangerous situation on a broad

and uncommonly rapid and turbulent river. The Arabs guide the raft with one hand, and swim on with the other, sustaining themselves, each, on a blown goat-skin, with what rags they have by way of clothing, tied, as a turban, round their heads. Thus they lead or direct the raft across this very wide and most rapid stream, transversely, allowing themselves to be carried by it down about a quarter of a mile; where they land, taking advantage of a still water caused by a ledge of rock.

As soon as the passengers and baggage are landed, the raft is divided, each Arab takes his part, and hastens up an equal distance above that opposite to the point on the other side, whence they set off upon the navigation; and there, each committing himself again to the stream, urges or tows his raft across for another cargo. Seven persons can cross upon a raft of this kind, sitting close back to back. The Arabs take the horses, each man by sevens, for good luck, by the bridles, and plunge in, while a man urges them from behind until they swim. The camel-owners are paid off, or otherwise discharged *ad libitum*, at the castle, and other camels are compelled or found ready to be hired at the opposite side. When a single Arab has occasion to cross the river, he fastens his clothes round his head, and taking a skin under his left arm, throws himself in, swimming with his legs and right arm; thus crossing this formidable stream with, to him, no more difficulty than we should find were there here a bridge to pass over by. The river at this time was comparatively low; it was about a hundred and fifty yards across, and, as said, proceeds to the sea with a very rapid descent. Its course here lies between bold hills. These hills are not, however, the extrusive edges of strata, but rather elevated table land, alluviated into sections or valleys; the wash of waters forming the valleys, their heads being at or about a level. The bed of the river is loam or gravel.

The water while in this bed (to which it does not appear to owe the colour) is red as blood to the eye, but taken up in a glass is clear, colourless, and, for river-water, unusually good. The Arabs produced for our supper most excellent fish, of the size and shape of a salmon: the flesh was white, and tasted like gray mullet. This, salted, is said to be an article of trade; and if so, the fish must abound. Four rafts had been kept plying the whole of the evening. The Arabs here are considered by the Moors as the most barbarous of the race of Ishmael. Disparaging sentiments are usually reciprocal. The Arabs would not pass a man across unless paid beforehand:—hence we may judge their opinion of their Moorish fellow-countrymen and subjects. From this to Salee is reckoned the most dangerous part of the route. The guards in consequence are very alert: frequent shots are fired at seen or unseen thieves. The passing the word, the duties of the sentinels, and all these important minutiæ, are executed among these people with a regularity and method which, as in most other observable cases, tends to prove that the nation possesses qualifications to put them on a scale, in any direction of life, with the rest of mankind.

Fifth day.—Continuing the route, an Arab tribe was met on its march, producing very characteristic and picturesque groups. The men and boys, naked, with long staves drove cattle of every description blended. The camels presented the whole menage of the family: three ladies, muffled up to the eyes, sat upon the summit ridge of the awkward animal, surrounded below by the heads of the young broods, and domestic fowls dotted here and there through the other groups. A few men, mere skin and bone, on horses nearly as *décharnés* as themselves, with fire-arms in their hands and suspicion in their countenances, guarded the fair, their families, goods and chattels.

A Tunisian of rank next crossed the escort, on his way to Morocco.

very handsomely dressed in his country costume, with silver-mounted sabre and pistols, riding a fine mule. He had on, to protect him from the sun, an immensely broad-brimmed straw hat with a shallow crown, and was, therewith, the counterpart of the old woman of Brainford; contravening the taste of Sir Hugh, where he says, "I do not like when a woman has a peart—I spy a great peart under her muffler."

A saint of the Xeriff family next presented himself under observation on the same route. He was laid at his length and ease in a waggon-roofed litter covered with scarlet cloth. This, when laid across the back of a mule, and supported by a man at each end, constituted his vehicle; a somewhat vacillating one, as may be supposed.—A mounted Arab was this day seen with the true old battle-axe; a short club heavily ironed and spiked at the head. They throw these weapons with great dexterity. After three hours ride, the escort halted at a brook shaded by palm-trees loaded with nests of storks, and adjoining to an Arab camp, whence were procured good milk and bread. Every new appearance should set the mind of the traveller in action for inferences. That of the birds here mentioned tells him he is no longer in an arid tract. The Arabs, to-day, produced for sale a young wild boar. This is a still further confirmation of a change in the soil. According hereto, few countries indeed possess such an under proportion of inapplicable surface: the shifting sands of Mogodor are all of this noble tract between the mountain and the ocean, which *could* not be made a garden of:—apply but the water level and the plough-share, and all speedily follows. How mortifying to see these capabilities unknown! these blessings spurned by a Government embracing in preference fanaticism and malignity! a nation of victims! a society of crimes!

Hard by this station was the house of a famous saint, in the *adytum* whereof he sat cross-legged, with his rosary in his hand; and by this

sanctoreum, in an area, were two beautiful horses piqueted: the place contained nothing else. The obtrusion whereby this view was obtained was highly offensive to the saint, considerably dangerous to the obtruder, and by no means recommendable for imitation. These small chapels are scattered through the country, being the mausolea of deceased, and dwellings of existing, saints. To these places, and with these personages, people come for the purposes of devotion. They subsist on alms; and when they go out, custom and reverence give them an unlimited right of entry. Privilege is indeed carried by them to the utmost extent the term admits of. That several very grave characters may exist among them, is easily to be conceived: these of course will be little visible. All that the stranger has to form his idea from, is the tribe of half-lunatics or half-idiots who obtrude themselves every where, and, thus cloaked, are conveniently enabled to carry on a plan of life for which Nature has well fitted them. They never want a due share of method in their madness, or of cunning in their folly.

After five hours more journeying, during which a convoy slenderly guarded, of about twenty apparently very stoical criminals going to Morocco to be executed, crossed the escort's way, a large castle was reached, the name whereof, as on this occasion communicated, taken from an Arab tribe among whom it is situated, is Welledi Jeddi, the Tribe of the Goat. But this is probably a misnomer, and it is the castle put down in the maps under the name of Mediona. The sheik and some more of the Arabs whom it was intended to awe, have pitched their tents in its area. They were extremely courteous in their manners, and from leathern pouches offered us—snuff. The castle is built with admirable architectural beauty and science, having good wells, subterraneous granaries wherein the corn can be preserved for centuries, and lodging for a thousand men. The outline of the structure is, turreted curtains inclosing

an area entered by a single gateway. The horse-shoe style is preserved here.

Proceeding thence, the escort came to a fine lake of excellent water, of the extent of (probably) six hundred acres, by the side whereof, on the mud, for the water had considerably receded, a woodcock was (June) feeding.—Here it was the wish of the European party to have halted; chiefly indeed to try, induced by the novelty of the sight, what they could do with their guns: but the alcaid insisted on proceeding an hour further; which was in consequence done, and halt called in a bog. To this arrangement the Christians on their parts as strenuously objected. Half an hour further was consequently marched; and we dismounted for the night in a delightful spot, to the eye at least, by the side of a smaller lake.

The country during the route of yesterday was plain, or slightly undulated in very extensive easy swells: it was well cultivated in parts, and elsewhere promised in the due season abundance of grass. But the richness of the tract which presented itself during the entire course of this day exceeds all imagination or parallel. Of course here little interesting presents itself to the geologist. The soil to any depth that can be turned up is a soft, black, vegetable mould, apparently the decomposition of redundant organized matter for a succession of ages. The earth has a soapy feel, and on it is frequently seen an aluminous or nitrous efflorescence: it produces crops in the luxuriancy that may be supposed, and to all appearance would do so in eternal succession: where *en friche*, which is often the case for the whole extent of a wide horizon, rank weeds now in full yellow blossom, wild mustard or fennel wave over it in one vast glow, loading the air with their effluvia, and raising their heads to a height of even five feet; so that a foot-man is nearly lost in this forest of annuals, which choke all wholesome vege-

tation, (theirs is that of the church-yard,) while they prove the mighty powers of the soil to produce and go beyond it. Twenty very numerous Arab encampments were within sight this day: but numerous as their droves must have been, there existed no trace of any impression made by them on the bosom of Nature here run wild.—As the foregoing description of weeds proves a somewhat very peculiar in the superficial soil of so extensive a tract, which cannot be less than forty miles; so in that of a second class, where argillaceous matter predominates, but which yet is of powerful fertility, as is the case of that of yesterday, the gradation of productiveness is marked with the presence of another weed, the thistle, in its luxuriant growth. This prevails there in all its varieties; some are of the edible kind, and before they grow too fibrous afford a salad by no means ungrateful to the traveller. This country hereabout abounds in springs. The standing corn, probably in part owing to the rankness of its growth as well as the humidity of the soil, and gradation of climate, is not yet turned entirely: a considerable quantity is yet uncut. These corn tracts are picturesque in their way, being interspersed with many groups of fig-trees in all their dusk of verdure. Four saints' houses were passed in this day's route. They chose their positions well. In such tracts of this country as, different from the lands just described, are dry, the soil having a stratified pudding-stone or breccia basis, (the difference if not material is important,) numerous *matamores* (such is the name given them by Christians here) are found: the Spanish word is *mazmorra*. They are subterraneous receptacles for corn, or granaries, narrow at the top, so as barely to admit the body of a man to descend into them, but they widen below into the space of a large room. They are often to the number of thirty together, when a convenient substratum for that extent presents itself. Cæsar mentions the practice as of time immemorial. They prove the extent of the

ancient population of this country. The stratum of alluvial conformation, of agglutinated pebble, is thin, and it is probable a dilapidation frequently takes place below from what it is in our power to observe at Montserrat, where this process is marked in the strata, so as to form these vacuities naturally; or to leave but little to be done by excavation. At any rate, it is probable that such conveniency originally presenting itself first suggested the idea. The substance being much softer where wrought into below than at its superficies, the latter once pierced, that beneath was easily extracted, and a hard roof left impervious to, and unabsorbent of, humidity. When filled with grain they are covered over carefully; and a person unacquainted with the process would wonder how the year's harvest, which covered the country so plentifully, could have been so suddenly disposed of. They are so numerous in many places that, being now disused, and the ground about them overgrown with bushes, they render riding off the trodden road a matter of some risk. They afford conveniency to the Arabs to avoid taxation: though their masters have instinctive faculties in this science, not easily to be deceived. Sometimes they and their contents are so well concealed, as not to be recovered again unless by chance. The corn remains to any period unimpaired. The wheat here is of a very dry quality, nearly approaching to what our millers term steely. The Arab's keen eye sometimes discovers a *matamore* where it is not suspected. He goes out before sun-rise, when a slight mist lurks upon the ground; and when this rises, wherever its skirts dwells longest on the surface, he seeks for a *matamore*, and is often compensated for his trouble.

Itinerary.—Morocco *to* Tangier. *Sixth Day's Route.*—The road lies across what is called the Great Plain, which extends in every direction three days journey. Here is some corn sown: but the face of the country

is chiefly occupied by vast herds of cattle, the property of Arabs, who were extremely anxious to know if the Gibraltar market were likely to be opened anew to them. This circumstance is a tolerably strong specimen of the natural resources of this country, its powerful redundance, and the wretched policy which governs it, when so small an outlet being stopped or opened should affect to such a remote extent. The Tangier market touched a radius of two hundred miles; and this the state shuts for a wretched bribe paid into the hands of the head of it.

Several lakes bordered by thickets of high reeds, navigated in arks made of bullrushes, which plants are here some nine feet long and an inch diameter*, and abounding in water—fowls of various descriptions, were passed; as was a castle wherein was a mosque named from the Saint, Saadi Ali Belassin.—Here is matter for the philologist. Next (descending) was crossed a river of sleepy motion, winding through a deep and flat valley of most luxuriant verdure in its deepest tint. Here the cool breezes of the west first made themselves felt, and an alteration in the tints of the atmosphere on that side announced that a superficies of different element was reflected there.

Twenty-three Arab camps and four sanctorea were passed in this day's route, each indicatory of the fatness of the land. At dusk of evening the escort halted under the walls of Fedala, situated four miles distant from the shores of the Atlantic. Entrance into this town (by infidels at least) was prohibited; indeed, had it been permitted, the courtesy would at that late hour have been a barren compliment.—The pleasant spots of this now arid tract, the *oases* of the route, consist of a cool well, a few trees, and a little green herbage. Of what is diffused over the face of whole

* A cluster of these tied at top and bottom, and let expand in the middle, still here presents the radical idea whence has risen the noble science of ship-building.

Nature in Britain, a rood here constitutes a paradise. Such is the delight afforded by repose and coolness, to the traveller who has passed six hours of incessant progress under a scorching sun, more severely felt in its evening rays than when vertical. A town can afford no equal gratification.

Itinerary.—Morocco *to* Tangier. *Seventh Day's Route.*—At moon-rise (two o'clock in the morning) the escort moved, to cross the river while the tide was low. Two were accordingly forded previously to reaching the castle of Al Mansoria, the foundation of Jacob Almanzor, of the Moiadi dynasty. At the third and last river passed, a convoy of money on its way to the Sultan's coffers had been attacked and plundered recently. For this his majesty sent an army to live at free quarters on the Arabs of the neighbouring districts (who certainly did not commit the outrage) for several months; during which they were obliged to pay as well as maintain the troops. But the robbers never were brought to justice.

Robat was reached at three o'clock in the afternoon. It is a large town on the sea coast, and on the south side of a river, on the opposite bank whereof is the famous nest of piracy Sallee. This name seems of ancient derivation. Shella, supposed a Carthaginian station, was somewhere to the east. The escort encamped outside the walls of Robat, near a sanctoreum and burying-ground, and was visited by the French consul and some Jews of Gibraltar now here. Robat and Sallee seem to frown at each other across this fine river, which is about as broad as the Thames below the bridges, being fortified with curtains thickly studded with towers, in tiers (the curtains) one above another. The walls are, as usual, flimsy; and here are no modern defences. The main battery of Robat is *à la Moresque*, circular and unflanked, incapable of making any impression on an object by a condensed fire. The

View of the Town of Rabat, opposite Salee on the Coast of Africa

Castle and Ferry on the Route from Morocco to Salee.

blendings and contrasts of towers, trees, old walls, and mosques, over a noble river (when the tide is in) form features truly picturesque. But in a considerable degree to countervail this impression, are *de côté* with these pleasing objects the flat roofs and unbroken fronts of the Moorish dwelling-houses, each whereof presents to the eye the outline of a tomb magnified. Modern architecture at home, in its cubes and pyramids, has invented nothing more opposite to true beauty. The view from the French consul's house here over the river, including the castle and part of the town, is also pleasing. In nature, the mind can separate and select its objects; can make the eye dwell on the more pleasing parts, and pass by those that are otherwise: but a canvass representation must be taken as a whole; and one uncongenial object is sufficient to disfigure it. This seems one of the principal causes of the strong distinction extant between local and picturesque beauty.—The river does not admit vessels of above a hundred-and-fifty tons burthen, there not being usually more than fourteen feet water on the bar at high tide; and the *traject* is extremely dangerous in winter, on account of the surf. Under due management, efforts would be made, with such a command of back-water, to drive this bar to a more respectful distance and humbler station. One Marseilles vessel is now here; it is said, by matter of particular favour. But this tends to prove the high degree of estimation in which the mercantile people of that nation and port hold the trade of this country, and also the degree of phlegm of the people of this latter, in admitting here that very nation which had so very recently (it may be said) knocked the houses here about the ears of their inmates; or shown, if it did not so happen, that it was not from want of inclination to effect it: those adjacent to our camp bear the marks of the French balls. Little injury was otherwise sustained: and of all modes whereby to assail the irritable part of the Sultan's mind, certainly an

attack on the property, or perhaps lives, of his subjects, was that least likely to reach its object.

The Sultan's dockyard is on this river, and he has now here on the stocks one vessel. As soon as the hulls are so far finished that they can be floated, the ships are sent round to Larache. The people here do not choose that Europeans should visit this latter place; and, in consequence, assign reasons, frivolous enough, against it. For the true one is, that they do not like that the despicable state of their navy should be seen by them. This once so formidable bugbear on the seas consists of ten vessels, the largest not equal to some of our brigantines, ill-appointed, clumsily rigged, and commanded by unscientific men. All is great or otherwise by comparison. How different the times now, from those when Moorish cruisers lay under Lundy Island in our channel, to intercept the trade going from Ireland to the fair of Bristol! By the information of the pilot of an American vessel now here, a Swede, well acquainted with the harbour of Larache, it is an exceedingly good one, safe from all winds, and capacious. The bar can only be passed at high water, but within there is at all times three fathoms and a half. M. Mure, the French consul here, possessed that kind of general knowledge which, exclusive of rendering a person, by the enlargement of the mind, fitter for office than mere technicality can aspire to, is able to stretch research into lines tending more circuitously, but not less essentially to the benefit of the nation he serves. This gentleman possessed, too, a mind which, when officially *désœuvré*, did not lapse into indolence and all its consequent train of low gratifications, but employed itself in objects of remoter investigation. Such were the Volneys and Savarys, to whom, in whatever diversity of light things may have struck them, it cannot but be admitted that their country and the great public of mankind, the thinking part of the human race, are infinitely indebted.

They were men whose minds were enlightened before they left home; whose faculties were neither evaporated into frivolity nor benumbed by pedantic restrictions; and a foreign situation gave merely a due scope to their action. Such are the persons to be chosen for these situations.

The main street here presents a very good exhibition of shops in the Oriental style; that is, like cobblers' stalls; just sufficient to contain the merchant and his little stock of goods, or rather perhaps of samples. Probably there is very sound reason for this system of procedure: retail can be carried on cheaper than in splendid establishments. At day-light, the tradesman comes from his dwelling, which is at another part of the town, unlocks his shop, and sits here until night. The traders are mostly Jews.—If trade be thus monopolized by the Jews, the path of military glory by Negroes, and rustic establishment by the Arabs, it may well be asked what is to become of the Moors? It is doubtful if these last could answer the question. Manufacture is entirely, however, in their hands; but all are not manufacturers. This is another point of view wherein to take the extraordinary political phænomenon which this country (so well *known*) presents to reflection; to wit, Man, constituting a nation, yet appropriated to employment and livelihood by races! But to conclude with our market, or bazar more properly:—due care is taken to secure it by locks and watchmen during the night. As to the provision-markets, that for vegetables here is remarkably well supplied, very cleanly kept, and (for the first hours of the day) a most pleasing sight. The flesh-markets are (by that judicious regulation which puts Europe to shame) here, as every where else in this country, outside the towns. All at this place tends to prove, that remoteness from the eye, and consequently from the hand, of power, is here the greatest blessing life can bestow. The castle is in progress of dilapidation. The most remarkable piece of structure is the tower

of Harsan, as it is called. It is of the height of two hundred feet, or thereabout. An elegant villa is building here for the Sultan, in the new style of architecture, under the direction of a renegade. But this renegade is a Spaniard! Unquestionably his talents were not likely to meet with much encouragement at home. The doors and roofs are in gilt arabesques on a red ground: the expertness of the Moorish handicraft-men was very striking to such as observed the progress of the work. Separate from this, but near it, is a small house building for the Sultan's haram. Of course it was now accessible, and therefore excited interest. Due care to the command of water, that first of objects here, prevailed throughout. The main aqueduct of the place is the work of an English renegade. The style of these houses is light, tasteful, airy, and congenial with the climate:—colonnades for shade, opposite folding doors for thorough air; fountains throwing up water for refreshment of that within; alcoves or recesses for darkness (a real luxury when noon-tide glare prevails without), all are principles of architecture in this country founded on the true basis, experience and reason.

The accommodations of the haram have some refinements which have not yet gotten to be catalogued among the elegancies of Europe. Incense (not the metaphysical incense of flattery or compliment, but such as smoked in days of yore under the marble nostrils of the gods of the heathens) curls round its living and fair objects by most ingenious and effectual contrivances.

As to the bombardment of this town by the French, the effect was trifling, even to mockery. The mode of building is such, that a ball is received into it as into a woolsack. The marks on the sanctoreum, however, are still pointed out to Christians with an air of reminiscent reproach; as much as to say, "Behold *your* works!" The business, however, ended very seriously for the French. A hostile visit meets a warm

reception from these Africans, as was found to be the case here as well as at Algiers. As Europe was at peace, and the French *bureau de guerre* a sinecure for the time, the minister at the head of that department thought this country a convenient field of exhibition for the display of professional or official talent, and in the result certainly got a lesson of value, which will not be soon forgotten. Bombardment, which is the most costly mode of warfare to those who employ it, and which falls heaviest on private individuals where it is inflicted, gives little concern to Government here, and the least possible return thereby to those who play the game. It may occasionally elsewhere gratify the happy wielder of the thunderbolts to know that some sighs and tears are the result of his mischievous anties: but this is not the case with the resigned Mussulman, who bears the affliction with Stoical calmness, and the observation that "It is the will of GOD." The Sultan, on reconciliation with France, at the first opportunity asked how much (over his basis of calculation!) this famous expedition had cost that power; and, on being informed, told the ambassador, that for *half* of it he would have levelled the town to its foundations!

Itinerary.—MOROCCO to TANGIER. *Eighth Day.* SALEE. The escort crossed the river to Salee. The politeness of the governor (there is a governor to each town) kept it for two hours by the river side under a scorching sun, that he might receive it with due distinction. South of the river, the tract just left, the soil is fertile, argillaceous, plain, and not much cultivated.

On landing at Salee, the governor of the town and province (the offices being united in one person) received the escort on horseback, at the head of his troops, with a band of music as obstreperously discordant as it is in the power of wind, parchment, and cat-gut, acting in combination, to be; and an unusually liberal expenditure of powder

from the battlements was an honour not to be passed by unacknowledged.

The Arabs play on a guitar peculiar to themselves, and sing to it. Their music, for it may claim this epithet, is wild, but harmonious, and reaches the heart; thus pleasing, though in a style quite new, even fastidious Europeans. This praise cannot be bestowed on the taste of the Moors, which seems completely led astray: it is the Arab taste, from which that of the Spaniards is derived. But indeed the latter people, however fond of their own now national music, fully enjoy ... y thing in that way, let it be derived from what quarter it may; as is constantly to be observed at their theatres, where it is interesting to see how a whole audience is caught, instantly, by a pleasing movement.

Salee has considerable extent within its walls, but is not so populous now as Robat, having much garden-ground in its area, probably the result of dilapidation from the decline of the privateering, or, in a term as appropriate, the piratic system. These gardens are well cultivated, and are watered from an aqueduct within the precinct of the town, which, for all that is to be seen of it, constitutes a delightful residence for human society: indeed, health is pictured in every countenance: the inhabitants are hardly less fair than those of some parts of the north of Europe. Many browner we see daily at home. The young and handsome Jewesses frequently have as florid complexions as the beauties of the British isles: but even that cannot prevent them from the use of their detestable and deleterious cosmetics. It seems as if they put no value on the natural produce.

The Sultan's sentiments in favour of strangers, and the rites of hospitality, are, as is fully expressed and well known, most liberal in regard to the female half of this race of his subjects; and Europeans are duly sensible of this mark of royal generosity.

The argali or wild olive ceases to grow at this river, there being none on its north side; a circumstance which indicates a material change of climate. Another of not so demonstrable, or at least so obvious a nature, perhaps of not so clear credibility, is, that no hares are on the north side, no rabbits on the south, although each species abounds within its respective territory. This is positively asserted by those well qualified to know the fact.

A European gentleman of the embassy, during its stay here, rambled into the town by himself; and after proceeding some distance in it, met a Moor very handsomely dressed, and followed by two servants; one of whom this courteous personage, whoever he was, after passing the stranger, sent back to attend him wherever he chose to go, as was significantly expressed with profound respect; the master himself, with a refinement of politeness, proceeding onward, neither looking for thanks nor introduction.

Itinerary.—Morocco to Tangier. *Tenth Day.* Salee.—The escort waited for two hours for the governor to take his leave. When he did arrive, he was excessively angry with our alcaid for having, for some reason unaccounted for to us, except the gratification it afforded, beaten his (the governor's) Jew; saying, that *though* a Jew, yet having the honour of being *his*, he was not to be so treated. Protection is thus sought for in patronage, where laws afford none. The Jew certainly was beaten, not only by the alcaid, but by every soldier who saw the precedent; each of whom readily lent a hand to the pious work. He made neither resistance nor remonstrance, but ran to the town and complained. The alcaid apologized by protesting that he did not know the fellow had the honour of belonging to his excellency; and that, if he had, he was the last man in the world to have taken such a liberty with his person; which was in effect the truth.

This governor (Bassa *soi-disant*) was a remarkably large and also handsome man, which he seemed to be very well apprized of. He was superbly mounted, and was clad from head to foot in the finest muslins. He possessed all the air and deportment of a man of consequence.

Quitting now Salee, the escort proceeded northward by the sea-side, having on the right, or to the east, the great wood of Marmora, (which extends six days journey into the country,) chiefly of evergreen oak, and whence their dockyards draw their supplies.

Marmora.—*Six hours.*—Marmora is a fortified town with a castle on the river Cebu, which flows from Fez. The plain of the name is a level of eighty miles inland. The word signifies to this effect—a great plain.

This town was once in the possession of the Portuguese, who, imitating Mohammedan precedent, presented Christianity to mankind at the point of the lance. The escort was ferried over the river, and encamped on its bank. On the left of the ensuing route lie the ruins of Azimor and Fedala; towns of trade in their day, and exporting corn.

Itinerary.—Morocco to Tangier. *Eleventh Day.* For several miles this route now runs by the side of the river, which is deep, of slow descent, and meandering most picturesquely in the boldest and most comprehensive sweeps that can be seen or imagined, through rich flats and meadows of a depth of verdure (in the tint) of which nothing to be seen elsewhere could give an idea, until its reaches ultimately flatten to the eye, to be lost in the indistinctness of the horizon.

The route next lay through a flat tract on the left of an extensive lake, the borders whereof were, as in other similar situations in this country, overgrown with forests, as they may be called, of tall reeds, the resort of aquatic birds. Indeed in such a soil and climate, vital organization must abound in each and every of the elements capable

of maintaining it. The country around was thickly studded with Arab camps. Several islands are in these lakes. Insular situations are, from the remotest periods, chosen for holy purposes. The Tiber had its sacred island, the site of the mysterious serpentine ritual. On each of these, here, is a sanctoreum; which, its roof covered with gray tiles reflecting the sun's blaze, enlivens the scene. Nineteen large Arab camps were counted this day; but the country was so flat that the expanse of the view was very limited. From several they brought excellent milk (these pastures give it a richness of which Europe can supply no idea), pure, or compounded with other ingredients, the latter very good, a substantial mess in which *cuscusu* had a part. This truly deserves to be entitled a land flowing with milk and honey. Arab hospitality, however, although it is here no more than the diffusion of superfluity, is not in these degenerate days exercised *gratis*: nor can all this good exist without some annexation of evil. At our evening encampment in these watery districts, warning had been given to use every precaution of which our tents admitted the adoption, against the access of mosquitos; too diminutive an epithet for such a formidable race. The warning was of no avail. The tents were closed with the utmost care; but no sooner was the fatal measure of lighting the candles adopted, directing these columns upon their point of attack, (and of the attraction whereof no apprizal had been given, but which seemed the signal for general assault,) than myriads forced their way in with such a sanguinary fury, determined as they were to give no quarter, that all thoughts, save of self-defence, were completely put an end to for the night. Paper masks and mittens, loose clothing, extinguishing lights and fires, every expedient was put in practice; but still, though multitudes were kept off or diverted, the venom of the stings of such as attained their ultimatum, the taste of Christian blood, was such, that in

the morning it was hardly possible to recognise each other's faces. They drew blood from the horses; and it was by dint of vigilant and powerful watching, that the latter were prevented all night breaking from their piquets. Nature teems here with life, and this is one of the evils of it.

Morocco *to* Tangier.—*Eleventh Day.* The march commenced at daybreak, in thick fog; the latter a natural result of the circumstances of the soil. The route crossing the northern head of the lake, at a branch the depth whereof brings the water to the horses' shoulders, with a muddy bottom, enters a wood of oak, in which the trees for the most part bear the marks of fire. Here the guard seemed to entertain apprehensions, and consequently loaded their fire-arms. Quitting the wood, an extensive and fertile plain was next entered upon, with a large lake on the left of the route; and after several hours' march, order was given to halt, in gardens running into all the luxuriancy of neglect, of a village, whence a plenteous supply of rich new milk, honey, bread, and the finest white figs ever tasted, put the most romantic speculations ever fostered by epicurism to a distance. Proceeding after an hour's rest, at sun-set Al Kasr was reached, seated on the bank of a deep and rapid river, which discharges at Larache, and surrounded for two miles distance by a flat of meadow, of a verdure and luxuriancy to which, out of these soils and climates, no parallel can be produced. This is a considerable but not populous town: it is dirty, straggling, and dilapidating in its interior, but environed by gardens and orchards walled, the trees of the interior protruding their luxuriant heads and foliage over and beyond the battlements. The general appearance of the place, especially towards evening, is most picturesquely gloomy. It was built at the close of the twelfth century by Jacob Ben Joseph, surnamed El Mansor. The town has

ten mosques: the houses are of brick, and different from what is elsewhere seen in Barbary, with ridged or wood roofs covered with red tile: a due submission to the mandates of climate and reason. One of the embassies of the commencement of the last century, or the chronologist of it, who seems to have truly been a "much-enduring man," is very angry with that which preceded it, for taking notice of such a dirty place. We are the sport of circumstances. Here fell Don Sebastian, and the flower of the nobility of Portugal. But he arose again alone. His walking has given the government of Portugal some trouble at times: such a strong hold has whatever is incredible upon the credulity of mankind!

The region of these lakes, or of the river here, seems a natural demarcation of climate, like the river of Salee. A universal verdure prevails now to the north, which is not the case on the other side. All exploratory curiosity, all solitary meditation, to which the scenery so attractively led, were baffled, however, by the malignity and impertinence of the rising generation, which exceeded all that had ever been seen in that way of annoyance since our arrival in the country. They formed for attack into squadrons, advanced to the charge with the perseverance and reiteration of veterans, and thus continued assailing us in our very camp, defying all fatigue, until night put an end to their warfare. These children in point of levity, were in respect of growth many of them near enough to manhood to do serious injury; and even the office and venerable beard of our alcaid did not protect him from their outrage; insomuch that he was at last fain to retire from the contest, like our Henry the Fourth from his Welsh campaign, "with some discomfort." At best he could make but a drawn battle of it.

Morocco to Tangier.—*Twelfth Day's Route.* Just at dawn, as the camp was first beginning to arouse, an Arab entered it, whilst the inmates were rubbing their eyes, (an admirably chosen time for a *coup-de-main*,)

and very deliberately disembarrassed from his feet tethers a handsome gray horse, the property of an alcaid of twenty-five men, which was piqueted opposite to his master's tent in the centre of the camp; and, mounting, walked him with apparent unconcern out of the precinct. The morning was hazy; and as soon as he thought himself out of musquet-shot, the thief clapped one of his hands in derision, and giving a loud laugh, drove his heels into the horse's sides, and, like a sprite, was out of ken in an instant. All were astounded, and looked at each other to discover, if they thus could, what was to be done. But there was, in fact nothing to be done; the case was hopeless, and all bustle unavailing. Horse-stealing has this peculiar convenience, that the crime comes in aid of the escape. The poor alcaid was under the necessity of executing the remainder of his journey on foot.—There was now an evident wish on the part of the chiefs to protract the duration of the journey, and this in order to add to the days of pay. Still, this evening a sight of Cape Trafalgar in Europe was obtained, and the chill easterly breeze of the Straits felt. In the course of this day four rivers were passed; their banks worn away showed many feet perpendicularly of rich vegetable earth. They are bordered to a considerable distance by flats of meadow, and these are skirted by moderate acclivities fertile in the extreme, and cultivated in part, but were not so covered with strong herbage; and the prospect is interspersed at intervals, as if to gratify the eye, with woods, groves, and shaws of the cork-tree. On the route are two marts, or sites of annual fairs, the resort of Arabs and civic Moors for the purchase of cattle. Where mankind meet at short periods of time to transact the necessary intercourse of life,—as for instance, weekly at markets,—the procedure tends perhaps more than any other to civilization: but this good effect is by no means the result of those meetings of rare return, called fairs. In fact, proportionate pre-

valence of one in regard to the other, is a very significant criterion of the progress out of barbarism.

Twenty-seven Arab camps were counted this day. As Mount Atlas by his trunk converges in here, the animals *feræ naturæ* abound; and instead of the antelope, which indeed is seen only to the South, the wild boar predominates, and is recognised by his traces in the humid soil. Though an object of abhorrence, he affords sport to the Moors, who go out in large parties on horseback to shoot him, piquing themselves on hitting the animal close behind the shoulder. The boar feeds chiefly on the palmita plant, rendering himself thereby an object worthy of the royal palate of the lion. The gray squirrel beautifully striped gray and black; the brinded wolf, the eye whereof seems to abhor the day; the porcupine, the hedgehog, and fox, are common here. The leopard is frequent, and particularly ferocious. Some of the stuff of the heroes of old is yet wanting here—*pour frayer le chemin* for the progress of the unambitious of the human race, who prefer bread to glory. The lion is met with from Ape's Hill to Fez. The balances of Providence were judiciously observed on in regard to this animal, by our alcaid, in one of our conversations on the route. Of three whelps which the lioness litters, two always die. Were it not so, the race would have the world, in its own latitudes, to itself! Indeed who is so unreflecting that the harmony of nature cannot strike him? This animal is here caught in pit-falls, for the sake of the skin, whereon (as we are informed), such is the force of instinctive veneration, a flea will not trespass; a desirable quality here. It is said, if a man leave his clothes to the lion, he will not pursue; the fact is, he does not pursue. He will condescend, thinking, as it should seem, so far not inconsistent with due dignity, to exert three springs to catch his prey: if that doth not succeed, he returns sullenly indignant to his lair. But he usually judges his powers and distances

well; each spring is not less than twenty feet. But the horse makes a better calculation than man, and is quite as ready to get rid of this burthen, as the latter is of his clothing. On smelling the lion, which he does at an inconceivable distance, he recognises him instinctively, though for the first time, and gallops off at full speed, doing his utmost to disembarrass himself of his load, in a true spirit of party accommodation, at a mutual sacrifice of the third interest. Those who frequent these mountains find it expedient ever to rely implicitly on the instinct of their horses.

Four Arab camps were passed on this day; the mountain is uncongenial to this race.

Morocco *to* Tangier. *Thirteenth day.*—On approaching Tangier, the country becomes mountainous. The mountain participates in the great organization of Nature, having its skirts of schist. The natives live in small hamlets; and their huts are constructed of frame-work of wood covered with rushes or reeds. The country here breaks in upon the eye in close precision with the poet's description upon the memory;—

> " Jamque procul nemorum raræ se attollere frondes
> Surgere congesto non culto mapalia culmo
> Proxima Leptis erat;"—

And Lempta was a place of ancient note in Barbary, seemingly not remote from these districts. The son of the alcaid, a young man of an interesting and very modest aspect, came out from Tangier to meet the escort under his father's command. They had not seen each other now for upwards of two years. The young man threw himself off his mule, ran up and kissed his father's stirrup. The father raised his hand, and bestowed on him his blessing in patriarchal gravity. No inquiries or questions passed on either side; and the son, joining in the *cortége*, followed his father. Arriving unexpectedly, much dust and gunpowder

was escaped, and we dismounted quietly at our quarters. Seventy-five soldiers (and no more) continued with us to Tangier, out of two hundred, the full complement at our departure from Morocco; the rest having detached themselves as they approached their respective residences. Those who came here had started very early for a military life: they could not, for the most part, have been above eighteen years of age at that time. Such is probably the system here. They gave us, by their conduct, notwithstanding a few surmises by the way, during a tolerably long acquaintance, no reason to depreciate them in the general scale of mankind.

Tangier.—The Sultan offered the exclusive trade of this place at the commencement of the siege of Gibraltar to Britain: but the barbarian's proposal was treated with neglect; and, as some say, with derision. The ridiculousness of his presuming to claim an interest in such a thing, is said to have been descanted on in England in a very humorous way. Due care was however taken that he should feel himself insulted. He then offered it to Spain, and obtained considerably higher terms than he had asked from England. The transaction appears to have made a deep impression on the royal mind. He had contrived to make the former treaty a rich one for himself; for, by it, live stock was to have been exported for British use duty free; but by successive encroachments arising out of the supineness of those who ought to have adverted to such things, his majesty contrived to get a duty established here, four dollars per head on black-cattle, and six ounces on sheep.—The policy of the great governor of Gibraltar of the day (1785) is to dispense with all African supplies to his garrison, and to convince the people here that he can do without them. Thus has commenced a warfare of negations and privations; and this town, formerly a place of considerable bustle, now languishes.

The castle had shortly previous to our arrival here been much injured by the blowing-up of the magazine. As a Moorish fortress, it is by the closeness of the embrazures more picturesque than formidable. The Swedish embassy, yet here, performed its journey with much ease, taking twenty-two days to go over what the British did in eighteen. It is delayed here by the vessel, which conveyed it to Mogodor, yet remaining beating up the coast against the steady north breeze. The Sultan had presented the Swedish ambassador with an indifferent horse and two very indifferent travelling companions—ostriches: a leg of one of them was broken in forcing upon the animal the necessity of committing itself to an element new to it, at the ferry of Bulaghuan.

It must be indeed a barren mind which could avoid treasuring up, in a journey such as is here related, ample matter for reflection during the residue of life. The harvest of travelling does not ripen immediately. Very few indeed are able at once to say they have made the most of what they have seen. The proofs which the observer's eye daily meets with, how much matter of an obvious nature too has escaped other travellers, must make him diffident.

In reviewing the tract of the earth recently passed over, it is obvious that its constitution, however diversified, is entirely alluvial. The country eastward from Mogodor to Morocco is evidently a substratum; *one, at least*, having been washed away, as appears by the proof patches heretofore described as now extant, to declare to the fact. The whole tract is covered with reduced dilapidation, either horn-stone, trapp, or basalt. This part of the Great Plain from the Atlantic to the sea has a rapid descent, as is ascertained by the directness of the courses of the rivers, as well as their rapidity. North of the stony part to Bulaghuan, the argillaceous tract has its undulated form by the wash of waters, and is diversified so into valleys: but the elevations all present one level.

This tract of soil is proved by the banks of the rivers, or rather by the valleys through which they run, to be of great depth; and the inclination of the plain which it forms, dips considerably westward. Such is the case northward to the latitude of Salee. A considerable deviation from this degree of inclination is perceived further to the north; and this is demonstrable by the waters, the rivers winding in more numerous and bolder sweeps, and the element extending into lakes over the plane. This takes place more particularly towards the coast, where the impulse of the ocean has formed an embankment to cause this return of the water. The counteracting level, or inclination, has thus constituted, what some would be rather surprised to find here, a humid tract. From every appearance, then, the country in the latitude of Fez westward to the coast, judging by the meandering of the rivers much more than by the eye, is nearly a water-level to the foot of Mount Atlas, one of whose limbs is protruded to the Straits, while his main body follows nearly the outline of the coast of the Mediterranean, to his utmost termination at the falls of the Nile. The western shore of this tract is in its northern part, as for instance at Salee, bold. This is the tract of second inclination already described. Southward, the most inclined of the three plains has its shore consistently merging easily into the level of the ocean: hence the tower of Mogodor is the chief conspicuous object on the coast. There is a great in-set of the ocean on all this western coast, as has been too fatally known to many. This is the return of the waters seeking their level from the operation of the rade winds; and during all summer a systematic influx of atmosphere prevails from the north down this coast, to supply the deficiency of equilibrium caused by rarefaction at the equator. Such are the uniform laws whereon Nature acts. In consequence of the in-set of the ocean and prevalence of westerly winds during the winter season, with

the tremendous surf thereby caused, the harbours here are barred, and of course subjected to one very serious inconvenience. El Valadia would, however, be an exception to this.

Policy and commerce cry aloud, and both nature and art should be moved, to accomplish the opening the inhospitable coast of this redundant country. But to none does the appeal so forcibly address itself as to the nation which leads in commercial enterprise. Africa, indeed, seems now the only part of the globe perfectly free for the introduction of adventure and speculation, and it is likely to continue so fully long enough to reward the trouble and risk. The attempts, however, if any take place in this direction, must be made upon a scale very different in every respect from aught hitherto done in that way.

But to revert to the main and conclusive article—Geology. It is to be observed, that no trace of volcanic operation appears. In the outlines of Atlas himself there is nothing that indicates the existence in any former day of a *crater*. This is by no means conclusive; but it is strongly presumptive: at any rate it renders investigation the more interesting. Atlas in his personification, we know, is a great king as well as a giant. As a neighbour, he was of course considered as being well acquainted with the domestic concerns of the heavenly host. He for a long period possessed a powerful interest in the minds of men below: however, in latter ages he has fallen, it seems, into neglect. But until the great globe itself, and all that it inherit, shall dissolve, there remains a probability that he may yet excite that degree of attention from science and investigation, which he is so well capable of rewarding.

Passage from TANGIER *to* TARIFFA.—Fielding, it is well known, attempted to write a narrative of a sea voyage; and it is equally well known, that he was not altogether successful in so doing. The fact is, though it seems not to have struck that very ingenious man, that the in-

terest of a reader runs by no means corollary with the leisure of a writer. At any rate, sea-voyages are best written by nautical men, for the cause of science; the sentiments and impressions of others in the predicament being usually, and naturally enough, a repetition of the wailings of tedium and grievance. But it is worthy of remark what trivial incidents interest us in reading such narrations, participating as we do in the impression which the objects, light as they are, make at the moment upon the mind of him who observes them.

A very frail and crank boat, manned by a crew of three individuals and descriptions, (a Spaniard, a Moor, and a renegade,) who employed their leisure time in theological discussions, under a very unpromising sky, was a situation little calculated to encourage the thought of making excursions far from home: and a quarantine on the little patch of rock and sand opposite to Tariffa, called by our sailors Parsley-Island, rather induced the mind to brood on immediate sensations. Inquiry and reflection, however, are not to be entirely baffled: and as to the first, it is most strongly asserted by several, in contradiction however, be it observed, to probably an equal number, that the current does not always set *up* the Straits in the middle of the channel. It is a subject which has afforded matter for many hours of doughty argument, and will for many more. Facts, too, are arrayed on either side in loud and boastful competition. But all that shall be said in the present case is, that people who live in, on, and by the object so much descanted on, and who have no interest in it as matter of dispute, declare such to be the case. Consulting the process of nature, introducing somewhat of a rationale into the business, this much is certain; that a shallower sea under the same latitude (and this will operate more fully if warmth of climate come in aid) will have more evaporation than the deeper one: and if this evaporation be so strong as to more than countervail the

influx of the rivers which run into it, there must then be a regular in-set of the nature here spoken of, subject perhaps occasionally to small deviations.

Geryon, the proprietor of numerous herds, is now our next neighbour, having left our friends under the protection of his opposite, Antæus, or at least his heir and successor; for, whether this personage do actually still exist as much as ever, or whether he be, as history tells us, and substantiates by the uncontrovertible fact of his sixty-cubit-skeleton, actually dug up,—a pretty tolerable proof that it must have been, as alleged, buried there,—his spouse Tinga (Tingis, Tangier) inflexibly remains near her husband, alive or dead. Whatever be the fact, the fables of antiquity are entitled to attention. The Geryon of old preserves the essence *of* his ancient denomination, in the modern one *of* Trafalgar; an ominous epithet indicative of the length of the monster's grasp, too fatally experienced by those whom ill-fortune and bad weather bring within his clutches. Cottes, his neighbour on the south, now Spartel, is less fatal, though equally menacing. Conspicuous sea-marks were personified into giants by a nautical people; whose romances were swallowed by the credulous, and embellished by the poetical. They gained ground by their marvellousness; and, in gaining ground, thus obtained credence, it may be said, in the ratio of their incredibility. But such is human nature: it is by the imagination, and not the judgement, that man is taken or decides. Dangerous rocks fatal to mariners run out far to sea around Trafalgar; and fatal they must have been in numberless instances to the early navigators of Palestine, that site of primitive life of every description, civic, mercantile, and pastoral; that *pepinière* of ideas and terms. Three-fourths of Grecian fable is nautical. But *Grecia mendax*, great as is her fame in this way, does not bear the wreath for invention. Finally, as man has come down to us by that

channel deified, and ideas symbolized; so things, as for instance mountains, are personified. This procedure, so obvious and general, is traceable throughout etymology. Hence are the opponents of the conquering or incursive Hercules; the sons of Neptune; the fraternity Bergion and Albion on the Rhone; Riphæus, an ominous sound to mariners,—and various others through the diversities of language. But we must recollect, What is the universe but one vast giant? Such it presented itself to ancient ideas. These Straits were too frequently in recurrence not to present endless subject of fable. Thus, too, ancient denominations, terms founded in the remotest radicals of language, remain locally affixed to the present day, for such as choose to bestow time on these investigations. But this number is few; for it is easier to coin new matter than re-cast the old: and as to authenticity, that is a quality of small weight with mankind at large: research must be its own reward.

Quarantine is indispensably to be complied with on crossing to Europe from Africa. The negligent habits of the Moors are too well known. These people give a specimen on the subject, which proves that logic and truth are not exactly the same. To the inquietudes of the Europeans at Tangier, the reply was,—"Here are three thousand of us, and ten individuals of you. Do you imagine our lives are not as valuable to us, in our estimations, as yours are to you?" Yet no cautionary measure was taken. At Tariffa, an indulgence was first granted to quit the island, and go through the period of confinement in a solitary guard-house on the main. At the end of six days the examination took place. It was conducted with perfect politeness; but much deeper impressions of commiseration and sympathy were excited in the minds of our inspectors, in considering the hopeless future state of our wretched renegade, than any that could have been wrought by symptoms of the most morbid corporeal malignity.

The signal-house here has a vast command of the Straits, as is severely felt by our merchantmen in time of war.

JOURNEY FROM TARIFFA TO CADIZ.

First Night's Halt.—This was made with herdsmen in their *rancho*, what in America would be called a wigwam, built of boughs, with benches of sod around, strewed with rushes to sleep on, and a fire in the centre. It brought to mind the night passed by the hero of La Mancha with the goatherds; but inaptitude in the language precluded such deep discourse. The accommodations of the golden age seem to have been but indifferent: but these good herdsmen in their rude circumstances had all the courteousness assigned to it, and the travellers the full extent of that accommodation he was capable of extending. The face of the country is a dead flat, and the soil rich meadow land. In the more broken tracts, where they present themselves with schist, heath and furze, the largest lizards ever seen, of the green kind, bask in the sun, drawn at mid-day from their holes by the sultriness of the weather. The tract is further interspersed by woods of cork-tree, and is intersected by lakes with low borders, clothed with high reeds, the resort of aquatic birds, amongst which the crane stalks gigantically on the verge of the confined horizon. On this route is passed Medina, a town in a commanding situation: but the elevation is too abrupt for modern warfare. Next is entered Xonil, on the sea-shore just north of the ancient Geryon (Trafalgar), the triple-headed monster subdued by the nautic Hercules, to whom, hard by this place, was a temple appositely placed. Here is a tunny-fishery, which yields great returns. It is a principal supply of not bad food to Spain. It causes a great bustle here. No inertness appears to clog the energy of the Spaniard in this occupation. Cervantes mentions the aggregation engaged in it as a

grand academy of slang and profligacy. Two of these fish are a load for a yoke of oxen. They approach the shore in shoals. The nets are spread out and around to a considerable extent, in the expectation of inclosing them, which they do not fail to do, the fish continuing swimming round and round within, not making any effort to escape, until the tide leaves them dry, when they are carted away. Thus a vast quantity is annually taken. This procedure takes place during the summer solstice here, a time when, from the difficulty found in curing them in our northern latitudes, the visit of a shoal of herrings ceases to be a blessing. Here they find no difficulty in what should be a much more delicate process. Large vaults arched over are made, very like stone baths, with good drains and gratings over them at the bottom. The fish, when unloaded, is immediately cut up into pieces about the size of twopenny loaves, which are thrown into these vaults, and then covered with salt, thus proceeding with successive layers. The building, wherein this is done, is on a considerable scale, lofty, and perfectly cool. From hence this article of food is sent all over Spain. It is somewhat coarse in fibre, but by no means bad. Caviar is made of the roes. In this place is a venerable castle. Vejel, in its neighbourhood, is situated on a bluff hill. It is five hours journey hence to the river of San Pedro; whence the Isla, Chiclana, and the Caraccas being passed, a fine causeway brings the traveller to Cadiz, which city now presents itself on the route for a second time. Its interest does not increase. It is any thing rather than Spanish: and people travel here to see Spain! Even the elements refuse themselves to this site of population. Land and water reproach the choice by withholding their aid to human existence on it. House-rent here is enormous.

When the combined fleets lately lay here, fresh water was not to be had by the inhabitants at any price. It may be asked, How they then

did? Why, as all mankind must under such circumstances:—most houses use the precaution, against an evil hour, of having cisterns: but it may readily be judged what sort of a resource this is in a numerous menage, such as all are here. Thus milk is not only a luxury, but a rarity, at Madrid: water is often equally so here; that is, when the navigation across the bay from Santa Maria is from any cause interrupted. The Spaniard is by nature a Stoic, and insensible to what feebler minds call comforts and conveniences; but it is by no means so with foreigners, who take care to be duly compensated for what they give up. Probably trade has fixed itself here continuously from the remotest period of time. It is said that foundations of buildings are discoverable on the Puercos, those rocks in the mouth of the harbour so dangerous to shipping. If so, they are to be ascribed to that enterprising nation the Carthaginians, or perhaps to the parent state of Palestine.

In military matters the German system, it has been observed, is in favour here, with the higher powers at least; but it does not appear to grow into congeniality. It is now the practice to station grenadiers in the playhouse among the audience to maintain order; a thing, it may be observed by the way, Spanish habits are of all, perhaps, on earth the least inclined to break through. Interference, however, of this sort is much disrelished; and an instance of it has just occurred.—A gentleman said he would not be silent, on receiving advice from the Mentor in his neighbourhood, who so far did his duty; but in consequence the soldier knocked him down. On the circumstance being reported, the colonel reproved the soldier, telling him he ought to respect the character of the person, and, when he had to deal with a gentleman in that way again, to use his sabre and not his fist.

It is evidently an object of the present dynasty to denationalize the Spaniard as much as possible. The fandango participates too much

of the national sentiment; and as the Stage is considered here, and justly, a very important influencer of the public mind, this representation was forbidden by the present governor, to the no small grief of all true Spaniards. Its revival was effected from a quarter the least apprehended, from the very people its sacrifice was intended to please—the French themselves. When the combined fleets lay here, as already mentioned, an opportunity was seized, by the presence of the governor himself at the theatre, and the cry of the allies of the family interest from all quarters of it compelled the representation, endurance, and repetition of this adoption of Negro taste. An interruption of stage business of frequent recurrence strikes a stranger somewhat whimsically. At the sound of the bell of the *Rosario* (a religious procession) passing by the theatre, all mimicry and all attention to it are instantly suspended. The audience averts itself from the stage, while the dead there rise for the instant to tread again. The tyrant is seen humbled on his knees, while the lover turns his back on her who was the moment before the object of his adoration. But the charm once broken by the cessation of the bell, the living uncorrected resume their wonted views, while the dead with exemplary resignation again sink into the quiet grave. Our East and West India fleets, as is universally known, fell into the hands of the combined ones of the house of Bourbon, and were brought in here. Of all their contents, none excited curiosity and inquiry equal to those machines called mangles, of which a number were on board. The people here could form no idea to what purpose they were applicable, but were much delighted with them when shown their use. They speak to that effect to this day.

All is, as may be supposed, immoderately dear at Cadiz, partly owing to its situation, and partly to the immense sums dissipated in it. A heavy tax is, in the national policy, levied on provisions entering the

gates. This is on the principle of bounties reversed; a regulation for the extinction of trades and manufactures. It is, as they say, appropriated to build the great church; but the church seems rather appropriated or ancillary to the levy of the tax, and in consequence will never be finished. It has now been in progress or stationary eighty years—ample time for the foundations to settle. An aqueduct is in progress too, partly on the foundations of the ancient one used by the Romans: it is to be hoped its completion is of better prospect than that of the church. Gaming goes through all its speculations, as may well be supposed in this decoy of the young and heavy birds of passage from the other side of the Atlantic to the mother country. From Cadiz, the voyage is across the bay to the *Puerto de Santa Maria* for such as intend to visit Spain. Its duration is an hour and a half's sail. Here is a military academy under the inspection of Colonel O'Farrell. This institution the country owes to Count O'Reilly. Whether that officer be more to be censured for the *longo proximus intervallo*, or praised for endeavouring to elevate himself into the Lacy of Spain, is not a matter now to be discussed.

Route from SANTA MARIA *to* SEVILLE.—LAS CABEZAS, a town upon a hill, as the name indicates. A single *posada* is at the foot of it. The soil is argillaceous, deep, and apparently powerfully fertile.

SEVILLE.—The adjacent and immediate soil here seems all alluvial. The meadows must be very productive while the sun allows it. Cervantes speaks with delight of this place at the time *quando campean las mantequillas*, "when the little prints of butter make their appearance." This must be some time towards Christmas.

There is a great deal in Seville to reward curiosity, investigation, and taste. The oftener this city is seen, the more will the merits of its situation be evident. The Moorish system of architecture, which happily

yet predominates, is admirably designed for comfort in this climate: but many streets here are too narrow for carriages. It is said that this city contains eight hundred noble families. The Guadalquiver rises formidably in these precincts. In the last year (1784) it rose to the height of four feet in some of the streets, marks being made in commemoration of the event. The communication across this great river is judiciously by a bridge of boats.

The amphitheatre at Santi Ponce (Italica) is an object of curiosity to strangers. The *Torre de Oro* is a valuable specimen of Roman architecture in its way.

The lover of painting also will be pleased in Seville. He will see among much other interesting matter the Descent from the Cross by Campano, which the celebrated Murillo passed the leisure hours of his life in admiring, and at the foot of which he is, by his express desire, buried. But indeed the Spanish school never has acquired or possessed that interest or investigation to which its merits entitle it. To look out the master-pieces of art here, is somewhat of a task, and the disadvantages and toils of the traveller cool the zeal of the amateur. Here are twenty hospitals; and the number of beggars, well dressed and in rags, is incalculable. Having been banished from Madrid and Cadiz by the police, they have concentrated themselves for their final stand here, until the time that they shall be put to flight by a workhouse now building. But they seem determined to cling to their darling occupation even with a parting fondness; an attachment which this profession seems to possess in the breast of man with a firmness to which no other can present competition. In all the erroneous proceedings of this generally well-intending government, we still see here, as elsewhere, the prescription applied to the symptom.

In a court adjoining to the cathedral of this city, strangers have

pointed out to them a sepulchral inscription of the time of the Visigoths, A.D. 648. It is said, a person was once curious and assiduous enough to count the antique columns extant here, and that they amount to sixty thousand: a proof what Seville must have been in the time of the Romans.

The environs here are divided, verdant, shaded, fertile, and (it need hardly be added) beautiful. Nothing called for by human life can be wanting. The divorce effected between land and population by *Mayorazgos* and mortmain has caused the torpor of the upper, the disappearance of the middle, and the wretchedness of the lower classes; and, but for the outlet the colonies offer, would long ere this have overthrown the state. How casually applied the palliative, when infatuation inflicted the disease! How this country has been the victim of the fortunes she worked for the rest of mankind! How eventful the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella! The subjugation of the Moors leads to the extinction of sciences, arts, and trades. The union of crowns leaves the state in a situation of provincial repulsion, debarring all hopes of national concentration. The persecution of the Jews precludes the aid a community derives from the most useful description of its inmates, the savers and accumulators: and as a palliative for all this, what is presented? Colonization!—Such have been moral causes and events.

Spain is to become industrious by a muslin-manufactory, because such establishments are found in countries endowed with industry. Such is the human *rationale!* The silks of Grenada, which supplied the Moors with materials for *chef-d'œuvres* of manufacture, are to be put on the shelf, for Spain to enter into competition with England in stuffs the fabric of the cottons of America. This is the wise project of the present day; and Englishmen are found, it may well be judged at what

price, to carry such a precious scheme into effect. The agents and instruments are now both here. By the manner in which the former travel, it appears clearly that they have the particular patronage of government*, while by their embarrassed demeanour under the eye of any of their countrymen not connected with such views, it is obvious they feel considerably ashamed of what they are about. All, however, live in a way which proves they have other resources than their own pockets. Some of the inferior description had acquired a remarkable fluency in the Spanish language, ill according with the general *bourgeoisie* of their appearance and manners. It was to their misfortune this acquisition was made. For they had evidently their education in the low church principles, and, by their turn for disputation, it might have been inferred, had actually figured and harangued in conventicles. The Scriptures, and the facility of *rendering* them into Spanish, were equally at their fingers' ends. It may be judged what a happy accomplishment this must be in Spain. It is not in human nature to resist the love of display; and at a Spanish *table d'hôte* it may well be judged where the advantage would be. Unfortunately, this last circumstance did not render the matter by aught more palatable to those of the natives who were to hear it, and polemical discussions approached closely to the other term for dispute. The zeal and complacency of a self-created apostolic mission had completely blinded one orator to a storm long gathering against him on the brow of a portly Andalusian, "awful and dark," who, at length unable to contain, thundered out his *ratio ultima* to the following effect: "The same law which forbids the sacred Scriptures being read, forbids their being subject of conversation!"

* The utmost extent to which any appearance of diplomatic establishment, which some will suppose ought to have been glancing an eye to these things, from Britain, had hitherto reached in this country, was in the arrival at Madrid of—*the cook*.

More, and perhaps worse, was coming; but the address and *bonhommie* of a cheerful and benevolent Biscayan, captain of a regiment in the garrison, who, with the characteristic good humour of his countrymen, had, by various efforts to turn or stop the conversation, endeavoured to prevent things coming to extremities, now at length succeeded in silencing one party and pacifying the other: no easy task. But his argument for interference was the striking part—"We *foreigners* should be cautious." A native of Biscay, a captain in the Spanish service, speaking of himself as a foreigner in Spain! Where, then, is the nation? or to what can the *nation* amount? Silence however now reigned, imposed by mandamus, and the privation of conversation was more than compensated by the loss of the discussion. "'Tis strange how some men's tempers suit," &c.

The fondness of the Spanish women for the delicate article of manufacture before mentioned is very great, but by no means adequate to call for its introduction, as an article of manufacture for the nation. It is the principle of industry, and not its modes, that the Spanish community wants.

When a stranger reaches Seville, he perceives that he has gotten into Spain. The real Spanish beau is to be met with here: *maxo* is the national phrase for the character. There seems more of the sentiment of the dignity of human nature than even of self-complacency in the composition of it. He adds little prop to his national Merino system. Silks, satins, and lace, constitute his wardrobe. In a large-brimmed round hat, his hair in a *redecilla*, a scarlet coat thrown over a waistcoat of silver tissue, puffed out with ribbons at the shoulders, and a basket-handled Toledo blade under his arm, at midnight, and at the billiard-table, he appears in his glory; a frivolous one, perhaps, but marked by national characteristics. The Spaniards are very fond of, and great adepts at this

game, playing with great strength, so as to drive the opposing ball over the table.

On St. Peter's eve the Giralda was illuminated with a profusion of lamps, which, dislodging a number of birds from their usual roost, these continued during the illumination soaring or fluttering in clouds about the light, causing upon the dark atmosphere behind them a most unusual and pleasing sight to spectators below. This Giralda is the tower of the cathedral, built by the same architect who constructed the great mosque of Morocco; both monuments of Arabian science, taste, and style. The main building is broader, and some yards longer, than Westminster abbey. The derivation of this word *Giralda* is not agreed upon; but it seems most probably from the Spanish verb which expresses to veer or turn, relative to the female figure on its summit which points to the winds, and which is some seventeen feet in height. Originally the tower was but three hundred feet high, and from analogy this may be the height of the great tower of Morocco. But this, had it been recollected, ought to have prevented authors doubting the accuracy of the great conqueror Cortes, who in his letter to the emperor Charles V. states the height of the principal temple of Mexico to be equal to that of this tower; to which fifty feet, they ought to have recollected, have been added since his time. There are thirty turns in this tower, it being square, in the ramp by which its summit is ascended to, and which, as is the case in all structures of this kind, may be done on horseback. An idea conformable with Arabian manners, for moral peculiarities will break out even where they are least expected. In this church is a clock, a curious specimen of Spanish mechanical ingenuity, capable of vying with the most complicated machinery, in its kind, of Germany, and the sole work of a monk. The view over the country, from the top of the Giralda, is as pleasing as any bird's-eye view can be. The houses

of the town, from their mode of building, including courts or areas, are seen into; and it is very probable, that some such situation or circumstance furnished the original idea of *El Diablo Cojuelo*, the prototype of Le Sage's admirable *Diable Boiteux*, where French manners are engrafted upon Spanish scenery. The Alkasr, with its saloon, dome, area, colonnades, and arabesques, is a most beautiful specimen of architecture. But the subject is too well known to require description, and the matter to be described is too multiplied and too minute for any save the microscopic pen of the indefatigable Pons. On this subject of architecture one remark occurs, and always will in travelling through Spain; namely, that it is rather curious that the Goths, who according to our wise heads have given the law of architecture throughout Europe, should have left no trace of it here, where they came so early, and were so long established; but have bequeathed the whole field of architectural science to the Arabs. Italy, indeed, the northern hive had no occasion to exercise its taste in, for all was built and overbuilt to the invader's hands; but this was by no means the case in Spain. What were their architects and men of taste about? The before-mentioned building, the Alkasr, is happily destined to the use of students in statuary and drawing. Their young minds must be imbued for life with the elegant ideas which rule throughout the scenery around them. It is now under repair, and to the infinite gratification of all persons of true taste. A positive *veto* has been put upon the architect inserting the absurdities of his own abortive imagination, and calling it Arabesque.

To revert once more to the subject of painting:—The churches and convents afford delight to the lovers of this beautiful art. Unfortunately, those works of the admirable Murillo in the Franciscan convent have fallen considerably into decay. In the chapel of La Caridad, too, are four capital pictures of this master. One is the Angel appear-

ing to St. Peter; another, a Queen of Hungary administering to the sick. In one of the churches, on the wall, is a painting of St. Christopher, thirty feet high, and admirable for the accuracy of the proportions. But, in fact, Spain is one vast mine of riches in this art; and artists ought ere this to have bestowed all the time it would have taken to make researches and form catalogues of so much matter of real value, now in great measure lost to the world.

The snuff manufactory is one of the wonders of Seville. The whole nation uses this unnecessary article, fabricated for it *de par le roi*, and of course heavily taxed. As all is free will, they have consequently no right to complain on the latter subject. The French, for their domestic purposes, be their relish for it more or less, are obliged to take, for taxation's sake, each a portion of salt. But fortunately it has not yet occurred to Spanish financiers to compel their people in like manner to take snuff; for which reason, probably, all do. The general demand, however, influenced perhaps by the foreign, is not so great as formerly. Still the manufactory sends out annually to the amount of a million sterling. It is sold at two *duros* (hard dollars) a pound. It may be judged what an immense profit reverts on it to the state. The regular stock on hand is thirteen millions of pounds. In every town throughout the nation is an *estancio* (a licensed shop) for retailing it. It improves by age, and that of the best quality is kept in the manufactory for about nine years, in canisters containing six pounds each. The rest is piled in ricks near ten feet high, of sacks holding a hunded weight and upwards. Physiognomies all around are snuff. To conclude: the building is a vast quadrangle, containing twenty-four courts, and has but one gate or outlet, where the search upon exition is as close as in the diamond-mines of India. One hundred-and-fifty horses, and one thousand men, six hundred of whom make segars, are daily employed in it. The snuff

is in its natural state nearly of a straw-colour. It is here in the progress of manufacturing tinged with red bole.

The Inquisition is here in its glory, if not in its horror; in its glory, by having at its head as grand inquisitor the best of men, the archbishop of Seville. He has been already mentioned in regard to a particular occurrence. The details are these. A colonel of a regiment, a foreigner, high in estimation, had obliged two or three of his officers to an extent which they well know they possessed neither inclination nor ability to repay. The effect of this sentiment on a human mind it requires very little experience to divine. But here a peculiar felicity of opportunity offers under such circumstances: they denounced him to the Inquisition. It is probable this *soi-disant* holy institution has been from its earliest days thus an *index expurgatorius* for getting rid of those inconveniences of human life commonly called obligations; and for many an imprudent person the splendid pretext and base lurking motive have been equally ready at hand. The charge here arose from the circumstance of the colonel having put upon the walls of his room certain prints (engravings) which had no immediate relation to orthodoxy. When the affair reached the ears of the grand inquisitor, he treated it as it deserved to be,—cancelled all proceedings, and put it to rest for ever. Yet the people who made this attempt appear at the very moment everywhere in society, and daily look the man in the face whom they have thus injured! The circumstance, however, affords a specimen of what points this institution descends to. In fact, its very essence, its definition; is, to interfere and meddle with every thing. Its effects in a state may be easily judged. Unfortunately persons will change: such a grand inquisitor may not be always here; but the principle is immutable. And this principle is unhappily the reverse of law, which asserts, "*De minimis non curat.*" It is to these the Inqui-

sition by its very essence descends. Every person who becomes a familiar of the Holy Inquisition feels as if he participated in its power when he affords it the means of action. Delation has great attractions for mankind. A familiar is a flattering situation. To have a man's representations even listened to gives a momentary importance, supposing all malignant incitements out of the question. The mystery and secrecy which pervade the procedure seem so like wisdom, too, and the possession of the office being whispered in a man's favour, establishing him in a certain *ton de supériorité* in society, altogether supply matter too gratifying not to be courted. An inquisitorial spirit once announced, will ever find agents ready to volunteer their services. The interference hence was ever to the moral and political detriment of the country, as the above instance, amongst hundreds, shows. Unquestionably that *finesse d'esprit* so obvious in the Spaniards, and which was making such rapid advance to Protestantism in the discovery and exposure of Church abuses, would, but for this powerful political engine, have long ago prostrated the ponderous superstructure which now overshadows the state. To have once come under the notice of this tribunal (such was its seat in the public mind), even although dismissed, put a man *hors d'odeur de sainteté*; or, as we would now express it, made him *unfashionable* for life. His relations disavowed, his friends shyed, his acquaintances cut him, and finally he remained a marked man. This institution has now subsisted for centuries enough to afford a tolerably sufficient period for political experiment or endurance.

Santi Ponce already mentioned (*ci-devant* Italica) is the property of the Church, which has here, it is noticeable, the appointment of the civil magistrates, and executes this power with a judgement which it were much to be wished might be seen elsewhere. That magistracy which has no middle class to select from must be wretched; and nothing can

be more so than the specimens of it which come too often here under observation. Bad as the system of France may be, that of this country is worse. Indeed, what can be expected when power is put into base hands! A bloated aspect of domineering insult, an everlasting effort to make power felt, combined with the most ridiculous and at the same time disgusting charlatanery of authority, to which Shakespear's picture is faint colouring, exhibit themselves unsought. *No me calienta usted la sangue*:—"Do not set my blood in a flame!" *millies repetita* in everlasting reiteration, upon every frivolous occasion, to the amount of twenty times in an hour through the day! This mode of making the impression of personal and official importance was the curious specimen of country magistracy exhibited as extant at the present hour in Spain; but let it not be inferred, under the nomination of the Chapter, which appoints at Santi Ponce. The cathedral here (wherein is the gigantic figure of St. Christopher heretofore mentioned) has been already a century in building. But this protraction is from a cause very different from that which rules in the procedure at Cadiz before noticed. The funds for the structure here arise out of the canonical rents, these worthy churchmen contenting themselves during the period with a bare subsistence for their own use.

Handsome equipages and well-mounted cavaliers appear here in the promenades. Every country has its etiquettes; but no where have they ever ruled more seriously than in Spain, down even to the taking of a pinch of snuff, which important procedure has its indispensable rule. Here in the promenades, what is sometimes taken on one side as a compliment, and sometimes on another as a liberty,—to stare at a lady, is a grossness of behaviour. On the other hand, what would in some places be considered obtrusive, the pulling off the hat to one, is unavoidably necessary, and is expected, when any earnestness of look,

or aught beyond a glance, has casually taken place, if the persons have not already been introduced to each other. A close attention to this principle presents itself when three walk together; in which case vigilant care is taken that the person to be honoured is placed in the centre; next to which, in point of dignity, comes the right. The wall has been the cause of long and sometimes fatal contests. A dispute on this subject recently cost the admiral Moreno that life which the red-hot shot of Gibraltar could not reach. The military, and students at the universities, (those of them at which arms and sciences seem to clash together,) availed themselves by joining issue on this important point. Serious quarrels ensued; but as neither party appeared to advance much towards its object by warfare, an appeal was at length made to the throne. The answer was, that a claim of such importance could not be awarded to either party, where each had such high pretensions: but his majesty in the interim, and as the fountain of honour, decided, that hereafter its place should be *in the middle of the street*.

The Andalusian women are considered as the beauties of Spain. Like the foregoing case, it is hard to decide, where all have such strong pretensions. Except to such as admire stature, as possessed by the Graces of the northern latitudes, the description of the Spanish ladies is but a recapitulation of embellishments. And their taste in dress also, that taste which induces them to retain their national costume in defiance of imported frippery, sets their native elegance off to consummate advantage. The stature of the women is short, in more proportion than is elsewhere observable in Europe, to the men. This is still more remarkable in Andalusia, from the height the male sex there attain. For this reason there are in the houses two sets of chairs, one for the women, another for the men, proportionate. Their persons and carriage, dress and air, infinitely more than compensate for the defect, if such it be. It

may be supposed the *cortége* system reigns here in all its absoluteness of domination, for power seems its regulating principle. The Spanish lady seems to be strongly imbued with the disposition of a Rosalind.

The young men of fortune of Seville frequently go to the Sierra Morena, to hunt the wild boar and deer. What will hardly be believed by our *bons vivans*, or what must, if the business have not been already done, be related to the utter and everlasting condemnation of Spanish *bon gout*, the venison, though by no means bad, is sold here at not more than half the price of butcher's meat.

Itinerary to MERIDA. Merida is a place much talked of, yet little known. Of course it excited a curiosity too powerful not to supersede all arguments in favour of the ordinary and shorter route. Bidding adieu then to Seville, and proceeding northwards, the first halt was made at a *posada* adjoining a chapel, the whole having the romantic appearance of a hermitage. Previously to departure, in making agreement for hire of cattle the money was required to be deposited, and the apprehension of robbery assigned as the cause of the precaution; an ominous commencement to the journey. The *arriero*, however, it was agreed upon as a very fair principle of arrangement, was not to receive it until his return, bringing with him a note from his employers authorizing him to do so. The polemical question of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which so long agitated the Catholic world, is not yet put to rest, although decided in Spain; for a house is always hailed by the call for the acknowledgement of the immaculate conception of the Virgin herself, in the following most emphatically pronounced words, "*Ave, Maria sanctissima* * *!*" to which the reply from within is, "*Sui peccado concebida.*"

Proceeding, the next place we arrived at was Xeres, famous for

* Whereby are obtained no less than twelve hundred and sixty days of indulgence from the pains of purgatory. Thus the account is still kept down.

its wine. The soil of its vicinity is rich and cultivated; the adjacent country is thickly studded with villages; the town itself is handsome; and elegant equipages flitting about in it, indicate that the affluence of commerce has here at least supervened the deleterious effects of an injurious system of rural product.

Quitting Xeres to the north, travellers cross a Moorish bridge with a tower on the centre (a military idea transmitted to our island); and at night reached a single *posada*, four leagues from Xeres. The soil here is deep and moist: a proof of the latter exists in the multitude of fire-flies which pervade the air at evening. A company of a description of persons called Montaneses occupied the inn. They were going on business of trade to Seville. They looked of the most respectable class of farmers, grave and decorous in demeanour. From the appearance of themselves and the cattle they rode, both seemed to live in plenty. They were well mounted; armed with carbines, swords, and pistols: rode with the old Moorish horse appointments; and when on horseback covered all by a cloak. Why is not all like this?

The country hence toward the Sierra Morena is divided into inclosures; farming establishments and villages, with open woods interspersed, present themselves to the traveller's delighted eye.

Sierra Morena.—Approaching this tract of mountains here, the country gradually becomes rugged, assuming an outline very different from that of its eastern extremity. The Sierra here is much more acute, the ridges narrower, the ravines wider,—all those diversities of features which make the difference between schist and granite. Here, too, is more water, and very little wood. Hereabout, however, (that is on the southern skirts of the Sierra,) the country is still picturesque, being interspersed with woods and groves of cork-tree and dwarf oak. This tract is, by the information of our good muleteer, whose openness and

mildness of disposition appear to harmonize ill with the route he adopts for a livelihood, "*malissimo y picaronissimo;*" and the number of crosses erected by the side of it inscribed, "*aqui mataron a* ——, *aqui murio* —— *ruegen a Dios por el,*" testifies to the authenticity of the statement! Smuggling is the school of all this villany.

The Sierra next rises in more acute angles with the horizon, presenting very steep inclinations, and constituting a tract difficult but pervious, as the soil is, at the worst, hard, and the woods open, beneath. The ridges run parallel and longitudinal to the direction of the Sierra, and abundant streams divide them. These abrupt outlines designate schistose ranges; and the country, in a military point of view, is ill-adapted for position or artillery, not partaking sufficiently of the definitions of plateau or glacis, so essential in this view to render elevation of material use. If any thing could justify the commanders in the Succession-war, indeed, it would be the inadequacy of Spain, the more obvious the more her outlines are consulted, to afford any true and sound basis of internal defence. The Romans had, in their day, a causeway between their two important stations of Seville (Italica) and Merida; and here, near Ronquillo, one of their bridges is crossed. This road is now a great resort of muleteers, all well-armed. Game of various kinds abounds throughout this district.

Descending the northern skirts of the Sierra, Santa Olalla, a small town with a castle on a commanding site, presents itself. Ensuing on the route are Monasterios, Almendralejos, a village most beautifully embosomed in almond-trees, as the name imports, and Fuente de Cantos; passing by the town and castle of Monte Molina, also Los Santos and Zafra. Villa Franca, next on the route, is situated in plantations, woods they might be called, of *le triste olivier;* and thus the route was pursued until near to Torre Maxia (*turris maxima*)

guides, travellers, and beasts of burthen, all were at once swamped in a quagmire. The north of the Sierra, it has been already observed, is argillaceous. Also it has been stated to be a step in the general elevation of the peninsula, immediately above the *sandy* level of Andalusia, the vicinity of the level of water to the surface whereof has been recently noted. But this argillaceous level is most uncommonly humid, and its tenacity is no less remarkable. In fact, the water has no mode of escaping but by rarefaction and evaporation into the atmosphere, and that in such a situation is not the work of a day. Hence these nuisances now in question are formed, and continue through a great part of the summer. They are almost invisible, and hardly avoidable: for, though but a few yards wide, they often extend a mile in length; and when once engaged in them, it is no trifling exertion that will extricate man or beast. They are doubly treacherous, as they shift their situation every season. It has not indeed, probably, as yet come to proof, whether they have any bottom or not. Here at Torre Maxia is, as the name imports, a very large tower; of Roman construction, and square. Wedged in a wall at the corner of a street, and plastered in with mud, are noticeable three beautiful statues of white marble. Many similar vestiges of antiquity scattered about, indicate a station once of consequence. From the manner they are secured and neglected, the remains above mentioned, which are perfect, may see better days. It being the month of July, the harvest is now gotten in: the trodden straw reserved for provender is very neatly stacked, and will keep thus, fit for use, full three years. The whole face of the country is now bare of trees, until we approach the banks of the Guadiana.

Merida (Augusta Emerita, in classical language) has for patroness, under the Christian rule, St. Eulalia. This was the first station of the Romans in Spain in point of magnificence, and here they have displayed

their taste in all the variety of idea it possessed, which truly was no very great store. Sacred architecture does not seem, however, to have been the predominating one. Of all the powers which have ruled this country, the Romans have left the most stable remains. Indeed their architecture had a solidity of principle in it, as well as of matter and workmanship, which almost bade defiance to time, unaided by manual violence. Greece colonized the coasts of Spain. Carthage exhausted its population by conscriptions, or other means, for her wars. Rome, which succeeded, imported the grandeur and true principles, as Arabia did subsequently the elegancies and high finishing of architecture. Hence the country can boast such perfection in all varieties. It is extraordinary that this town should have so little attracted the attention of English travellers, who, from classical education probably, appear most inclined of any to advert to this branch of observation. It is now a considerable town, but in the time of the Romans must have been much more so. As for instance, the circus here could contain, it is said, all the present inhabitants (the human inhabitants) of Estremadura, who are calculated at two hundred thousand. This is one precious instance, among many, of the effects of the Merino system; and such it must appear, when we know that the tract here subject to it is an area of two hundred miles by a hundred and sixty; an area, too, of exuberant fertility. Will Government never see how much it behoves them to crush this tendency to shepherd rule?

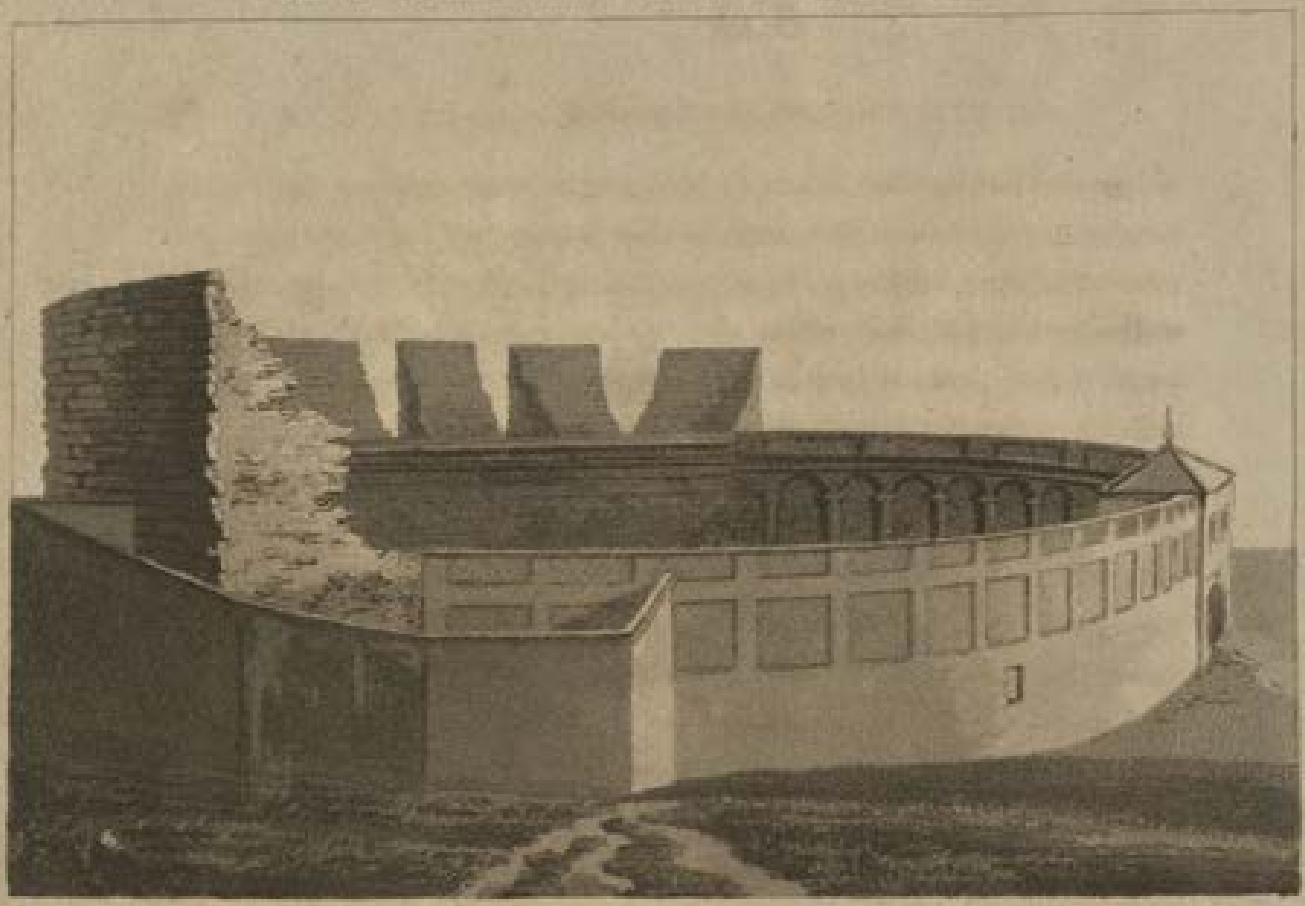
Every description of Roman architecture presents itself here for study and admiration. That the art of painting glass should have been lost is not extraordinary, as the demand for it was not of every day: but that of constructing good masonry, it might have been supposed, once attained, could never after have gone into abeyance. An admirable specimen of Roman science, in the department of bridge-building, is

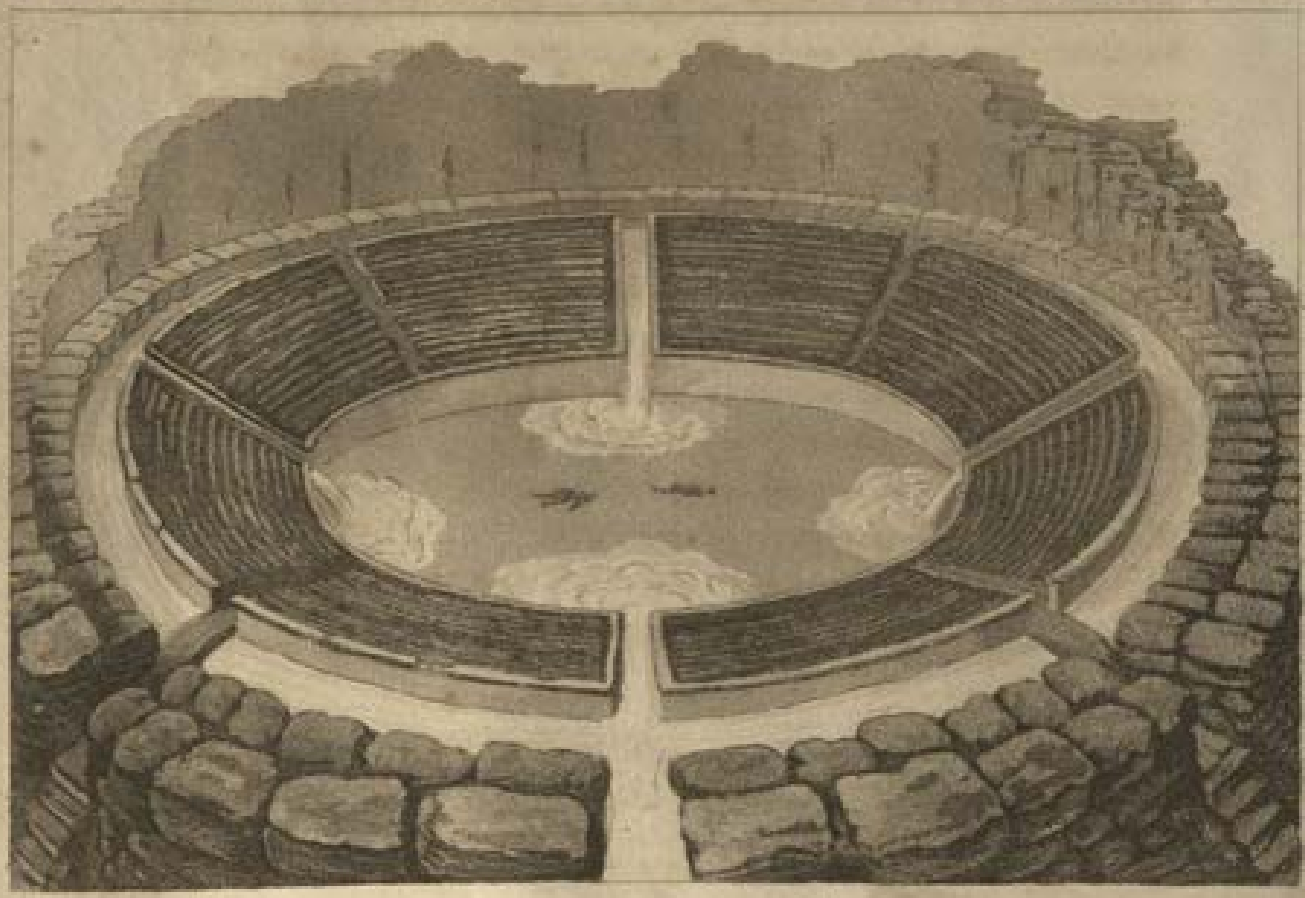
noticeable here. Indeed, as the Romans are the first who appear to have carried the use of cement to its full extent; so also it is next to demonstration that they were the first who saw to full effect the power of the keystone. Here are proofs of it. The keystone obviously is the essential of bridge-building, of which branch the Romans were the first masters. But the perfection of it did not, with them, stop with abutting, trunking, equilibrializing, and crowning: they began from the very foundation, with a stability seen nowhere else, and Merida affords a specimen of it. This bridge is eight hundred and fifty yards long, with seventy-five arches, according to the accounts most generally received, not including those for the flood-gates so judiciously placed in the main piers *. It is impossible, however, hitherto to get people to agree in regard to the number of these arches, seventy-five of which may certainly be counted, five whereof are modern. But as the Guadiana, in its floods, rolls along the pebbles and rubble of its bed with great force and violence, a stupendous pavement of cut stones, each of considerably proportional length, and of a breadth of some three feet, is placed, the stones longitudinally to the current, under, and in such manner as effectually to secure the arches and piers. And such is the strength—and, what is more to the purpose, the precision of the workmanship,—that not one of them has stirred to this day. To divide, and thereby enfeeble the torrent too, acute-angled embankments faced with cut stone counterforted, and the saliant angle presented so as to meet the impetus of the current perpendicularly, protect the centre of the bridge, every component part whereof thus indicates science and forecast. Adjoining nearly to the bridge is seen what is very rare,—a correct and perfect specimen of Roman military architecture, so little adverted to

* But which since (for what does war respect?) have served as chambers for blowing up the piers of these main arches.

by travellers, and about which, indeed, investigation is so unaccountably indifferent. Yet it may be supposed that those who will take an interest in the history of the siege of Syracuse, will naturally be inquisitive relative to the system of defence which produced those surprising narratives. And here is an actual specimen in its full perfection before their eyes. Trajan's Pillar and various depictments give the representation; but here is the reality. The sharp angles and the perfect state of this admirable masonry render it an object incongruous with any idea of the picturesque. The scale and rod are the criterion to judge of such matter. To our notions of defence, these works are flimsy and contracted; seeming rather like models of what was to be, than realities. The shortness of range of the Roman projectiles occasioned the placing their flanking works best adapted to the purpose, in a square form, very close, so that the works consist of short curtains, straight, and about forty feet in height, flanked at very short distances, perhaps eighty feet, by square turrets projecting considerably beyond the curtain. If the range of the pilum from the flank of each turret crossed at the centre of the curtain, the principle of defence was complete, and this was probably the regulator. It is obvious where the deficiency of this system lies. The fronts of the towers are the *foible*. The embrasures and battlements are upon the same diminutive scale, just adapted to the size of a single man, who was to act in it behind them. The masonry is admirable; though cut stone (*ashlar* technically), as used here, never could have the power of resistance of rubble-work to battering-rams. But as the Romans made so much use of calcareous cement, whenever it was to be had, it is probable that the material for it is scarce here. Inside a principal tower of the Roman work, near the bridge, is an inscription on marble; not Roman, Greek, nor modern Arabic, but it may be of that more ancient character which the Arabs,

Ancient Theatre, now a Plaza de Toros, at Merida





View of the ground plan of the Naumachia at Merida

as is well known, used, and of which several specimens on their works elsewhere yet remain. As the principal Roman work, the castle in fact nearly impends on the river, the adjoining bank of the latter is faced to the bottom perpendicularly with cut stone counterforted. A Roman amphitheatre, convertible at the pleasure of the sovereigns of mankind into an arena for beasts and gladiators, or a basin for a *naumachia*, crowns the summit of the gradually rising hill whereon the town is partly built. This situation was obviously chosen for the convenience of a rapid discharge of the water, as the taste of these lords of the creation called for variety, satiation it never experienced, in its bloody spectacles; so that a man might have justly asked here, in the phraseology of our poet, "What bloody scene has Roscius now to act?" The eyes at length glutted with one species of animal misery, vivified at sight of new tortures; and parents, fathers of families, and young broods returned home edified and improved, to descant, in amiable table-talk, reclined at ease at their suppers, on the horrors of the day. How fit for their situations as governors and ameliorators of mankind, must have sallied out these paragons, whom our classical education impresses on us as the models of every virtue! The pastimes of Muley Abdallah were occasional sallies; those of civilized Rome were her daily recreations. This work had an aqueduct expressly for its own use. It is curious to observe the precision wherewith the canals for admission and discharge of the water are proportioned among themselves, in regard to diffusion and capacity, precluding the slightest stagnation. The process of filling and emptying must have been nearly instantaneous. But the Romans were consummate in civil architecture, and from their judgement in convenience, stability, and science, evidently derived experience from a school very different, and probably remote both in time and place, from the mistress of elegance,—Greece. This

amphitheatre is oval; and its largest diameter, computed by pacing, is ninety-three yards or thereabout. The area has now a crop of *garvanzos* in it; a very usual fall here of the pride of antiquity. The soil, though considerably raised, leaves still a depth of five feet or more below the surrounding parapet-wall in front of the seats. These latter rise rapidly in a number of rows, each of which must have commanded a perfect view. The water which filled this great area was brought from La Albuera (*the reservoir*, Arabic), a mile and a half distant. When it reached the amphitheatre, it swept around in a circuitous channel behind the seats, whence it descended into the area by four straight and concentric channels of the same rapid descent with the rows. The *filling* of it must have been a very gratifying procedure in such a climate and situation.

The triumphal arch here is also a curiosity of architecture, there being no apparent cement in it. The power of the abutments appears to have been entirely trusted to. By process of *time*, or more probably by some abuse, a yielding has unfortunately taken place, and the key-stone appears somewhat shaken. Should it drop out, all becomes a heap of ruin The span of this arch is large, and the height of the structure must have been very considerable before the pavement was so much raised above it, as is at present the case. It is a ponderous and unpleasant-looking mass, like all of the kind. Such matter seems to acquire an interest in the eyes of the traveller Pons. At least he has condescended to insert this and other quadrangular objects in his work, where otherwise the picturesque itself has nearly as much chance to be found as antiquarian matter. All this seems strange inconsistency in a lover of painting. He at least, for one author, may defy all the familiars of the Inquisition. For, notwithstanding his renunciation of the subject of antiquity, their industry would be puzzled to find one idea unsubstantiated by the prescription of a century.

But to revert to Merida, the present scene of observation. Here is a temple of Mars with a dedicative inscription. Those who have ever seen one will form a correct idea of this; and such as have not, will find representations of them in abundance in Montfaucon and elsewhere. This specimen does not possess any elegance, sublimity, or information, beyond what is the common boast of its brethren. Its merit is, as theirs, compactness and substantiality. The theatre, the semicirle of which is still perfect, is now converted, by a correspondent segment of addition, into an amphitheatre for bull-fights. In the town is an interesting column of Roman altars of the most superlative workmanship, each in its separate pattern, all of the purest statuary marble: they are piled in the above form, their diameters happily corresponding, to a considerable height; and on the summit, triumphantly surmounting all this idolatrous pageantry, is the statue of a saint martyrized by baking in an oven! Probably Saint Eulalia, for no one will be hardy enough to deny that such sufferings merited promotion to the situation of patroness of the place. At the bottom is found the appropriate legend, CONCORDI AUGUSTI.

The Circus (as it is denominated) is not perfect, and yet is fully traceable. It is as usual, and found in Potter, an oblong parallelogram rounded at the ends. The stadium in the centre is of raised solid masonry, about thirty feet broad, and intersected in the middle by a passage and communication across. It is not now more than two feet above the area, but formerly was considerably more. Two passages of entrance, several of the rows of seats, and much of the vaulted work, are yet to be seen. It is, as observed, computed to be capable of holding two hundred thousand spectators. The area of this place was taken by pacing, and computed to be one thousand four hundred feet by three hundred and forty; but Pons says it is two thou-

sand Spanish feet by four hundred. The seats occupy a depth of thirty feet.

Three arches of the aquaduct which supplies the *naumachia* still remain; ponderous ashlar work, of solidity of the true Roman style: but most of its materials were taken in modern days to construct that by which the town is now supplied. But the *Grand Aquaduct* (the strongest exemplification extant of the *lex minimum*, that source of beauty in architecture and indeed throughout nature,) is a work truly worthy of Roman resources, and it might be said of Grecian elegance, although the Greeks did not much embark in this kind of structure. The Romans, on the other hand, seem to have chosen their stations remote from that article of life, water, for the sole motive of showing the power they had of bringing it after them. The extent of this, when perfect, was seven miles; and its ruins still in their present state, for that distance, exhibit one of the most curious and interesting specimens of perspective that can be imagined: viewing them, we think we have before us the closest image of that site of grand ideas, Persepolis. In the glow of a rich evening sun, or by the delightful moonlight of this atmosphere, nothing can be more striking than this line of grand effect, where the sublime and beautiful are so happily combined. The full height, reckoning from the lowest bases, cannot be less than ninety feet. This is where it crosses the little river Albarregas. Yet its magnitude is not the most surprising of its features. Its lightness is what astonishes. The architect was a bold man. Yet its decay is more the consequence of the imperfection of all earthly matter, than any erroneous calculation in principle. It consists at its lower level of three tiers of arches. It would be very curious to be able to ascertain where and how the scaffolding was obtained for such a work, and much more the principles whereon it was put together. It must have been a structure not less

View of part of the Grand Aqueduct at Merida.

costly than the masonry itself. Certainly the materials are spun out almost to flimziness, and it is the most perfect specimen in its way of the *lex minimum*. Light as the summit arched-work is, the idea excited by it is astonishment, how such a mass could be so sustained in the air; and to think that all this is for the conveyance of water! The masonry is, as usual with the Romans, stratified in alternate courses of cut-stone and brick-work. The cut-stone is of a light-coloured grit; the bricks, as usual, small, nearly approaching to our tiles in modification, and bedded in a considerable proportion of calcareous cement, so as to form nearly the consistency of rubble. At first view a person could only suppose timber could be carried up to such a height. For such a structure extraordinary means of support were requisite; and this has supplied us with the striking and powerful specimen of *ribbon buttresses*, traceable in a few instances of our castles in England of the most ancient date, and the idea of which has so much engaged our antiquarians. They afford a link to us in tracing the progress of architecture. Such is the *general effect* here, so extreme the lightness of the whole work, that these additional forces rather embellish than injure it. They afford those breaks in regular surfaces, which constitute the sole beauty of architecture, or at least without which none can have beauty. Such is the correctness of its principle and execution, that the pillars have been to this day stable, or have only fallen by the dilapidation of the tile-work; which, exposed in the arches by the edges to atmospherical effect, have in consequence rotted away or decomposed. The Romans did not burn their tiles. Had these been duly protected, it is likely the work would have remained perfect to the present hour. To the ignorant it might well supply the idea, which appears throughout ages and nations connected with this art in particular,—magic. Aquaducts have so many representations given of them on paper, their prin-

ciple is so obvious, and construction so uniform, that some apology is necessary for adding to the number. But in this particular instance, as observed, a link in the science presents itself in a specimen rare in itself, and in a situation hitherto passed over by travellers, not in their usual way, *en courant*, but by a refinement of negligence more justly to be defined *en sautant*, it has been thought necessary here to present it to the reader in those points of view most capable of conveying the due ideas both general and particular. To the imagination a somewhat derogatory picture may be supplied by that of the lofty front wall, at a uniform level, of a long straight street of brick-work, with large doors and windows, and not yet roofed in. Bad as this may be, what ideas copperplate supplies are yet more inadequate, for the subject is too extensive for paper. Baths in the town, and reservoirs in the neighbourhood, complete what the masters of the world thought was requisites to endure life in their selected stations in those countries, the natives of which they condescended to honour by their presence, enlighten by their example, and gratify by their domination. He who in travelling has to struggle and wrangle with contentious *venteros* (innkeepers), and contumacious *carrieros* (muleteers), will often, in spite of himself, find his pen infected with his own spirit of impatience, and be compelled to write (otherwise than as *he posts*, here at least) *currente calamo*. A penman or a draughtsman, under the eyes of those who frequent Spanish *ventas*, is eyed, too, with a jealousy little less than what would be conveyed by one of the profession of the black art. Solitary efforts, and an autumnal sun, too, rather countervail the enthusiasm of antiquarian lore, and compel the traveller, every now and then, to cast a longing eye towards his journey's end. A week passed here would amply gratify the inquisitive investigator duly provided with the paraphernalia of science and local matter. Rest and comfort become

objects of some interest to persons exhausted by a long and nearly uninterrupted journey. Some leisure, too, the mind anxiously seeks for, were it only to arrange its mass of new ideas. Lisbon alone presented itself as the consummation of all this; and various and many things of interest in detail, of minute investigation, scaling and measuring, ascertainment and correction, were procrastinated through necessity at first, and ultimately as reluctantly, and equally unavoidably, abandoned altogether. It became an effort to catch even the general ideas, where so much unanticipated matter presented itself.

In the progress of life and travelling, good and evil present themselves, both in men and things; and such was the case here at Merida, where is the convent of San Juan de Dios, a large building, though containing not more than four monks. It was instituted by public charity.—It is a mistake to suppose no such thing exists out of England.—There are in various countries on the continent magnificent establishments, and vast appropriations of funds: it is, on the contrary, rare to find a country where the poor are utterly neglected. The occupation of these good monks is to tend the sick poor. There are now about forty such in the hospital. Soldiers and sailors taken in are paid for by Government, at the rate of a *pecetta* per day. Foreigners are paid for by the consuls of their respective nations. But all in want of aid are admitted. Human nature and distress are the objects, and further no questions are asked. Some will say This is no good policy: perhaps not; but it is good Christianity. If a wounded man present himself, he is, if possible, cured, dismissed, and goes his way without further examination, whatever that way may be.

Frayle Pedro de Aransaenz was one of these good Samaritans, and being out in the country upon his duties, and seeing strangers, he concluded that they might want assistance, and consequently made him-

self acquainted with them. Whatever truth may be in the principle of *nulla fronte fides*, it never will be a persuasive one. Had the converse of the case existed, had there been difficulties to smooth, he carried benevolence enough with him to have done it; and the sequel proved how justly the confidence was claimed.—But now for a picture of a different shade, but equally necessary for such as may go this route. To obtain travelling conveyance, and the cattle for the purpose, application must be made, under the *regime* of this country, to the *administrador de correos* of the place (in English the postmaster), by virtue of the traveller's general passport, commanding assistance to him from all officers civil and military, and which it is his business to obtain previously to setting out upon his journey. This precaution duly taken, application was made here to the *administrador*, who in consequence and consideration of sixty reals good and lawful money duly paid into his hand, issued notice that such persons as were willing to employ themselves and cattle to convey the travellers might do so. Consequently, certain persons finding the others had obtained the due privilege to be cheated, offered themselves to perform the office. The business commenced with an agreement strictly ratified and witnessed for the due supply of cattle for the journey, under the denomination of *bestias con aparejo*. The florid imaginations of the travellers had depicted these terms into the ideas of mules, saddles, and bridles. Neither the technical definitions of the naturalist, nor the grammatical arrangements of language, entered their minds; which were too much perhaps engaged with the favourite object, the end of the journey, to admit of it; but thinking a full, not to say exorbitant price, made a hopeful bargain, they were greatly astonished, on turning out for procedure, to have presented, for their bestriding at the door, donkeys not of the most gracious appearance even in their own race, caparisoned with straw pack-

saddles and halters. There too late they became aware, that *bestia* equally signified a mule or an ass; that *aparejo* was as much the straw pack-saddle and halter, as the embroidered housing. But the price of the latter, alas! had been already exacted, and paid. It was duly explained now, "*felix quem faciunt*," that if mules were to be understood, the epithet *mayores* was their claim, while *sillas* and *riendas* were requisite to guard against the consequences of the incautious term *aparejo*. Sterne says (no matter where) that to define is to distrust: but here it is highly advisable, it seems, to do both the one and the other.

Under these circumstances, with law, reason, and their own words against them, the travellers were advised to submit and rest contented: but this last was not so easy a task. A great authority (Mr. Hobbes) says: "If reason is against a man, he will be against reason;" and so it happened in the present cases, as it probably has in many to the reader's knowledge. On the contrary, application under the general passport was attempted in person to the military commandant. But this gentleman, though generally tolerably conspicuous in the place, was now, of course by some accident, no where to be seen or traced. In the worst of situations a friend may yet be found; and such was fortunately the case here in the person of Frayle Pedro de Aransaenz. Instigated by pure benevolence, he devoted all his exertions of mind and body to the service of the strangers; neither official pomposity, threat, or cajolement, could blind him, or make him relax; and as difficulties increased and rose around, his exertions rose with them. Almost by main force he succeeded, at length, in extorting a visit from the *senor commendador*, who condescended to inform the travellers in person, that their wishes should be crowned; *bestias mayores* should be found them to carry them to Lobos, four leagues, for six reals each, making thirty-six reals for that for which sixty had been extorted to perform in the case

of the donkeys. No exertion whatever, still, could obtain the recovery of the sixty reals. The *senor cavallero administrador*, son of a Spanish knight, and a man who had travelled, seen, and could talk of the world, had sneaked out of the way with this paltry sum of pence in his pocket, fully aware, as every one in the town knew, of the whole transaction, all of which was his own hatching from first to last. His associates in official station were probably ashamed of, but unable to correct him. To Frayle Pedro de Aransaenz, that worthy churchman, was it entirely owing that the strangers were capable of extricating themselves from an accumulation of at least very inconvenient consequences: for this interference of gross injustice, backed by authority, was but the signal for a general attack of wrong and rapacity, the barriers of shame being all broken down, which was to have persecuted their whole route, had they indeed been allowed once to enter upon it. Here it may be observed, that, woful to the traveller, in the making of a bargain upon the road, is it, should he have the imprudent inadvertence to use the word *duro* where he should say *peso*. It is all the difference between cash and currency, never forgotten when once clinched. But F. Pedro's motto in the cause seemed to be, "*Nil actum reputari, siquid superesset agendum.*" To prevent what he seemed to apprehend with full reason,—a repetition of such exactions at Lobos,—he engaged the *arriero* to go on to Badajos for the sum of a hundred reals, and to give assistance at Badajos for the procedure onwards to the frontier. He adverted to every thing; nor was he satisfied till he had engaged *guardias de campo* to protect those he had once taken under his charge.

The first opportunity that ever presented itself of any act of reminiscence to this excellent man Frayle Pedro de Aranseanz, of the convent of San Juan de Dios of Merida was, however, late,—yet on the principle of better so than never,—earnestly seized on:—the occupation of Merida

by the British army. But inquiry was altogether fruitless: it could only be ascertained that, on the invasion by the French, the worthy fathers had fled, carrying away with them the conventual records; and thus all hope of ever being able to repay such essential obligations was effectually baffled.—It is since learned that they made their escape to Cadiz. These *guardias de campo* are men armed, mounted, and employed to watch the harvest, from the time it is reaped until it is housed, from depredation. A melancholy instance of retrogradation in the agricultural system. The total destitution of farm-establishment causes this. The Arab process is more rational. Those who till the fields here, live in the towns. The farmer may well judge how business can be conducted in such a way as this. To make an end, however, of the subject of viatorial grievance, let it be observed, that although such a personage as a *senor administrador* is to be encountered a great deal too often, it is by no means every day that a stranger will meet such a character as Fray le Pedro de Transaenz.

Itinerary.—Lobos.—Talavera.—Badajos.—On the banks of the Guadiana the meadows are covered with herds of beautiful milk-white cattle with black muzzles. The face of the country is flat, the soil deep, argillaceous, the water lying still very near the surface.

Product. *Corn, Olives, Figs.*—On this route the traveller is indulged with leagues of two descriptions whereon to exercise his calculations and expectations; *Leguas largas*, long leagues, and *leguas cortas*, short leagues; the former about double the latter. Proceeding as above, Badajos is reached, classically *Pax Augusta*, colloquially Baxos. New and extensive works are carrying on to protect Spain from her formidable neighbour Portugal, who, when she meditates mischief in this direction must, in common courtesy, make the attack where duly expected, and consequently where the strongest powers of resistance pre-

sent themselves. War, we all know, resembles chess; and the consummate master of the game compels his antagonist to come forward upon the point of attack, which he selects for him. The works of the upper town are antique. To the north is a small modern fort. The bridge here is of twenty-five arches. The garrison consists of three battalions, some squadrons of the volunteers of Arragon, (the Arragonese soldier is held in high estimation,) and a company of artillery. Some very military-looking officers were specified as belonging to the militia. The officers of the garrison were communicative, expatiating much on the severity of Portuguese discipline in comparison with their own, which they ascribed entirely to the English. From this it may be concluded that their own affairs go on very smoothly; and the orderly and temperate habits of the Spaniards testify as much. But the *regiment del Infante* here, was *al Allemagne* in point of exterior at least. The prevalent idea concerning tactics among the Spanish officers is, that it is a matter very good for employing people's minds and time during the leisure of peace, but to be put completely on the shelf whenever real business was to be proceeded on. In plain English, it seems in a worse situation than even not being understood; and while such ideas prevail, the world must not be surprised, as in the case of Algiers *, at Spanish armies not meeting all the success in their operations that they merit. The diversity which appears too in the exterior of regiments indicates a deficiency of system, yet the establishment at large sounds somewhat

* In regard to the failure of the Spaniards in their attack on Algiers, it may not be improper to observe, that when a general only intends a *coup-de-main*, he should debark his troops as near as possible to the object of attack, the success depending greatly on secrecy, expedition, and surprise. But when he proposes to wage war in a country, he should land them at a proper distance from his principal object of attack, and occupy some position capable of covering his necessary preparations for proceeding gradually to the point he has in view. General O'Reilly, by adopting a different line of conduct, failed in his enterprise against that place, and not only lost a great part of his army, but also his own reputation as an officer.

grand : the Spanish military force consisting of, in cavalry, fourteen regiments of horse and eight regiments of dragoons, each regiment of four squadrons, making eighty-eight squadrons for the field, besides the troops of *guardias de cuerpo*, who attend the persons of the royal family. There are two troops of cavalry also in Africa, one of which is commanded by, as it is composed of, Moors, the captain being named Gali Ben Manzor ; if a *nom de guerre*, a well chosen one. The Spanish infantry consists of forty-six regiments, three of which are Irish, Ultonia, Ibernia, and Irlanda, two Catalonian (light), two (garrison) at Ceuta and Oran, and nine Vallons, Italians, and Swiss. Six battalions of Spanish, six of Vallon guards, five battalions of artillery, and forty-six companies of invalids. The now regular force consists of forty-one battalions of militia in Spain, two in Majorca, and one hundred-and-thirty companies of city and coast militia. There is a company of cadets at Segovia, and a military-academy at Porto Santa Maria, under the direction of Colonel O'Farrel. This military force is subject to a supreme council of war, besides which is the council of details or economy. And here is the due establishment of inspectors, intendants of districts, and so forth. Still, as an ingenious mechanic invented an engine for shaving and powdering the public at large by one process, the machinery whereof, at its point of execution, terminated in a razor ; so, after all the complication of this piece of military mechanism, the state effectiveness and appearance of each regiment depend solely upon the degree of zeal and skill of the officer who commands it for the time being. The effect is obvious both to the eye and mind. One very bad regulation, however well intended, subsists in the army ;—that of giving to each officer of an army, concerned in taking a fortress, a step of promotion ; a measure which has put into the class of field-officers some very unfit for the station. It is, however, both felt and repro-

bated, and probably will not last. But as to system in general, What would system avail in an army to which the colonies are a perpetual drain? The regiments go thither in turn, and the soldiers have the option of staying, that is to say, of choosing between abundance and importance on the one hand, and penury and neglect on the other. Perhaps the state has hard cards to play. Dares she trust the colonies with their own defence? Can arms again be put in men's hands, and may they after that be told they are the outcasts of the state? Above all, Can this be done at the distance of three thousand miles from the mother-country? The Spartans, those models for men, occasionally entrusted their Helots with arms, but then they were *à portée* to cut their throats when they no longer wanted their assistance; and they did not omit to do so. Could old Spain then tell her children, that the soil they were armed to defend should not produce a grape to cheer occasionally an hour of life? The restriction could not be enforced. Ask the option of the soldiery! Were permission withheld and the regiments ordered for embarkation, from tasted American abundance to remembered Spanish penury, might not the soldiery assume the option to themselves? and who can contradict them? At any rate, here is, if not the disorganization, at best the absorption of one army, a drain as effectually debarring Spain from raising her head, as her fondest allies could have suggested. Colonial system is a state never designed to last; and from the moment a colony has grown to the size and maturity of strength to defend herself against aggression, the best step the parent state can take is to look out for some gracious dignified mode of getting rid of the loss and inconvenience of maintaining and incumbering supremacy; and perhaps Spain might have fallen upon this line of conduct but for the natural peculiarities of her colonies, the returns whereof are of a description possessed by no other country. Then here is an exterior but a crying

evil rooted in the state. As to the internal depression of Spain by her foreign dynasty, it has been narcotic rather than irritating (this however cannot be applied to subalterns); neither injury nor offence was intended by it, but obviously power and nationality were sacrificed, and are at this day as much as ever at the foot of France. Fully subscribing to the unquestionable authority of Mr. Adam Smith, in regard to the intimate connexion of the political interests of Britain and Spain, it must still be confessed it will require an exertion of thought and firmness of state policy hardly to be hoped for in human affairs, to countervail the predisposition of the head of the Spanish state to French alliance. How indeed is it to be hoped the *rationale* of politics should prevail abroad, when all the solidity of this inimitable author's arguments has had so little effect at home! It must be wished otherwise: But when did the people of England ever shew the slightest disposition to a connexion of interest with Spain? It is probable France was fully alive to all this, and hereby much of her external policy may be accounted for. Every thing in the remotest degree connected with England, was certainly viewed with jealous eyes by the French there.

There is no end to the embarrassments of a political nature which entangle Spain. But English confederacy would have availed her much, and no sacrifice perhaps could nationally be too great, bowing to the high authority already quoted, for such a desirable object for Britain. Most nations are safe by one powerful arm; by sea or by land: but Spain must wield both, and, unfortunately, must at the same time depend upon her colonies for the foundations of her naval defence. She has but the choice of difficulties. The same great authority says, or fully implies, that England should have adopted with the house of Bourbon here, the same policy which she intended to have acted upon, had she succeeded in placing the German dynasty upon the throne.

And indeed what have family feelings to do in politics? One cannot quit this fine country, this great and dignified nation, whose people class morally so high in the scale of mankind, without lamenting the accumulation of evils which grind it in the dust. A step-mother connexion, an alien head, colonial drains, a system founded on law operating to the deterioration of its physical, as one founded on religion does to that of its moral efforts, its statistics and œconomics in regular declension, and very well-intentioned effort at amelioration only reverting in disappointment on its projector's head;—all this together, it must be repeated, constitute a picture as melancholy as the state which it pourtrays is undeserved. As to naval force, the misfortunes of Spain from the earliest periods of record prove, that her existence and safety depend on it, or upon strong naval alliances. Had she possessed this mean of defence, her primitive Getulian population would not have suffered Carthaginian despotism to drain and render her an easy prey to the Romans, the declension of whose power threw her into the hands of the Goths and Vandals; feeble invaders, had there been any resistance opposed to them, had the heroes of Saguntum existed in descendants, it would surely have been easy to have defended the Peninsula against those invaders, who were themselves too feeble to offer resistance effectually when attacked in their turn by the Moors. Strange fate too, that the country which possessed internal riches to excite and pay the cupidity of the Carthaginians, whose mountains and rivers teem with the precious metals, should be the poorest at home of former days! But look to present times; we see her working her mines abroad* to supply other nations at their own doors with the circulating medium, without which they cannot trade in the grand mart of the world. Almost naked

* Six millions sterling is the annual consignment to the Peninsula. What would one of these effect if employed in manual labour there?

at home, she clothes half of Europe. With an immense population under rule, she is upon every specific principle of calculation inadequate to her own defence; and certainly has been obliged to submit for centuries to a hostile but defenceless nation, nestling under her very wing.

Finesse d'esprit, and a powerful sense of the dignity of human nature, seem the predominant moral characteristics of the Spaniards. We see both break out as well in the *minutiæ* of life, as in subjects of the greatest importance. At the same time it is very doubtful whether these qualities be in themselves those to be wished for to constitute a nation. Those which have risen and thriven the most, have been composed of coarser materials. Stoical virtues are not the springs to urge on human affairs; and the work of the hatchet cannot be performed with a razor. Yet both these qualities above mentioned distinguished, and evidently guided those adventurous efforts which crowned her sons with success in the New World and elsewhere. Until a national government takes place here, one really Spanish in sentiment, let it come whence it may, no expectation can be rationally formed that Spain will resume that weight it is so desirable she should possess in the political balance of Europe. In full possession of her resources, having Navarre, she would herself be able to cope with France; and at least as far as that point of political consequence, she ought to have the general wish of the world on her side. Active as French policy is, it could not have effected half what it has done here, had it not been for the mismanagement and erroneous ideas of others in the conduct of European politics.

PORTUGAL.—A brook, an hour's ride distance from Badajos, forms the boundary between the two nations. Here, at this time, was a military congress of Spanish and Portuguese, for the surrender and transmission

of deserters respectively. The latter troops, by their *sabel-taschs* and other paraphernalia of the profession, are of the German school. The assumed contempt of the Spaniards for the Portuguese, unaccountably is not retorted: unaccountably, for such sentiments are usually reciprocal; at least one side has as good a right to them as the other. Generosity may be carried too far: and it is so in this case, if such be the cause. It is not usual for nations to forget their own *hauts faits*; and in warfare, equally strange to say, the advantage has always been on the side of Portugal. In fact, it is sufficient to remark, she has been able, as we see, to maintain herself. A Spaniard will walk a mile to point out the way to an Englishman, when he recognizes him; when he would not condescend an answer to his inquiry, while he thought it came from a Portuguese. Such is borderly philanthropy, neighbourly love. Extraordinary to say, still, all this never produces any effort at retort courteous or otherwise.

Elvas.—Fort La Lippe. The able general and extraordinary character of this name, Count la Lippe Buckebourg, availed himself of his situation here; and he might truly say, "*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*" Its use for any other earthly purpose is not so easily to be defined. The embrazures are now blocked, as the view by glasses informs us; so that here does not appear to exist at present any apprehensions of immediate danger. Never was any country so duped by its engineers as Portugal. But this definition does not apply in the present instance. Count la Lippe never said that a polygon was a palladium. But people must come in aid to themselves to be effectually duped; and this they do. A view along the line of the frontier will speedily justify the judicious observations of Dumourier upon the subject, but to very little effect. Processions and family connexions, the latter "too feeble instruments to bind," are more trusted to, than force

cast and arrangement, which, indeed, is all here that Nature will permit. Portugal has in reality no frontier. Its boundaries do not amount to one. The rivers which mark its surface, whereby military movements are regulated, and military outlines designated, which govern and mould the features of the country, all, instead of presenting or marking barriers, are so many conductors leading the bolt direct to the heart of the state. Nor has the country positions; for that which can be turned, is none. It has strong posts: But what can these avail on the present scale of warfare? Like fortresses, they must follow the fate of the country. What is the influence of Elvas beyond the reach of its guns? Does a fortified town possess the quality of the torpedo, to benumb whatever comes within its tact? or can enemies be conceived so besotted as to prowl about a country in search of walls to knock their heads against? Not that it is hereby inferred or implied, that the fortress system is bad: it is the fortress without system—flanking-works and saliant angles to defend—what?—a country?—no, but each other! This is the absurd waste of time and resources that is to be deprecated. A fortress of such magnitude as calls for an army to sit down before it, and invest it completely, will have weight in the result of a campaign. It will put the enemy on his thoughts, too, before he enters into a campaign. In warfare, the *finem respicies* is all. The barrier towns, the Low Countries, afford an example of the frontier system. But what could Bergen-op-zoom be by itself? Just what Fort la Lippe is here. Fortresses, too, must be garrisoned by troops drawn from the armies, whereby the fate of the country is to be decided. It is the application of system, and not solely of position to them, which makes them of intrinsic value. A fortress which cannot be left behind, is always of consequence. But query, How many of these are there in the world, supposing the active army calculated upon a sufficient force to leave

an adequate one to mask the work and garrison? Elvas and its adjacent works can hold a considerable garrison; and were a considerable force stationed to the west to support it, they would seriously retard an invasion. Almeida, too, is described as one of the honours of the engineering science; and, to judge by its position in the map, with still more reason.

Route.—Portugal, to the traveller certainly, and to the sojourner probably, is, comparatively with Spain in general, a terrestrial paradise. The nights are no less delightful here: indeed travelling in them is repayment in itself. The brightness of the now-full moon, the clearness and calmness of the air, the white *quintas* (country-houses), the waving cypresses, the tinkling rills by each habitation,—all assimilate, all harmonize to the lover of Nature, whether denuded or embellished. Such at least is what most strikes by night. In the day-time the grandest forest scenery, the devious tracts under open groves of oak, with the heights around, all turreted, present prospects more sublime, and more extensive. The devious ways, nevertheless, however picturesque, have their inconvenience too; for a person is liable to lose his way among them; and such turned out to be the case in the present instance; accompanied, unfortunately, with the loss of guides, baggage, and canteens. The consequence was, that the world was all before the travellers, where to choose; and the whole night also for them to ramble in: and the most was made of the circumstance in its way. The occasional cries of herds and shepherds tantalized, but availed nothing. It was impossible to get them to hear; but, had this even been succeeded in, it would have been an equal difficulty to get them to understand. As to the salubrity of climate, however, the night produced a convincing proof of the confidence to be placed in it. Somewhat shone out brilliantly white under the moonbeams in the centre of a fal-

low field, remote from any house. Curiosity more than hope attracted investigation; and this produced a result, perhaps the last that could have been expected—a clergyman, with only his black *coiffure* on his head, enjoying a sound sleep, most comfortably tucked up in white bedding, and, *a la fresca*, upon the surface of the new-ploughed earth. No second person was at hand, and fortunately he spoke Castilian. To this lucky circumstance, and to the directions he most courteously communicated, the arrival of the wanderers took place by dawn of day at *Bordas*, an ancient town out of the route, surrounded by gloomy walls with round towers castellated. Here was found a good inn, and prompt accommodation, presenting a picture very enlivening indeed when compared to the long-to-be-remembered woes of Castile.

Estremos, a town on a hill with a fine castle, was necessarily visited in order to recover the rest of the party. Arroyolos, in the delightful bracing air of the mountains, where roomy houses furnished with the old homely comfort of large chimneys, well filled with blazing logs, excited the wish that the journey were here to have an end. Hence we proceeded on the route for Lisbon to Monte Moro, a good town, Ventas Novas, where is a royal palace constructed on the model of a cotton-manufactory, and Aldia Galleja on the Tagus, opposite to Lisbon.

On approaching the coast, the surface of the country flattens, and approaches water-level. Siliceous sand * is substituted for argil, and

* *Ecce iterum se.* The disease (as Falstaff says of the consumption of the purse) is incurable. The basement levels of the globe (its surface), those *a fleur d'eau*, are arenose. Such is the case here; such is the case in Andalusia: and the flying mountains of Mogodor, and Dunes of Flanders, all testify to this effect. As to causes and deductions, they must probably be left for those halcyon days when mankind will become disposed to thought and reflection; but it is impossible to avoid noticing this combination in Nature of symmetry with infinité diversity; that unknown but universally felt charm, the *quæ piece*.

But in regard to the country we have quitted, or more particularly that part of the Peninsula ruled by the house of Bourbon, its geological features possess an interest which must ever rise in

the clothing of the soil varies with its substance, the resinous trees taking the place of the oak. Indeed, so strong is the exhalation of turpentine through these woods, under the power of the sun, as to become oppressive to the breast. This tract bears evidently alluvial marks.

Lisbon.—On a review of the foregoing route, the following query must strike the mind:—Why should Portugal be so much more improved in the comforts of life, as she unquestionably is, than her immediate neighbour? How can that neighbour, so close, be ignorant or indifferent to these comforts and improvements, which she must or may see every day in the year? To ascertain the cause of this effect, or rather say the cause of this defect, requires a deeper view into the internal *regime* of the country we are now in, than can be attained by posting from frontier to frontier; and unfortunately reflection and communication do not appear to be much of the *ton de la bonne société* here at Lisbon. But the superiority here spoken of is not remote or fanciful. Throughout Portugal, at the hour of mid-day, an excellent dish, the *caldo*—meat, vegetables, and rice stewed together,—makes its appearance. Various products of the soil, not to be had for money in Spain, are in profusion here. Their hams, gurech in the mountains are excellent; and the whole *menage* has sufficiency of comfort and neatness. All, too, is adapted to the climate. For one of the circumstances that must first strike the eye of the stranger, *costume*, the like preference cannot be asserted. The dress of both sexes here is strangely

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proportion with investigation and reflection. Where are such contrasts of tabular and oblique strata? where such mighty, such regular gradations from summit to sea-level! Let the Peninsula be viewed in this direction, and what a powerful interest it then possesses! To what extensive speculations do the calcareous masses, fragments, and strata, lead the mind! It would be by no means difficult to connect a rational theory of waters with that of mountains, and this country would afford the elucidation. Man has much business yet on his hands near home.

unbecoming: and this the tawdry finery enhances again to disadvantage. Very essential moral distinctions must subsist between these two nations.

Lisbon presents some interesting matter of observation and inquiry, as well in its bosom as its neighbourhood. Every one must have heard of, and perhaps somewhat reflected upon, its Earthquake; but every one may not have been *à portée* to have it described by an actual sufferer, capable of a full account of the most dreadful moment that ever occurred since the Deluge. This tremendous effort of Nature must ever to the end of time possess an interest with those who visit the spot whereon it was inflicted. It naturally presents itself as an object of the first inquiry. Mr. De Vismes might be taken in modern days for a specimen of what we read of Tyre, in her royal merchants. His revenues, the importance of his speculations, the scope of intellect required to conduct, the number of agents to execute, altogether constituted an establishment only to be exceeded by royalty. His mind was enlightened proportionately; and it may be judged what must be the anxiety to gather, from the details of such a person, the facts and impressions of that dreadful event, of which he was known to have been a witness. The circumstances, it may be presumed, would remain tolerably strongly implanted in his mind for the rest of life! His house, or rather his whole establishment, (for he had two houses, one in town and one in the country,) was open to all strangers. Access to him was free as his hospitality was diffusive.

The account this gentleman gave of the event was as follows:—It was a beautiful morning, perfectly calm; suspiciously so, it would be thought, did thought anticipate such events. The shock was instantaneous. He was thrown prostrate. Utter darkness and profound silence ensued, and reigned for full five minutes. During this time he

remained in perfect possession of his recollections, but fully impressed that it was the day of the last judgement; of course anxiously bent in mind on what was to follow. What a state of the human thoughts! At the end of the above period there ensued a universal scream of *Misericordia!* for every human being capable of reflection was impressed with a similar idea. After a lapse of some time the darkness became visible. Then groans and wailings were loud and incessant. At length the thick cloud of dust dispersed, and presented to the eyes of the survivors the dreadful scene in which they had borne a part. Lamentable to say, murder and robbery were the first effects of mankind's recovery from fear. To those who viewed it from a distance, a vast and instantaneous cloud of dust usurped the place where they had a moment before seen the city: but these persons were mostly thrown off their feet by the violence of the shock. This shock was not undulatory, but horizontal. The sea, at a corresponding period, rose several feet at Gibraltar. Various antecedent occurrences, which might have stood in the place of warnings, were recollected when the catastrophe had happened. The king had a Neapolitan musician; his majesty once asked him how he liked Lisbon? to which the musician replied, as in duty bound, "Very well," but added, "It was much more subject to earthquakes than Naples." It may be judged he shared the fate that has ever attended prophets ("Woe to thee, thou proud city!") derision. He and his remark equally excited ridicule; the poor man's brains, forsooth, were so addled with the shocks of Naples, that, like the effects of the motion of a ship for some time after quitting it, they followed him wherever he went. But the fact was, he who was habituated to these matters observed symptoms which were unnoticeable to the natives themselves. Be all as it may: to judge by their mode of building they certainly here never expect to experience the visitation of another.

Should such an event take place, it will come with a four-fold vengeance on their heads. There seems a strange want of thought throughout the present procedure.

One of the exhibitions of the present day here, before the court of Portugal, was what is termed a *corrida*. This is chevaleresque, and a residue of Moorish gallantry. Such as have read that which is handed down to us of the refined chivalry of Grenada, will be struck with the resemblance. It was performed in a quadrangular area of the size of a moderate riding-house. A band of military music played during the exhibition. It was executed by sixteen horsemen belonging to the royal establishment, mounted on so many of his majesty's finest horses. The dresses and caparisons of eight of these were of blue-and-gold, and those of the other eight of scarlet-and-silver, and they wore large plumes of white feathers in their hats. All this was very handsome. Each cavalier wore a sword, and carried in his hand a pliant lance fourteen feet in length, with a round top of silver, hung with bells, as was his caparison all round the edges. They entered the area by fours, then doubled up to eight, next formed a rank entire, moved all at full speed, and, shaking the lances over their heads up close to the line of the box of the royal family, halted short, and saluted. They then (all at full speed) filed off to right and left, passaged, changed hands, galloped to right and left in full circle, broke into fours, and formed rings at the corners, formed in two files, which threaded each other individually and alternately in the centre of the house, and pursued this mode of evolution, at speed, for full three quarters of an hour without intermission. The great object of admiration for dexterity was the invariable precision in the change of the horses' legs in leading to right or left. They next formed in two parties fronting, and each cavalier in turn sallied out and challenged an adversary to a trial of powers. This

important contest was, which should strike the lance out of the hand of the other by a jerk of his own. Another skirmish was then performed with little targets and balls of clay, with which they previously played; galloped in circle, as the children do in England with cups and balls. They then drew swords and skirmished with them, performing a complication of evolutions in the same style, but too intricate to describe or even ascertain by the eye; but all performed with admirable precision and rapidity. Having done which they withdrew, all save two cavaliers, who remained to fight a bull. There is an incongeniality of idea between the chevaleresque and the vestige, which it is impossible to reconcile; and never was a more unfortunate effort at human decoration than in the way they are worn in Portugal.

Michael Cassio did not stand more self-condemned by the eyes of military law by the fairness of his countenance, than these unfortunate cavaliers did in that of chivalry by this mistaken incoherence in costume. To say the truth, a stranger introduced into the most splendid aggregation this country affords, would be inclined to think that all the old-clothes-shops of London had been ransacked to furnish out this article of universal adoption here; that it had been a fashion so suddenly taken up, that there was a deficiency of hands for the manufacture and supply. The above incongruity, and puerilities out of the question, the show exhibited very capital horsemanship, and was well calculated to give a taste for equitation, a manly and laudable occupation of life. This further perhaps in some measure concurs in idea with the Spanish institution, of which, by the way, little is seen (though much is heard) except the uniform (dress), at the head of which are the princes of the blood, and which is denominated *maestranza*: (as the cavalry in France are called *maîtres*, a distinction of ancient date,) for the general encouragement and practice of cavalry-science; for investigation of whatever

conduces to the improvement of that noble animal, or the management of the horse. A sad falling off appeared in the subsequent show, though royal sport. The days of heroism are past here: these ceased with the fate of the marquis of Marialva*. In Spain the professional *matador*, it is true, occasionally kills a bull, as he declares, in honour of a certain lady of dignity. But a purse of gold tossed into the area is the extent of his ambition, save and except the exhibition of his person and skill. But the Portuguese *matudon* formed a wretched contrast to the deliberate firmness of the gentlemen of this description at Madrit: indeed the exhibition here is almost too degrading to relate. But a picture should be viewed in its just light. The truth is, the bull had one eye put out, and on the fighting side too, *ab uno disce omnes*: but the horns also were tipped. The *matador* seemed to have taken the hint; *hunc tu, Romane, caveto*: for at the approach of the bull he made a rapid movement behind the barrier, leaving the *spolia opima*, his scarlet cloak, hat, and sword, to the rage and mercy of the quadruped†. In regard to Spain, it is true, that when, as is occasionally the case, an *amateur* enters the lists against a bull, the animal's horns are tipped. But the reason alleged, and it is a sufficient one, is, that he may not injure the horse; and the latter is the object of the vengeance of this formidable antagonist, and suffers proportionably. For, as during six months of the year at Madrit eight bulls are killed weekly in the morning, and twelve in the evening; so the number of horses cast from the cavalry which suffer, is still greater; and the vast profits of the spectacle are appropriated to a beneficent purpose. All this is well arranged. But

* Who was killed in an encounter with one of these undiscriminating animals, in the royal presence. The successor to his title and fortune, being present, was invited also to risque meeting his fate; an honour which he, with due loyalty, begged leave to decline.

† Twenty-four wretched animals were thus tortured.

nothing can be more completely inverted here. Indeed the curtain may be preferably drawn over this wretched exhibition; and to conclude upon a subject, whereon very opposing sentiments pervade, a detail having somewhat of originality and drawn from Spain shall be substituted.—During the last year, a *torero* of Madrit (bull-fighter) invented a curious device to interest the spectators. Opposite the gate whence the bull sallies into the amphitheatre, he dug a hole. In this he placed himself squatting, and holding a very strong lance, or rather beam, pointed with iron in the direction to meet the charge of the bull. This animal was very fierce by nature, and moreover by being kept in a dark place, as is the practice, until let loose; and he immediately on seeing flew at the man, who most dexterously guided his point, so that it ran, by the violence with which the bull came on, through the animal's jaw, through his body, and came out between his hind legs, so that he was fairly spitted, and might have been immediately put to roast. As may be supposed, this man's life depended on his dexterity, and a very deliberate act of fortitude it certainly was. Although he came off with flying colours, he did not altogether so in a whole skin according to the construction of the phrase; for the quadruped reached him with his horns, catching him with one of them under the arm, which it dislocated.

The Inquisition does not sleep in Portugal. At times a soldier is seized, and in such case intimation is given to his commanding officer, that he is to make no further inquiry concerning him. It is said the instruction to this effect appears on the face of the orderly book. It may be judged what must be a military state subject to such inspectors as these. Of all persons in the nation, were it not for the insuperable love of meddling, the soldiery, it might be supposed, would be most completely exempt from such a visitation. It may be judged how

disgusting this must be to the foreign officers here, who are in present times the soul of the service. Whether this ought to be the case or not is another consideration. The Government seems to think otherwise, by the various ingenious modes whereby it labours to disgust them.

In the way of antiquities, the most interesting objects here are the statues at Belem, because they seem to be of the very few remains in modern days of Carthaginian art. They are Ante-Dædalian; for Dædalus first hewed out the limbs of images from the block. The imagination of the poet eked out the ingenuity of the sculptor; and by the substitution of one instrument of locomotion only for another, erected all the fabulous superstructure. The process is all in the course of human nature. To tell of a man, that he made representations of men in motion, which was the plain fact, was tame narrative. The transition of idea from walking to flying was incidental; and the person who narrated it said something worth listening to. The one story was conceivable and excited no interest, the other was astonishing and excited attention and repetition. The more heard, the more there were to believe. Every man has an imagination; judgement is the portion but of few. That Carthage had pushed out colonization along this tract of Atlantic coast is demonstrable, but the industry of the Romans to obliterate the rival state has not been in vain. There is not enough remaining to excite or repay curiosity. It is therefore the more to be regretted, that any thing still recoverable should be neglected. The power of the naval state was complete once within the Peninsula. The turn of that nation does not appear to have been to magnificent architecture. This may be accounted for by the predomination of mercantile over military pursuits, the latter only subservient to the former. Every public work of the Romans was a trophy of conquest. The mercantile nation brought the products of their labours home to the hive. Such

a nation would not bestow time, labour, and expense, on what did not yield a return. Neither was it an object with them to garrison or hold a country as a province. Quick returns were their object; and if they colonized, it was for the purposes of trade. If Carthage garrisoned here, it was to repay with interest by conscriptive draughts for their armies elsewhere. Much African blood must however now circulate in the Peninsula, and language here will be found in some degree affected from the same source. But African idiom will have much less pervaded the recesses of the country, that situation where philological researches usually best repay, than her open and trodden parts where succeeding invasions again have intervened to obliterate it. As many Scythian terms remain in the dialects of the Peninsula, so the local names rooted in the Punic indicate the powerful tenure this nation once possessed here. Language is more durable than the works of men's hands, although the examples are not so pervious or obvious to human faculties. Spain had acquired arts from her African inmates. The ancient Spaniards had gained steps in the progress of life far beyond the Gauls*. Those arts they possessed too, proved the source whence they derived them. They wore garments of white linen fringed with purple, all the result of the progress of African arts. Very little however, it is to be lamented, has descended to us of the ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula, except their desperate bravery in defence of their country. An unfortunate one; for no where does a nation present a more mixed ancestry, and all in their turn bearing rule. But on the other hand, the

* During the second Punic war, when Hannibal crossed the Alps to invade Italy, he placed in some of his engagements the Spaniards and Gauls in the centre of his army in alternate cohorts, with his heavy-armed Africans on their right and left in the flanks. The Spaniards were clothed in purple robes, whereas the Gauls were naked. See Polybius. This is sufficiently good authority for concluding, that the former were then much more advanced in the arts of life than the latter.

natives of the present day may boast that they are descended of those who have signalized themselves in the records of history, who have influenced and decided the affairs of the world. If the provincial concussions, so pregnant with ill consequences too often in the affairs of nations, be owing to this cause,—and such it may be notwithstanding the remoteness between it and the effect,—it affords matter to be lamented; for a deep-seated evil cannot be cured by ordinary means.

The diplomatic character influences that of the nation, which it represents, among foreigners. Accordingly, as the people of a nation are treated by its representative, those around judge of men and things. They conclude, that no nation will be so infatuated as to retain and pay a man in such a situation, who perseveres in a systematic course of wrong; consequently they must suppose him, in whatever he does, right. Secondly, it is to this quarter that the subject is to recur for protection, and a system of repulse deprives every man, not totally divested of feeling, from a recurrence to such a quarter, be his difficulties what they may. Again, it bars communications, some of which at least may be of importance, all of which ought to be listened to, and most of which are usually worthy of advertence. But the diplomatist, who turns his back on his fellow-subjects, turns it also on the most important interests of his country. This is not the manner in which the French proceed. Every communication made is, whether attended to or not, invariably acknowledged. These observations occur in consequence of a striking instance of national manners, of urbanity, and the facility of intercourse in two distinguished persons of that nation now here: Count Conway returning from his command at the Cape of Good Hope, and Count O'Dunn the French ambassador here at Lisbon. Immediately on the former arriving, and duly announcing himself, he was

in turn waited on by the latter, without any hesitation from the danger of falling among unknown people. Neither a public room nor a *table d'hôte*, no bugbears of the kind, put these elevated personages under any degree of apprehension upon the head of subtraction of dignity.

The environs of Lisbon between the Tagus and the Atlantic will repay the lovers of the picturesque; although the conical forms of the rock are not so beautiful in point of outline as those which are more shivery. Perhaps, too, evergreens should not predominate to the total exclusion of all other foliage. They are admired, and justly so, by the English who visit this city. In the royal palaces are seen emblazoned the coats of arms and quarterings of all the noble families extant. Some, it is true, are only observable by their vacancies and blots: these obliterations will ever remain on human nature, while one spark of judgement or justice exists on earth. These are the results of the detestable and diabolical machinations of the upstart Carvalho. He unfortunately for human nature has, it seems, succeeded a great deal too well in building his evil on a great man's grave; for such he did, when he elevated what he was pleased to denominate the pillars of the Duque D'Aveiro's infamy. It is still more melancholy, that falsehood and malignity should continue to rear their heads even in defiance of time, which usually puts such abuses to rights. But happily for mankind it is rare that such weapons fall into the powerful hands they did in this case, and with such a field of action. Pombal was, in his early days, a *Spadacin* and not a scholar. He may, however, have lighted upon the soliloquy of Pothinus, young Ptolemy's minister:—

"Non sanguine clare,
Quid refert! nec opes populorum: *ac regna movemus*,
Ad scelus ingentes facti sumus. Attrahit illos
In nostras fortuna manus, *Victima nobilior*."

It may be said the subject is obsolete. How can that ever be? Murdor will cry from the grave with most miraculous organs. Obsolete it cannot be; for the subject has been revived in the present day in all its misconceptions. That enlightened Englishmen should still *calidate* a sentence of infamy upon the innocent, the good, and the great, can only acquire additional cause of regret, when we know who that Enlishman is—that Mr. Southey should have lent his support to wrong.

"Who will not grieve, if Addison were he?"

Unfortunately, we here have an instance of what perseverance in iniquity may effect. Who will not lament, that after all the sufferings of that great, that virtuous, that unoffending family, their memories (even unfortunate Calas obtained that justice) should not be cleared after their tyrant was in the grave which he denied to them! "Luscious vengeance," as the admirable Butler expresses, never revelled more completely than in this instance. With a royal family, a people, and a country, all moulded to his hands, Carvalho riotted in horrors. And if the family, by means whereof he had received a mortification in a tender point, had had a thousand lives, his great revenge had stomach for them all, and the full enjoyment of the reflection he had for his life.

The fact is, that the whole fabric of that monster Carvalho's statements was not only contraverted, but subverted by facts and reasons undeniable: but these, unsustained and unrecorded, have sunk into oblivion, while Carvalho's atrocious malignity still

"pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts the head, and lies—"

to effectual purpose, it should seem; for what he asserts is believed. And after this, is truth to be called out of date? The poor king was a *quintaine* in Carvalho's hands; the community were a body to "take

suggestion as a cat laps milk:" this he well knew, and consequently little cared for plausibility in his measures or probability in his statements. But however accurately he judged the people he had to deal with, the like could not go down with English, accustomed to judicial inquiry and circumstantial evidence; nor with French acumen, although not so: and his schemes were criticized accordingly. To simplify the description of the accusation, it consists of horrid charges sustained by frivolous allegations. He had abilities unquestionably adequate to the making out a far better story. But with the royal family in a state of intimidation and seclusion, a community in one of torpor, and the exclusive possession of the only printing-press in the country, what required him to be nice in the choice of his materials? He took what first presented itself to hand. And now brazen denunciations and obliterated blazons are to stand as *proofs* of guilt. So we are told—

"If the man who turnips cries,
Cry not when his father dies,
'Tis *a proof* that he had rather
Have a turnip than his father*."

The reader will admit this no exaggeration of the outrage upon all law and reasoning which pervades this vile transaction. One of Carvalho's intended victims, it appears on record, escaped. It may be reasonably asked, By what means could there be escape from the fangs of a Carvalho? There was but one,—the never having had an existence. To make up his number it became necessary, in the process of his part of the plot, to create men.

The Tavora family had stood between him and his private views. These were a family connexion by marriage with the ancient nobility of the country, in which class it was his object to establish himself.

* The logic is about par.

He had all else in his hands: but all else was nought without this. It may be judged how the blood of the ancient nobility of Portugal would curdle at the proposition of an alliance with an upstart. From the moment this family dared to thwart him, he vowed their destruction. With regard to the Jesuits, his views were only political; here his impulse was personal. But existing circumstances concurred to facilitate the involving both in a common crush, and he was not a man to overlook the glorious opportunity. Now to proceed with the catalogue of victims. They stand as follows: *Gazette*, Lisbon, Dec. 30th, 1749; and London Gazette, Wednesday Jan. 17. 1750.

Duque Daveiro and his son,
Conde Dattongonia,
Marquis Dalloma,
Don Manuel de Souza arrested,
Marquis of Gouricia,
Marquis of Tavora, father,
Joseph Maria his brother, a dignified ecclesiastic,
Marquis of Tavora, son, Don Emanuel,
Joseph Maria, son,
Manuel de Tavora, } bishops of Oporto and Ta-
Nuno de Tavora, } vora,
John de Tavora,
Count Obidas,
Count Ribeiro,
Pinarando, &c.
Tavenda,
The infant sons of the Counts Dattongonia and D'Aloma, with many others, whose fates were never ascertained.

LADIES.

The Marchioness of Tavora,
Countess Attongonia, then with child,
Marchioness D'Aloma and her two daughters,
Duchess Daveiro, sister of the Marchioness of Tavora,
(*Note*, The intimacy of these two families is adduced by Carvalho as a proof of community of guilt; and this is not one of his worst.)
The daughter of the Duchess D'Aveiro,
The young Marchioness of Tavora, *who had very lenient treatment during her imprisonment* for some reason.

Throughout, save in the case of the young Marchioness of Tavora, is to be noted the peculiar malignity which is borne against the female part of the families, which could not have been the incitement of any principle of justice however little understood.

Next as to the characters of these victims.

The Marchioness of Tavora, notwithstanding her heroical conduct on the scaffold, was, in private life, mildness itself; a most amiable private

character, and high in the estimation of the royal family, which probably materially conduced to her ruin. Various good reasons are assignable for it; but one may suffice. It served to prove how little royal favour could avail against the sovereign will of the minister.

The Duque d'Aveiro's private character was most respectable. He was better known than most, from his situation of general of horse, which also rendered his enmity, were it surmised, formidable to a usurping minister. Like nineteen twentieths of the nobility, he was disgusted with a court, where Carvalho carried all with a high hand; and the latter knew that he was vulnerable on the point of exhaustion of the treasury, which reforms and confiscations came very *à propos* to supply. Corruption or avarice was not predominant in Carvalho's mind; for, like Robespierre in later days, his passion for blood rendered these but feeble gratifications.

Next, as to the facts charged, and in regard to the unities of the tragedy, time, place, and action.—The third of September was the night, the vicinity of the church of Memoria the place;—and mark how well this hangs together: when Carvalho is dust, and his pillar of infamy dilapidated, the ancient name of the church will be converted by future generations to a commemoration of the recent action, and adduced as a proof of the point of fact. The act was, the discharging a fire-arm loaded with slugs into the carriage in which his majesty was, and wounding him.

Here it is to be first observed, that the queen of Spain, the king's sister, died on the 28th of August. On the 30th, in consequence of this melancholy event, his majesty declares his determination to seclude himself from all business, ceremony, company, and even sight. It is well known what affliction the king of Spain was oppressed with on the same event. Here then are the two monarchs of the Peninsula on their beds of woe, and the world thus left for Carvalho to bustle

in. The queen of Spain's death appears to have been the signal for action.

On the 4th of September a rumour ran that the king was ill; and this was succeeded by one of an attempt having been made upon his life, though with total variation in the specification of circumstances.

On the 12th of December ensuing, three months and nine days after, the parties criminated were arrested.

> "Here is the indictment of the good Lord Hastings,
> Which in a set hand fairly is engrossed,
> That it may be read o'er this day in Paul's.
> And mark how well the sequel hangs together:
> Eleven hours I took to write it o'er,
> The precedent was full as long a doing,
> And yet within these five hours Hastings lived
> Untainted, unexamined, free, at liberty!
> Here's a good world the while!—Who is so gross
> That cannot see this palpable device?
> Yet who so bold but says he sees it not?"

Perhaps the faculties of the natives were too callous for any of them to see the device, however palpable; but this was by no means the case with others, who had opportunity of observing: for the Portuguese ambassador in London took serious alarm at the representations which found their way into the English papers. If Pombal thought of obtaining by his intrigues a column for his story, and the Gazette would stifle the voice of truth in an enlightened nation, where Justice is worshipped for her own sake, he wretchedly deceived himself.

During these three months the Aveiros and Tavoras presented themselves at court, and had intercourse with the worthy minister. The latter took the earliest opportunity to seize, under the name of a regency, the whole extent of that power of which he had already secured the sub-

stance. The queen's name was put at the head of this government, and popular measures were adopted during it; as if a horrid conspiracy being detected, and murder and treason brought to conviction, required palliatives.

The arrests had been preceded, on the 9th of December, by the king's edict declaring the attempts at assassination, for the first time; thus still leaving the guilty three clear days to escape: yet not one of the number availed himself of it.

In regard to the arrests, the diversities of statement are so considerable that it is impossible to reconcile them. That the weight of crimination was directed against the Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, but with peculiar venom against the latter, is obvious; and when rumour sent it to them, that they were the people marked, they presented themselves at the palace for the purpose of arrestation. The Duque d'Aveiro was at his house beyond the Tagus, and not more than a hundred miles from the frontier. What was in agitation was no secret. Conscious guilt would have readily given the alarm, and the means of conveyance could not have been wanting. He was tried on mad-dog's laws, because he did not fly, which would have afforded them a proof of guilt in their way; he resisted, which was tantamount to the same. (*See Sentence.*)

This resistance amounted to requiring time to shave and take off his night-cap; no very furious effort for a general of horse. But the instructions given were, that no decorum should be admitted in regard to these unfortunates. As a proof what obscurity was successfully cast over the procedure, what dust thrown in the eyes of mankind, it is proper to state, that there are relations which specify a ball given by the English at Lisbon, in honour of the annunciation of the king's recovery, to the whole party of conspirators, as alleged; at the conclusion of which,

on their departure, the Duke d'Aveiro at their head, they were arrested. Be it which way it may, thus much is proved, namely, that they did not act like persons under the consciousness of guilt.

The arrests took place on the 12th: on the 13th appeared the criminal proceedings, and the sentence, so long, so laboured, so artful, so sophistical. This sentence, pronounced after long and due investigation to be sure, when the lives of so many were concerned, was promulgated on the 13th, though the criminals were taken into custody only twelve hours before it was published in print, in a country where the press is torpid, where but one was employed, and where the compositors, with their scanty types, proceed *à pas d'ane*. Next come the particulars, as they were laid before what it is customary to call the public, from Carvalho's pen and those of his compilers.

"His majesty sustained *most grievous* wounds."—"Two balls took effect."—"One (of these) *grazed* the outer part of the shoulder; the other *went between* the arm and right side of the body."—"They were slugs—heavy lead."—"The carriage was shot into *behind*."—"Six shots penetrated the king's *breast*."—"Incisions were made to extract the shot."—"Much blood was lost."—"The wounds were considerable and *deadly ! ! !*"

It is to be observed, that this attack his majesty subjects himself to by going out in the night-time, four days after he had declared himself in a state of abstraction from all worldly objects. Every movement tallies, however, with an admirable precision; nothing is incoherent but these statements, the result of two months' painful investigation.

The king was alone, or had a valet-de-chambre, or "a nobleman of the first quality (by implication Pombal himself), in the calash with him."—"Both were wounded, but escaped by crouching down in the bottom of the carriage. Several shots were fired. Four blunderbusses were discharged (the Duque d'Aveiro's missed fire). The coachman was

killed; and postillion wounded." This took place at eleven o'clock at night, an hour when all the world is stirring in that country and season, near the royal palace, and near Carvalho's house; an admirable place for the Tavoras to localize their atrocious arrangements, a horse ambuscade. How did his majesty act on being thus attacked? sustaining these deadly wounds?—As one would upon an every-day occurrence, just in fact in the manner as if it had been the loss of a shoe to one of his horses. He lowers the front glass, and bids (the killed) coachman drive him to his surgeon's at La Jonquiera.

"The ball struck Talgol's brass habergeon,
Who straight A surgeon! (cried) A surgeon!"

And it is now to be observed, that, to the 13th of December, no one saw his majesty but this one surgeon, no additional advice or assistance being called in to extract eight slugs from his deadly wounds. Does not the whole of this stand self-condemned?

The authoritative statement placarded in the denunciation of the affair, offering reward for discovery, says, it was the work of three conspirators, and three blunderbusses, one whereof missed fire, and two made two large holes in the back of the king's carriage, and wounded the king in the arm, of which his majesty is now perfectly recovered, *without the least hurt remaining*.

Next ensues the indictment, charging, that the Duque d'Aveiro, driven to desperation by being deprived of court favour, (although still a general of cavalry,) had *treasonably* used the following words, viz. "It is as bad to me as to have my legs cut off to go to court." Moreover he is charged with dissatisfaction on account of a disappointment relative to *a marriage* in his family. This causes him most treasonably to be reconciled to his sister-in-law the Marchioness of Tavora, with whom he had formerly had a difference. (See *Sentence*.)

But, to strengthen this point, it seems necessary to state, that they were all the bitterest enemies; and this is the very time taken by the Duque d'Aveiro to communicate to her his treasonable design. (*Sentence.*)

As a further charge against the Duque d'Aveiro to that wherein he is accused of having forgiven his enemies, the notable speculation which stimulated him was, that he intended, after he had assassinated the king, to have married his son to the Princess of Brazil, and assumed the throne of Portugal to himself.

The Marchioness of Tavora is accused of haughtiness of conduct; in corroboration of which charge it is proved against her, that she disturbed the minister (poor man!) at his hours of business with applications to promote her family. (*Sentence.*)

And both, taken together, constitute high treason.

The sentence then concludes with a winding-up worthy of itself:—

"But if *all proofs* had been wanting, presumptions of law (on the side of guilt) are sufficient for capital condemnation, unless controverted by *positive proofs of innocence.*" (Sentence *verbatim.*)

This contains a sentiment of despair. At any rate, after it there is, it must be admitted, no kind of occasion to inquire what the evidence may have been. Still it must be looked into.

A prediction of the king's death had been inserted in the Almanac—At whose instigation?

The plot was discovered by the brother of the wife of the Duque's bravo (kind assassin), a glover—his name is not specified—who visited her; and when the Duque and his bravo came to the house of the latter, (his usual resort,) to *consult*, the wife thrust her brother into a closet, not to be seen, but where he could hear correctly all that passed; which he did; and then learning the story of the king's assassination, he put both nicely together, and gave the information.

As to the arrangements of this precious plot, as communicated to the

public, they were the following. The funds were contributed by subscription in the following proportions and amount, namely, The Marchioness of Tavora, sixteen moidores; the Marquis, twelve; Conde Dalongonia, eight:—the total, thirty-six. To make the sum required, (forty,) the remaining balance, four moidores, was to be paid by the Duque d'Aveiro; wherewith two assassins at twenty moidores each were to be hired, for the job of murdering their king. These two convenient personages were by name, Anthonio Alvarez Ferreiro and Joseph Polycarpe Azevedos; and between these, according to some computations the public was favoured with, this sum to be divided, although this is not left perfectly clear, as, for aught we see to the contrary, the whole number of assassins, which varies as convenience may suit, were entitled to snack. Be this however as it may, the two above-recited suffered for their crime, being burnt; the former (Ferreiro) alive and *in propria persona*, the latter in the only form wherein he was ever extant upon earth, a pasteboard effigy. The round number of conspirators was ten, if there is not somewhat of a solecism in computing the beforementioned Ferreiro in the number of conspirators, as he was not made acquainted with it until after it had taken place. But for the business to be completed twelve persons were requisite, besides the pasteboard conspirator.

Nothing but the wickedness could exceed the folly with which these people are charged in the official account. Horses were introduced into the conspiracy, and various people employed to purchase disguises for the conspirators, *for secrecy's sake*. The conspirators thus prepared, mounted, disguised, and uninterrupted by any one, (for though a place of common resort, not a single eye-witness viewed the transaction or heard the report,) unopposed by any one, these twelve assassins permit a carriage and unarmed persons to be turned about and driven to La Jonquiera!

This tissue of horrid accusations sustained by ridiculous circumstances contains other incongruities. The pathetic apostrophe of one of the noblemen to his blunderbuss on its supposed failure has no relative phraseology in the Portuguese language. The term *evangelic minister* is utterly unknown to the professors of the Romish religion. It is German; and both these must have stolen inadvertently into the state-paper so laboriously compiled. However, they had a defence; and what defence? They had in the first place an advocate, an *amicus curiæ*, nominated for them by the prosecution. Secondly, they were allowed twenty-four hours to prepare this defence, without however being permitted to communicate with their counsel. Thirdly, by some accident even these defences, such as they were, never were laid before the public. Now comes the tragedy. Condemnation:—The Marchioness of Tavora to be conveyed, haltered, to the scaffold, there beheaded, to be denied Christian burial, and all effects confiscated. The Marquis of Tavora to be condemned to like pains and penalties, with obliteration of name and erasure of arms. Louis Bernardo de Tavora, the son, (husband to the lady who was treated with so much indulgence while in jail,)—Joseph Maria de Tavora, aged twenty-four years and aide-de-camp to his father,—Blaise Joseph Roneiro, and Juan, domestics of the family, to be strangled on the scaffold, broken on the wheel, goods confiscated, children declared infamous, houses razed, arms obliterated, and names extinguished. The Duque d'Aveiro, having been degraded and denaturalized previous to condemnation, to be led haltered to the scaffold, broken alive on the wheel, burnt, refused Christian burial, his arms obliterated, houses levelled, their site strewed with salt, and his whole property confiscated to the use of the crown;—all which was duly executed *au pied de la lettre*.

The execution took place at Belem opposite to the Duque d'Aveiro's residence, that the cup of death might be embittered by the recollection of scenes of past happiness, and at the same time be *à portée* to the inspection of the king and Carvalho; the latter of whom, certainly well posted, insatiate rioted in the rich repast. But it is said, and to be believed fully, that the king passed all the day in dreadful affliction; and at length possessed firmness enough to say that no more blood should be spilt; for his tiger minister was not yet satisfied; a hundred-and-fifty persons being involved in the accusations, and eleven of them (Jesuits) were executed privately the same night.

This took place on the 13th of January 1759; for, if the proceedings were hurried, ample delay took place, for some unknown cause, in the execution.

The scaffold was erected to an astonishing height by an Italian architect brought over expressly for the purpose, and who was never after heard of.

It was the original intention that the Marchioness of Tavora should have been executed the last; but it is supposed that the strong solicitations of the royal family for her life somewhat urged on the moment. When she was led out, haltered, allowed to see neither husband nor confessor, her sons' corpses lay before her; and she had to step over them as she advanced on the scaffold. They were two uncommonly fine young men in point of appearance. She kissed each upon the breast; but when the executioner offered her his assistance, dignity resumed its situation. "Hands off!" said she, "know who I am." Then, deliberately taking a ring off her finger, she gave it him; adding, "Now do your duty." The victims were carefully all brought to public view in the same dishabille of a month's imprisonment; and as each arrived on the platform, the corpses of the predecessors were carefully

pointed out to notice. This may be called doing the honours of the scaffold.

The Marquis was of tall stature, and about fifty years of age. On his arriving on the scaffold, the bodies of the Marchioness, his two sons, and the rest were uncovered by his desire. He kissed his second son's breast with great emotion; then deliberately handled the crow; and, resigning himself to its operation, bore his dreadful sufferings with the greatest firmness.

The Duque d'Aveiro was feeble on ascending the scaffold, having already undergone the rack *eight times*. On his appearance, the whole cavalry assembled for the spectacle went about, by order, in sign of contempt. His sufferings were most dreadful.

As each of these great people appeared, or received the blow of the bar, the atrocious populace uttered a loud shout of triumph. Pombal well knew what kind of stuff mankind was made of. Although the great submitted with a resignation which showed they knew what they were to expect, it was otherwise with the inferiors. They stared like men amazed, "as if awoke out of a slumber, and doubtful if they had a part to perform upon the scene, struggling hard with the executioners."

Such were the catastrophies which awaited those who had nothing to rely on, to defend themselves against villany, save their innocence. Yet the man, who did all this, died quietly in his bed!!!

The execution, as above mentioned, took place on the 13th of January; on the 19th the king re-appeared in public.

Aveiro, the ducal property, is now a delicate compliment to royalty, *Braganza Nova;* and a pillar stands on what was once the site of the Duque d'Aveiro's house—to

"lend a lie the confidence of truth."

Some accounts stated that the coachman, on the shots being fired, turned the horses suddenly round, and went to Belem without any exertion of the king. But a variety of accounts circulated, before it was, or could be ascertained, which would go down the best. They were all swallowed. Carvalho wished, it is said, with strong foundation, to have involved the Infant Don Pedro in the plot. One thing worthy of remark is the acrimony of style which pervades not only the sentence, but the whole procedure.

Compunction is the feebleness of guilt, not the return of virtue. That the delicate treatment which the young Marchioness of Tavora experienced, whilst her husband was lying on the scaffold, was owing to some compunctions existing in the mind of Pombal, there is no doubt. Thus our great poet represents Lady Macbeth: "Had he not resembled my father as he slept—" The debility of human nature pervades its very guilt, and there was unquestionably a motive in his breast which pleaded in this lady's favour.

It is to be lamented that the London Gazette no less than twice lent its aid to circulate these monstrous statements throughout Europe. The ingenuity of Pombal in implicating the transaction with the downfall of the Jesuits,—then a popular measure,—contributed to pervert the public judgement on the whole transaction; which, truly, passed over for the time without the execrations it deserved. But let it not thence be deemed to follow, in the present day, that the voice of truth was totally stifled. On the contrary, it appealed to Heaven,—rather late it is true,—on the abomination, both in English and in French, in the former particularly, with a most creditable degree of cool and sound investigation. Carvalho, however, was a man to have many advocates or retainers. He courted foreigners, to maintain that popularity throughout the world at large, which he knew he had no chance of enjoying at home. Edu-

cated a Catholic, and destitute of any religion, he acquired with other accts the character of an enlightened man. He patronized foreigners, especially from the countries which are not Catholic; and all those of this description who established themselves here enrolled on his side. He had bold commercial views, and the mercantile people looked up to him,—altogether constituting a powerful supporting corps. His vigorous mind and energetic expression carried weight with those to whom he talked, and brought them on his side; at least whilst he was minister. Europe was but a secondary object in his mind: he was always looking across the Atlantic for the foundation of an empire such as he might deign to rule. This he declared in latter life. It proves a vast boldness of conception, when we consider how little matter the state he was brought up in supplied, in the way of foundation for the speculations of politics. But are falsehood and atrocity to prevail at last against truth and innocence? Are the former to be eternal, and the latter obsolete? If such *can* be the case, it is a melancholy prospect for mankind. Then *magna est veritas et prevalebit* is no longer tenable.

A few observations summarily present themselves. Some will say, Was there not an attempt at an assassination? It is replied, There *may* or there *may not*; for such was the state of *assoupissement* prevalent about the throne,—such the ascendancy Carvalho had acquired, that he could make those, whom it was his object to deceive, believe every thing or any thing: and they only heard what he chose they should. But shots were fired—Perhaps they were; and no doubt ample and sufficient measures were taken to *terrify* the royal family, and impress on the royal mind the idea of an intended assassination. The state of the country admitted things to succeed as they were planned. The like has happened in all countries. How did Richard Plantagenet succeed in a similar attempt in the open day, and in the heart of the city of

London? Who can say that any one of the royal family ever saw the document wherewith Carvalho favoured the public? It was perfectly easy for him to keep it from them. Take the probabilities on each side, and see which preponderate. At any rate, it is *impossible* that it could have happened as he states it; and this falsehood once admitted contaminates the whole.

Malignity will avoid much of the censure it deserves, when not connected with avarice; and Pombal's was not.

But that all is on record could not be believed. Take his documents against his pillar,—and assuredly that is no more than what justice calls for,—he is himself the recorder of his atrocity. Men should consider the use to be made both of secrecy and precipitation; the one to conceal the blow, the other to prevent its being redressed. Until the declaration issued, no one could say what was intended. Carvalho during the procedure, it may be well inferred, suffered no more truth to enter within the walls of the palace than he did to pervade the ears of the public, and he was fully master of the avenues to both.

A degree of reserve and constraint was always observable upon foreigners here, when these accusations were introduced as a subject of conversation. It was evidently one they wished to get rid of, even after the day of the minister had ceased*. Perhaps some may think that no motive sufficiently powerful for all these labours existed. And what powerful motive instigated Cardinal Richlieu to form his com-

* He was soon taught that friends adhere to fortunes, and not to men. In his hour of triumph and insolence, when he had erected his master's statue in the great square, he placed his own bust in relief on the pedestal, implying that he was the pillar and shield of the throne. The comparison of a lamb-worrying cur, sneaking home after a night of blood, and scowling from between his master's legs, would have been more analogous. But, be this as it may, on his disgrace the bust was removed from the pedestal, and offended the public eye no longer; and his friends, those whom he had much obliged, and who probably were the champions of his fair fame, immediately thereon erased it from the models or copper-plates of the royal effigy in their private possession.

plicated and deep-laid plot for the destruction of the priest Grandier?—A rivalry in early days.

One consideration will strike obviously. Virtues, so far from protecting their possessors, precipitated their fall. And why? Because there was no free press to lay the case duly before the public. Portugal was not at that day as far advanced in moral progress as England was at the death of Edward IV.; and we see the effects of it.

Carvalho was a man with abilities calculated to raise him in any country. Had circumstances permitted, he would have perhaps acted a part equal for brilliancy to any we read of, but for his atrocity: as it is, he stands distinguished alone for the latter. If his career be obsolete now in the history of Portugal, it ought never to be so in that of mankind. In some countries such a gross injustice would have been, in course of time, by an *amende honorable*, and reversal of sentence, redressed, so far as depends on human power and piety. But such does not seem likely to take place here; a proof of the vanity, and worse than vanity, of all sublunary objects.

The ministry of Pombal is of as much importance in the present day as the colonization of Ulysses, of which, notwithstanding, we every now and then hear something. But to descend one step—from the days of the poets to those of historians, little more veridical than their predecessors, though without the brilliancy; it is impossible to cast an eye over the surface or map of this peninsula, without adverting to the steps, fortunes, and fates of the great powers which once struggled for, and indeed in the main possessed between them, nearly what was known of the world. How long did the Mediterranean continue the grand theatre of human action! Military science, which has decided and will decide all, struck its germ in Greece, a country otherwise more remarkable for refinement than knowledge, and indebted for what it

possessed to the churlish meditations of Egypt. Rome possessed greater powers of action, and used them accordingly. Thus her armies have left in these countries the most powerful traces of occupation and conquest. But the sea-coasts bear equal witness to the extent of commercial enterprise. The language of the merchants of Palestine remains, to bear testimony to that existence of which their rivals would fain deprive their memory. Maritime local names, like aquatic plants, bear a closer generic resemblance over the world than those of any other description. Indeed, events and their obvious progress point out the waters as the first object to tempt mankind to the experiment of enterprise, "going in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters." Hence we find throughout Europe the objects most catching to the eye of the navigator, with names rooted among the very corner-stones and foundations of language. Such is the case on the coast here. But the Phœnicians, it is proved by the same authority (language), established themselves, and ruled long, inland. How comes it that no more traces remain of them? Because they were not a people elegant like the Greeks, monumentary like the Romans. But "baldness is come upon Gaza,—Ascalon is cut off." And with the subversion of the parent state the traces of exterior domination are nearly obliterated; a circumstance to be regretted, situated so near the sources of primitive manners, of original matter, moral and political, as that state was.

But to revert to modern days. A territory unpeopled, a frontier indefensible, and no particular moral resources, present a picture conclusive at first view. Still, however, as there are few cases in this world which may not be worse, what would be the situation of the Peninsula, did France, as in former time, hold Navarre, the very key to it? The separation of this Peninsula into two independent (not to say hostile) kingdoms, has probably been on the whole injurious to the great European

republic; for, had Spain possessed and felt the real extent of her powers, she would hardly have continued a mere instrument in the hands of France, with whom her debility was always an object wished for*.

In the behaviour to British subjects here, the court showed how much it valued the national connexion. Though habits afforded very few opportunities of evincing this, still such as did present themselves were made the utmost of. Politics constitute a very strange system: such at least will be the opinion of those who regulate their ideas upon the *dicta* of Adam Smith. In his opinion, this connexion is of very little worth to our country in proportion to the trouble bestowed on it. His words are; "The burthen of supporting a very weak ally, so unprovided of defence (he seems here totally forgetful of Fort La Lippe and Almeida,) that the whole power of England could scarcely protect her for another campaign." But if the Methuen treaty were injurious to England, it was destructive to Portugal. What can that be but destructive, which substitutes the vineyard for the plough, which drives a country to be dependent on her colonies for her daily bread during four-fifths of the year, and which forces manufactures on them to the destruction of all efforts of their own? If this be not destructive, all political speculation is at an end. "*Miraris, mi fili,*" is the thought that must ever recur when the subject is politics. Such has ever been at least the machinery used, when a country was deliberately intended to be ground into dust.

Don Sebastian's fanatical and unfortunate (as it deserved to be) expedition first weakened Portugal, and its effects would have ever continued, had her enemies been able to take advantage of them. Colonies contributed to prevent her rallying. But what her people have performed

* It is obvious how much Bonaparte felt it to be for the interest of France, that Spain and Portugal should not be united.

abroad, sufficiently shows what they would have been capable of at home under a wise *regime*.

When we reduce the vast apparent mass of business, of forms, of modes, of moral evil diffused over the world, to their simple principles, these lie in a nut-shell. Inadequacy of system depresses France: accumulation of abuses, Spain: fanaticism, Morocco; while Portugal seems to inherit in heir loom, imbecility, and uncongenial exterior relations.

Mendicancy is prevalent here, and indeed practised without any sense of shame. Where distress has not poor-laws instituted, judiciously, to recur to, emigration, that enfeebler of a nation, must take place, and mendicity become a fashion at home, the hopelessness reigning therein having stocked the western world with inhabitants from this peninsula. England is guarded against the drain of emigration* by her wise institutions; a wisdom the less noticeable, as its operation is complete. The poor are enabled to struggle, to hope, and finally to re-establish themselves in pursuits of industry. The conventual establishment in the countries of the Romish religion does much, but it cannot prevent that obliteration of shame, that humiliation of human nature which must prevail when man condescends to beg. The prolongation of existence is a right in man as inherent to claim of his brethren, as his obligation to labour is due to society.

The north wind prevails down the coast of Portugal during summer. Investigation ever confirms one great truth, that Nature is as uniform in her principles as she is inexhaustible in her modes. Rarefaction and condensation are the two balancing principles which sway our elastic element destined never to be at rest. One of the packets on this station,

* Paradoxical as it may seem, it is demonstrable that indolence is a nurse of emigration.

now about to sail for England, had; on her former voyage thither from this port, been twenty-one days at sea, finding herself on the fourteenth of this reckoning still to the southward of the Rock of Lisbon, as the mariners term the place. Records of the process of nature at different stations lead to the ascertainment of her principles, and are of use; knowledge being rarely indeed inapplicable to some good purpose. Dead calms prevailed for five weeks previous to Admiral Byng's encounter with the French fleet in the Mediterranean. The consequence was, that the sea sent out a putrid effluvium poisonous to the atmosphere. Thus it is that, let any part of the harmony of Nature be deranged, all would fall to pieces, but that she possesses the principle of rectification in herself.

CONCLUSION OF TRAVELS IN 1784.

SECOND JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE.

IN 1814.

FORMING A SUPPLEMENT TO THAT OF 1784.

Route from Calais to the Rhone.—Descent of that River to Pont St. Esprit.—Journey coastways thence by the Mediterranean to the Pyrenees.—Pass of Belgarde.

THIRTY years of time, the most productive of events the most important in their consequences and the most permanent in their effects of any the world ever saw, have now passed away between the first cursory view of this great country, and that wherein it has been the writer's destiny to view it under the results of a series of glories, of sufferings, and of convulsions.

It may well be judged what an interest the human mind must take in such a view of the moral world; how solicitous it must be to observe the effects of these great causes. It will not be disappointed. The former are fully equal to the latter:—these have passed away; but their results remain, and will do in spite of all the efforts of man to the end of time; or, to speak more properly, to that of our puny race and the earth which it inherits. *Mais tant pour ça.*

The present work swells to a voluminousness that all the pains taken for suppression of non-pertinent matter cannot compress to the wish of its author; and he will avoid preface, as he would *digression*.

Therefore, to proceed to business. But previously one word as to the form now adopted.

The narrator has preferred condensing what he had to say upon France in general, into the shape of notes upon his preceding route, so far as the matter was of a nature that admitted of it; whatever was not, he has omitted. But he cannot justify himself in so doing, without warning the reader how incompetent he (or any man) is to form an opinion of France by travelling merely through it; and more particularly also, how very inadequate the ordinary routes which fall to the lot of the traveller are, to supply even a comparative scale of what this great country is. Even the present route under investigation—although it traverses France in its nearly utmost diagonal measure,—is unequal to furnish a basis for judgement upon a matter of such vast extent and inclusion: and this is clearly demonstrated to any one, who, like the author, has had it to his lot to make the circuit (an inadequate one yet) of so vast a state.

To judge of France, it is necessary to take the whole course of the Garonne, and the intermediate country from that river to the Loire. Still, even when this is done, how much remains yet unseen! Between these two rivers lies a well wooded country teeming with fertility. Here, perhaps, purchases might be made to advantage; for we are told that tracts between Orleans and Limoges might be colonized! If such be the case, it is very different indeed from the rest of France. Some heath is seen in these tracts, but in very limited extent. The spring and summer on the Loire are delightful; it is indeed there only in present days that the *gioventu del anno* of the poet is in any degree realized,

—it maintains all *he* can say on the subject. An Itinerary is offered to the reader at the end of the volume.

To travel without collecting ideas and information is waste of life; to collect these without assortment is nearly waste of time, and trouble: and the moral sense tells a man he should not have moved and thought through life to no purpose. When profit in publishing is put quite out of question, it becomes a man's duty to himself to let it be felt, that there may be *one* motive in the human mind to bring him before the scope of the public eye, more than—vanity.

The author takes such handles as his former text presents, to engraft thereon his newer matter; quoting therein, for the purpose of precision, the original. In addition, too, to this new matter, resulting from more assiduous investigation, or, what is much more frequent, the entire new face of things, he avails himself of the opportunity to correct himself on any point wherein he may have been in error; and to elucidate what his inexperience in active literature caused him to leave in a state of more obvious deficiency. The lot of his life absolutely precludes him from bestowing that personal attention on his composition which so large a mass requires; and it often happens that the legibility of a man's hand-writing does not hold par with the quantity of it. These circumstances, he much fears, will compel him to throw himself upon the mercy of his readers for a most voluminous list of errata, in extenuation of which he can only plead that he is not a fire-side traveller. He might add more on this point; but the reader will unquestionably concur with him, that this is sufficient to declare, or be informed of, touching personal matter.

His object in this subsequent compilation has been, for obvious reasons, France; but any matter which has since fallen in his way, in

regard to the other parts of his route, and which he can draw into light from the chaos of his note-books, he will insert in the proper place.

Page 6. CALAIS.—This place and M. Dessains' important department of it remain much as they were. The principal differences which strike the stranger's eye, of to-day, and thirty years past, are, the destitution of a numerous garrison clothed in white, and the plenty of the (more especially green) markets. Twenty-five butchers' stalls, and at least as many permanent shops for the trade, annul the testimony of Hogarth's Gates of Calais.

Page 7. MENAGERIES.—The author pleads in extenuation for the freedom of this epithet, that he was young when he applied it. But moreover, this whole establishment is most considerably improved in the present day; and is satisfactorily spoken of by those who avail themselves of it.

WATER-CARRIAGE.—This most important branch of statistics it will be endeavoured to take into due consideration hereafter.

Page 8. MILITARY HABIT.—By an extraordinary accident a fragment, or rather the principal part, of a journal of a French military officer, written in the field, fell into the author's hands. In the *discours préliminaire* he lays it down as a principle, that a man's business on entering into any country *new to him*, is, to look all around: "*comme si l'I alloit entrer dans le combat.*"

ROUTE—Page 12. POSTILLION TRIBE.—Materially altered, indeed, in the present day, but not a jot the less true in the former one. Investigation how or why this is, will hardly be expected here. The postillions of the present day are in their conduct a very respectable set of men. Their situation, one as well of profit as permanence, must make them so. By the wise regulations of a government, to which in this in-

stance certainly the merit of improvement is due, at each post-house an album, or as *free* translation might call it, a *black book*, is kept, for the purpose of the traveller's recording any instance of misdemeanour. He will rarely have occasion to recur to it; but it is certain that his so doing is sufficient to bring the proudest stomach in the fraternity down.

Page 14. LYONS.—Temperature. December damp and chilly, such as the date indicates; but notwithstanding the house-temperature is up at 62, whereas in London it is not higher than 55.

The Imperial eye was not blind to the local advantages of this place. But the first circumstance which strikes that of the stranger after an interval of thirty years, is the destitution of greasy monks in dingy black or whited-brown rugs, lounging along its streets, and of the incessant tinkling of bells from massive convents, of which indeed this plenteous spot in the lap of nature was an aggregation. The inmates are gone; but the structures remain, and supply France with a wholesome beverage, under the process of the *brasserie*, to which they are turned: the effects of which are legibly written in the plump and ruddy cheeks, and traceable in the broad shoulders of the present race of men of this great country, the physical change wherein is not less essential, and is even still more obvious than the moral one.—A portion, however, of these receptacles of wretched monachism is converted also to the convenience of the police establishment, and to charitable institutions, to barracks, and to hotels! some of them emulating, in space of ground they occupy, Portuguese palaces!

How transient are the traces of warfare! how feeble the puny efforts of man to mischief, compared with his inclination! Nothing of the kind can be more completely exemplified than at Lyons. Here is no dilapidation; but building is, on the contrary, proceeding with spirit—along the quays most magnificently:—elsewhere, on the *carpe diem*

principle: but both are well; it is calculation that justifies these distinctions, and the distinctions prove that this true principle is in usage. Their taste here, in this respect, is greatly improved in latter years, and this derives aid from the excellence of the materials they possess*. It is neither Egyptian nor Greek, and yet is very handsome; in their arches nearly as flat as their imposts, light pilasters, and very obtuse-angled pediments. No where does more true architectural taste present itself.—The quays now extend northwards for a mile and a half beyond the ancient town barrier, and on the west bank of the river. These are all faced with hammered stone, in an inclined wall of twenty feet height, with landing-stairs and mooring-rings, making in all nearly seven thousand feet of walled quay-work beyond the town.

This new work is planted with rows of the *platanus*, about the roots of which trees they are at this season judiciously removing the earth. By the luxuriance of its shoots the tree is completely at home in this climate. *L'allée des peupliers* composes part of this long line of walk, planted for public accommodation, perhaps the most extensive any where. These are the Lombardy poplar, deficient in ornament as in shade, but still—trees. None of the foliage tribes marks climate so precisely as this species; and it is probable that no juster criterion upon the subject of the human frame could be selected than that which vegetables afford; more congenial than latitudes or thermometrical conclusions. Situation affects the former so much by circumstances, and the latter is so totally insensible (as for instance in regard to the agitation of the air) upon points very essential to us. The river here presents a very busy scene. On the side of the water are

* Their lithology consists in two kinds of lime-stone, equal in point of cutting to the finest of Ireland; one an ash-, the other a flesh-colour, in a yellow micaceous free-stone, and coarser laminous or stratified substances for ordinary work.

Les Plates (floating mills); work-shops; lavatories; boats and barges loaded with coals, timber, corn, stone, fruit, and so forth, as called for by the wants, industry, and speculation of man. On the land side of these quays, against the cliffs, they are, as said, now busily building houses, running them up to the height of a hundred feet, tied by powerful beams (obtained from the romantic country the Chevalier Hamilton so enthusiastically describes). But they build at half computation expense, for their houses have no back walls. A precipice of dry alluvial sand with veins of gravel renders all impervious, and all human aid unnecessary. Never was so much capital expended on a foundation of so little intrinsic value: at hand at least! a capital, too, that will pay its interest well. Some of this natural rampart is laid out in the Chinese taste; for circumstances produce coincidences in this article:—terraces, inclined plane ascents from platform to platform; these latter planted with ornamental trees, in the number of which the weeping-willow tastefully predominates; and gay buildings for enjoying the magnificent prospect which presents itself in front, as well as along the course of the river. When these trees are so grown as to overshadow the roofs of the adjacent houses, the effect will be as curious as pleasing; for they will appear to grow from the very houses themselves. All indicates good taste, rational speculation, and sound judgement; and the citizen of the world feels a gratification in the idea that such foundations will not disappoint, based as they are upon the anticipated prosperity of a population of one hundred thousand souls, for whose recreation they are laid out. This chain of heights attains to four hundred feet, and extends to the junction of the two rivers. The ranges of houses on them, detached however, extend over their whole face, each with its plot of ground. It seems as if determined that not a foot of vertical superficies

should remain unbrought into account. Most of these houses are of several stories.

The prospect up the river is very grand, to the magnificent (in external appearance, and from a distant point of view,) mansion called De la Pape, on the height. Beyond this are the projecting points of the predominating western bank, over a willow flat by the river side; beyond these are the mountains, and their delightful accompaniment—an accumulated mass of wool-pack clouds.

The opposite or eastern shore is a tract of alluvial meadow, built over in detached tenements too. Here at this moment (December 1) the herbage is shooting freely; as well it may, when, in animated life, the horse-dung fly is active, and the little wall-lizard puts himself out to bask. Thermometer, mid-day, in the shade, 54:—at six in the evening, in the open air, 53. The mountains to the south-east are now covered with snow to their visible bases. The eastern bank of the Soane is also completely faced with an inclined wall of hammered stone. A great bustle prevails all along these quays; and now, at five o'clock in the evening, the citizens, such as stone-cutters, continue at work. Thus, too, in the open country, at six in the morning the yokes of oxen were going to their work a-field; and nearly three hours advantage on the side of active life is possessed over us Hyperboreans, who have to fetch it up by some countervailing effort of ingenuity or labour.

The river at the junction of the two contributory streams presents a truly noble appearance.—Some may say it holds out invitation as the residence of a god. This, however, to others will hardly justify the interpolation of an alien—and in such an uncongenial location too! a town-hall! Enough to chill all hope from poetical ideas.—Where before mentioned, however, this noble stream appears at least eight hun-

dred feet wide. Two bridges are over the Rhone. The stone bridge has twelve main arches, and two annexed ones on the east side. The Soane has seven bridges, not all at this moment passable, but in progress of being so. The Rhone has also an occasional *pont volant*. The wooden bridges take toll, being private capital.

Those smitten with the love of lithology will hereabout find wherewith to indulge themselves; and amongst other matters, a stone which rings when struck, like basalt. Another of black hue, containing the *patella ungarica*, (vulgò *limpet*,) with fragments of oyster much decayed, and cockle in fragments, but undecayed (Barrington's *lusus naturæ*,) and undiscoloured, will give them something to think upon.

The *roulage* vehiculation is very active here, advertising itself for every direction—Italy, Switzerland, and Amsterdam.

The ingenuity of the handicraft people here is very striking. What elegant articles of furniture, sets of drawing-room chairs for instance, are wrought, chiefly by the hands of women and children, out of scraps and fragments of hazle-stick and split osiers! A remarkable precocity appears in the children:—a boy of twelve years of age superintended and directed the whole procedure of a forge, the putting the entire ring of iron round a coach wheel on a matter of emergency; his mother, the widow, contemplating him during the process with an eye of admiration and exultation. Another boy, of the same age, is met on horseback, his *viaticum* and *parapluie* tied to his saddle, apparently a rich farmer's son, directing with the eagle eye of a general the route of a string of corn carts. A very fine peasantry is seen through the whole of the route or tract of country between Paris and Lyons.—Blue gabardines, like those of the Kentish peasantry, but probably adopted from that of Flanders, have become the costume here, and a good one they are. With the exception of the ear-ring, the British and French pea-

santry differ now (very much otherwise in former days) hardly to the eye.—Populous as this place is, a considerable quantity of dwelling space is offered to the best bidder. On the other hand, a great *faubourg* extends itself now beyond the wooden bridge. Entering Lyons,—and indeed the traveller of to-day will note the appearance elsewhere,—are numbers of houses of frame-work and clay, tiled, with projecting eaves, evidently the work of persons anxious to get into immediate occupation or possession, for various purposes probably, but who, from want of means, or of confidence in appearances, would not lay out capital. This was probably the first effect of the revolution, and what comes under the eye bears about that date. Great politeness, with activity of *accueil*, are noticeable in the conduct of the tradespeople here.

Coals have been mentioned. This important article of statistic as well as domestic accommodation has been reckoned among the deficiencies of France, but probably without due reason. Water carriage will rectify all this. No want of the kind exists at Lyons, except in the inclination to make all the blessing of this donation of Providence which that Power intended for use. They are brought here from Rive de Gex, ten leagues, and St. Etienne, twelve leagues distance to the south-east, towards the heads of the Loire, the principal part of the way hither by water. Those of St. Etienne are not of so good a quality as the other. They are seen here in lumps as our round coal, also as slack. The beds are worked by shafts.

Calcareous matter is advertised here (rare for France) for manure; oddly expressed—*à fumer les terres.*

To reach Lyons from Calais, a great tract of country is traversed, and it cannot be supposed such a one should be destitute of interest.—Paris too, which, like every capital, is never out of the way, is an

object to set thought in action.—A few ideas present themselves to observation and recollection on these heads.

Agricultural Notes on the North of France.—Great breadth of winter corn sown—got early into the ground—Wheat too bright, an example of the disappointment attendant on too bright early prospects—Fences about rustic *menages* here and there—incipient planting—not duly select in their trees—the witch elm, useful for rustic implements, predominates—some good fencing is occasionally seen—plough too fast—the wheel-plough, with that inestimable servant of all-work the horse, two or three in front, and three ploughs abreast; one man to the plough—Sow very thick—furrow well. White manure—burning—low stock of winter fodder—hay badly managed—insensibility to the sweets of after-grass.—Little space left for spring corn.

Notes of the Route.—Many in the towns have the *air desœuvré*, but intoxication is very rarely seen. The chalk country is a summit level in France as in England. Inclosure is not attempted on it. Noyon is its boundary; on the other side is a tract of foliage and inclosure. Double plough, triangular harrow, and garden-rake used in the field. Broom is the natural covering of the soil at the parallel of Montreuil. No formidable species of the thistle tribe shows itself until north of Abbeville. The vineyard ceases at the Oise. The swine are allowed to root the fallows. Very few tame geese seen throughout France; what are, are of a large size. Penning of sheep is just perceivable. Red-brown cattle, with white faces—apparently the origin of the Hereford breed with us. Some of the favourite yellow kind here also. About Amiens turf (*tourbe*) is indigenous both to soil and climate. On the Oise it seems rather an exotic. Oak felled in winter without being barked.—Some ground on this route unturned on the first of May—a rare sight. Some too left as not worth turning. North of St. Just, a

decline in the fruit-trees indicates an obvious deterioration of climate. France may come justly under the denomination of a woodland country as far as the Oise and Clermont on that river. Much spring corn is sown to the north of the Oise. The French show more judgement in the management of their waters than of their woods. The rustic buildings are sharp-ridged and thatched in the north. In the centre of France, slate is chiefly in use; and in the south tiling is universal.

Climate.—An improvement on this head is noticeable at Abbeville in the vigour of growth of the Lombardy poplar. May-bush in full blossom April 30th.

Labourers employed on the roads *devouring masses of fat bacon!!*

Paris—a great city. The laconism of this opinion was not quite satisfactory to one of its inmates, who was solicitous for its full scope of effect upon a foreign visitor. He might have had pleaded to him, in extenuation for deficiency of impression, and consequently expression, that primary principle which says, Whatever is receivable is proportionate to the capacity of the recipient. But perhaps this would not have sufficed in a national cause. Here is in fact much to admire, and a considerable matter to amend. Any one, however, who has not given to such a mass of social establishment, possessing the peculiar advantages it possesses, the time it claims, has not employed the leisure of his life, if it possessed any, duly. It is a place highly worthy of advertence. A person does not usually resort to a city in search of the picturesque. Yet the place and the quality are compatible. Paris is worthy of remark, as being particularly possessed of pleasing points and stations of views. It is said, and by very accurate observers too, that no sensible difference in point of climate exists between London and Paris. This, however, others deny. Undoubtedly, in point of clearness of atmosphere the French capital bears the palm. How different

are its present inmates from those of the old *regime!* In the proportion of perhaps one in ten thousand, a proof specimen of the Frenchman of 1784 presents himself, calling up to the mind the painful reflection of the scenes he must have witnessed. Gracious Heaven! what must be his reflections on the series of events!!

FUEL, Paris.—Comparisons out of the question, the winter of Paris is very severe, and the more so as houses are not duly secured against cold. In time the Parisians will learn the sweets of a Parliament winter. A rich senator from Touraine, who wisely wished to enjoy comfort, had all the apartments which he took for the term of his political duties fitted up with German stoves, the only powers of heat sufficient for the purposes of this climate. Fuel is, however, an article of too immediate interest to every stranger not to be adverted to, to the utmost. A cube of six French feet of wood costs eighty francs, and will last one fire about a month—not permitting the ashes to be removed, covering carefully with them the glowing embers at night, in which state they remain until morning; and using such due and necessary expedients as the enjoyers of the sea-coal fire in the *snug parlour* of London are little habituated to advert to. Each billet, five sous, six of these; the cleaving of a piece of timber of a foot diameter will last through the evening.

La Cité, as it is denominated, marks the rudiment of Paris. Here were placed, that is as high as navigation judged it expedient to penetrate, the pillars of the nautic Hercules: this spot marked the bounds of the universal navigators. Some little of advantage in point of position on the bank, or in the stream, with convenience of tiding up inland thereto, generally over Europe indicate the system: as nautic adventure connects itself moreover with tradition, which tells us of Vestal sacrifices, ships, serpents, and so forth;—for religion always bore a part in the

drama. Superstitions formed a part of the imports, and no doubt a ready vent was found for their distribution. Not to speak of the Tiber—here on the Seine we have the Isle Louvier, with the ænigmatical and allegorical ideas of the wolf nurse—(*inde* Louvre.)

The dimensions of this city may be taken, diametrically, as four English miles by three; the lines striking through La Cité and the site of Nôtre Dame, placed probably on the original sacrificial stone. The primitive navigators repaid themselves for their trouble by barter; exported superstitions, and brought home a rich return of fabulous exaggeration and mystical romance, to travel round the world in other directions. Population aggregated and ultimately fixed itself here, and Paris has finally become what we now see it. Rome's process, to all appearance, was the same, but at a much anterior period; and a similar one may with probability be ascribed to London, of which its ancient tower may be considered the nucleus. The Boulevardes correspond with our London Wall, Barbican, and the precincts of as much as could be placed within the defence of towers and curtains, and the Barrières are analogous to our Temple- and Holborn-Bars, which were not included within the fortifying system.

The picturesque, as relative to a city, has been alluded to: it does unquestionably exist, but rarely anywhere so strongly exemplified as at Paris. For instances of it, take various points in the vicinity of the river; but more particularly the following, namely, those where the ancient Cité presents itself. Note, In this respect, too, the view down the river from the bridge of Austerlitz, terminated by Nôtre Dame, its roof and towers; also the view up from Pont des Arts, catching Pont Neuf, and the angle in the water made by La Cité. The old high roofs are much more to this effect than our flat modern ones. The clearness

of the atmosphere favours, too, the impression of these objects. Some connect no idea in the way of beauty with civic architecture, but what consists with identity and uniformity :

" That cuckoo's note,
Ralpho; thou always harpest on't."

Repetition is not harmony. Others, again, can find neither conception nor expression for beauty, but in the term variety. Most people are struck with the effect of the street St. George's Hanover Square, without knowing the reason why: just as ignorant as he who laid it out was of the effect it would produce. Not so ignorant were, however, the ancient Egyptians:—by their structures we see that they were fully apprised of the effect of reduction combined with distance on the eye, and the beautiful results that might be extracted therefrom. The Calle de Alcalà at Madrit, heretofore mentioned, is the finest modern specimen we possess in this way. A fastidious critic in traversing this fine city (Paris), and casting his eye over its embellishments, would be inclined to say of the triumphal arch in the Tuilleries, that the biped figures are too large, injuring the effect of the horses which are intended for the principal objects. That the column in the Place de Vendome has its summit too bald of decoration (the climbing of futile vanity out of the question) for so highly wrought a shaft; and that the new front to the Tuilleries, of the Corinthian order, has its basement of a plainness which does not harmonize with the beautiful richness above. So hard is it to gain or retain in human hands that consistency which in those of Nature is never deficient.

The Menagerie, and its adjunct the Botanic Garden, come, the one literally and the other metaphorically but colloquially, under the definition of the Lions of Paris; and are to be visited as such by all who would speak of this city as having visited it. The objects indeed are entitled

to the notice of curiosity in themselves. In the former, the attendant mentioned that the camel could not be brought to generate. This has been elsewhere adverted to. Surely their illustrious countryman the great Buffon could not have been silent on the subject. In the aviary, amidst all the beautiful varieties of the pheasant tribe, no trace of information could be obtained of the *francolin* of the south-west of France. Is the species extinct? Of the garden the arrangement is no doubt scientific: it has the more obvious merits, too, of being intelligible and accessible to all; as has indeed, it must be admitted, every thing in the way of science here, where on every occasion a person presents himself able and willing to show. Vails are taken, but they are not exacted, and hardly seem expected. As to the community, it does not seem to think payment could possibly be looked for, for any thing that is to be seen by day-light. The liberality with which the works of art of all descriptions are thrown open here to the admiration of mankind, unquestionably is a merit to be acknowledged as strongly as it must be felt. Moral, however, put out of dicussion for the moment, Napoleon is blamed for transplanting these works of art from their parent sites to (what may be called) an uncongenial climate. On this even much might be said, were it worth time, for and against. Among these transplanted masterpieces are to be found the infants Romulus and Remus under the protection of their quadruped nurse. The fable is probably quite as applicable in this respect in the one place as in the other. In Egyptian ænigma, as is well known, the wolf is the soldier: but in regard to the state of the arts, herein is one of the essential differences of the present day from those of yore. This particular comes under the observation of the traveller; more diffusive, more awful ones, because more extensively operative, are for the moralist. Assuredly no remoteness the diameter of our planet admits of, places any two people so completely

opposite, as the intervention of the period of thirty years does the inmates of this one and the same city, considered as previous and subsequent thereto. Whatever man may be brought to in advance, it is impossible to bring him back to what he was. If he cannot do it for himself, how is he to do it for others? Yet we will speculate! But to return to the arts. Here is now the wonder of the pencil—The Transfiguration. (See the observations on that of *Nuestra Senora del Pez.*) Where is the man bold enough to condemn himself by a reprobation of the whole imagination, the conception of this idolized picture now here? One avows himself so, going further in that direction than the able critic whose observations he has extracted *. Having frankly avowed thus much, he will abstain troubling others with specifications of a description they are by no means inclined to listen to; but turn to two works of the present day, enough to immortalize any painter, and almost beyond the hand of the artist who wrought them, even David; —The Interposition of the Sabine Women, and Leonidas the Evening before the Battle of Marathon. What subjects to select! what talents to effect! This artist has the singular one of giving invisibility to his canvass: the figures present themselves, but what they are done on remains to be guessed. The Sorbonne, formerly the nidus of pedantry, and deservedly an object of contempt for its fosterage of arrogant stupidity, is now one, of the fine arts. Here are now exercised the chisel and pencil, where time was formerly wasted in splitting of hairs, or the less innocent pursuit of compelling human faculty to fit itself within the paltry limits imposed by *dicta* the emanations of empty skulls (pardon for the absurdity of the expression: it was inspired by, and is worthy of, the subject). The French modern school of painting, it is hardly necessary to add, now stands high. May it flourish! for it is by emulation (in the

* See Appendix.

sense of excellence) that man gains ground in his moral objects. A step gained by one is for the benefit of all.

The National Institute must, too, present itself as an object of the first interest to a stranger anxious for the fate of Science, ever an unwilling sojourner in the scene of alarms and political convulsions. If she has maintained her post here, it is the utmost that can be hoped. And what a loss to mankind should her enemies,—and many she has in the present day,—frighten her from any one of her bowers on earth, back to her parent skies! May we yet hope she is so completely domiciliated, as that there remains no fear of our losing her altogether! for her constitution is what is denominated of the nervous kind, and she has been subjected to more alarms than befit a delicate person. As yet, however, here, she is neither fled nor preserving her incognito. Her votaries meet, and strangers are admitted to their (public) sittings, with the same facility that prevails elsewhere on the subject. The meeting is on Mondays at the hour of three o'clock. The society is composed of four departments, for each whereof is a respective secretary; and such as have communications to make must ascertain the branch of science they relate to, in presenting them for the purpose to that secretary to whom they properly devolve. The departments, be it observed, have their respective times of meeting. About forty members are present. When a work is presented, it is done by the secretary, who reads the title, and gives what explanation he judges necessary (a cursory one): it is then referred to a member to read, and make his report on at an ensuing meeting; which being done, the president puts the question "that this report be adopted?" which it may be judged is rarely but a *nem. con.* procedure.

In the various communications made to this learned body during the day here under observation, the weight and importance of matter

were decidedly in favour of what was British. A flattering view for a subject of that nation. Excellence stands totally distinct from the churlish sentiment of engrossment. M. Humboldt, to whom general knowledge is so much indebted, was present, and announced an intended voyage by some person distinguishedly fitted for the undertaking, from Russia to the north pole, to take place in 1816 and the subsequent years.—A member read a treatise on mushrooms, describing twenty-one kinds ascertained not to be deleterious.—A professional member produced a model of a bed, adapted to afford relief to sufferers by a fracture of the *tibia*.—An essay on hydrostatics was also read.—These were all in French. M. D'Arago, in whose charge is at present the observatory of Paris, was one of those laborious *sçavans* who were for nine years employed in the measure of the arc of the meridian in the Mediterranean, commencing at Formentera, a little spot near Ivica, and on the coast of Spain *, whereint hose bases so astonishing for their extent and execution were taken. They were once obliged to betake themselves to flight, and take refuge in Algiers:—a rather unusual spot for science to seek security in! The undertaking was worthy of a great nation; but when we come to utility, to what makes nations great, how infinitely does the former, the humbler subject (hydrostatics), take the lead! The French have wisely adverted to it. The subject will be further considered in its place, worthy as it is of all consideration; for although England may have carried the

* The season chosen was winter, the atmosphere being then clearest. The process was by night-lights (reflectors). One of the triangles had a side of 82,555 toises, about a hundred miles English. 2558 observations were taken of the polar star From Fort Mont Juif, near Barcelona, by Torre de Matass to the island of Formentera is 315,552 metres. In regard to the metre—if the earth were perfectly spherical, there would be 100,000 metres in each degree; but perfect precision is no more the lot of *created* matter, than consistency is of *that formed* by the hand of man. The laws which govern Nature are perfect; but still some deviation must take place on her part, (as Hudibras observes,) to give those laws force.

principle and practice into execution with a degree of perfection unattainable by any other nation; yet the demand for the introduction of this powerful branch of statistics by France so much exceeded, was requisite to her prosperity so much beyond what any other nation internally called for, and that prosperity is so indelibly now fixed thereby, that it is a matter well worthy of the most industrious inquiry here by such as feel an interest in political investigations, so far as they are connected with the general welfare of human nature.—But to proceed with Paris. What has been before said of its climate was from strong authority: but facts are strongest of all; and it is by record of facts that any soundness is derivable to such calculations. On the 30th of April the May-bush was in full blossom in this vicinity. This is a criterion of climate. The Judas-tree was the same. Of prospects (in the exterior), try that from the heights of Montmartre, especially southwards, where the eye enfilades the river; the admirer will be amply compensated for the trouble of visiting them on a bright day.

One general observation may be made on Paris. *Fine* as the city is, it essentially differs from London in this respect, namely, that it is a thing within the scope of human conception. The mind can acquire an idea of Paris; whereas, the more a person views and makes *himself* acquainted with London, the more he will be convinced how inadequate, in the whole, were such ideas as he had heretofore formed to himself upon its subject. In respect thus of being beyond the scope of the human mind, London partakes of the definition of *sublimity* which, with all due respect for the eloquent Mr. Burke and his system of terror, is no other than this—the excess of an object beyond the mind's powers or comprehensions. Another observation, however, presents itself at parting from this highly interesting object. How short the interval of time and space between these capitals of the two greatest na-

tions of Europe! How long the period during which they have been thus (nearly) side by side! Yet how marked are now, and have ever been, the moral distinctions prevalent in each! And although the continental city be now so effectively, in the present day, different from the Paris of former days, how little approach in the way of resemblance has she made, or seemed inclined or likely to make, to her great rival!

To revert to the intervening country, from the Channel to Lyons, and the interests which it presents—For the route on observation must not be suppressed: and let the reader recollect his school lesson—"*Felix quem faciunt*," &c.—trite but true; and this is intended for his welfare. In every transaction here, upon the route certainly where payment is to be made and taken, it is absolutely necessary to make the bargain fully *beforehand*, the words "*tout compris*" are also nearly as much so; but the stipulation of price is an absolute previous requisite—the *availing* procedure, although the like is among us, to a degree, is so established here, that precaution cannot be trifled with.

Two routes are extant, and wide from each other, between Paris and Lyons; and probably a weight of doughty argument as to which was the shortest might have been supplied by them; but that the printed Itinerary tells us that the difference is but a quarter of a post!

Charenton presents itself with matter of reflection to the traveller, meditating there, as he walks on the banks of the beautiful river, upon the events of which it has been recently in part the theatre! The palisades used in its spirited defence are yet standing. It is a consolatory reflection to human nature, even where under the scourge, to see that man is sometimes and in some instances at least true to himself. Would that all professed service or friendship were equally so; but herein no criterion presents itself but too late! But, what mutations! The hearth of the inn here presents matter exceeding in extent the most luxuriant

imagination of the painter of the Flemish school—Veal, mutton, carp, eels, turkeys, fowls, all ready dressed, with some dozen of larded larks as minor satellites!—Whence are the people to come to consume all this food, or whither is the food to betake itself for consumption? Allied armies and defending ones are equally now withdrawn.

Villeneuve. Melun.—November 25. Thermometer at 36.

Some new building rising—Young plantations of fir and larch—former apparently of the stone-pine species.—Query, Why this selection?—Here is a breed of cattle which strongly presents itself as the parent stock of that branch we call the Herefordshire, but which was originally founded in Worcestershire: the pedigree is now somewhat hard to trace, but family likeness is often the strongest record.

The forest of Fontainbleau has some tracts of the true picturesque, harmonizing in weeping birch, and juniper peeping out from beside (apparently) granitic masses scattered over the sandy surface.—The straight wide causeway lends its hand to disfigure all this; as do in their way, although perhaps more expedient, the straight rides cut through the forest. Query, Are these masses granite?—Quitting Fontainbleau, where is on the ensuing day the annual fair, the great *entrepôt* of the wines of Burgundy,—the route leads to Nemours.

The Seine is quitted, be it observed,—for rivers define the lines,—at Melun, the south fork ascending to Montargis.

Chardons are cultivated considerably south of Fontainbleau.

At the inn of this place is an Egyptian sarcophagus, of red porphyry, serving as a drinking-trough. Such a misapplication might have happened under any *regime*; but how is the enlarged scale of the larders to be accounted for? Not by the reduction of value; for prices are higher than formerly, about a third part. Perhaps mankind will not now be satisfied with the meagre *regime* of heretofore. The effects are

conspicuous, if such be the cause. The road is covered with a noble-looking young peasantry going to the fair. They bring with them a fine race too of Rohan stallions (the indigenous breed of the country), good mules, and small yellow cows, none amounting to four hundred weight, but many of them perfect beauties in their way, very like what we call the Alderney breed. They talk of prices of eighteen louis for these! No handsome bulls presented themselves to view.—Chester poplar is much planted.

Nemours.—All here is delightfully picturesque—the castle most specifically so. The lancet arches speak to the antiquity of the church. Here, in the river and canal, the inland navigation is touched on. Beyond the calcareous hilly chine which skirts the road, lies to the east a ledge of hills of most beauteous outline. This calcareous tract is a fine sheep-walk, but at the present moment does not appear to have occupants.—Extraordinary fragments of sand-stone strata, with ferruginous gravel, on the left bank of the river, which winds in bold sweeps through a rich alluvial flat bounded by chains of hills such as described.—Here are tanneries, and a glass manufactory which is going on, as they say, prosperously. A sensible amelioration in the atmosphere is found here.

La Froisiere.—Fontenay. No *auberge* at either.

Here at Fontenay is a bridge with pointed arches. From this place onward the road does not cut the country which is obliged to receive it, so offensively to the eye as is usual in France.—The sheep-stock is tolerably numerous here; and the breed, although small, is good, being well carcased, rather high on their pins, and small boned.

Puits la Lande.—No *auberge*.

Montargis, famous for its faithful breed of dogs, is a town, but has

no good *auberge*. This is a summit level (hills not considered). The market crowded and busy—manufactories for general purposes—a plentiful supply of meat offered to whoever will buy—a healthy, decent, orderly peasantry; water is at command here for general purposes.—The dunghill here, (however offensive to the eye and other senses,) as in the early rudiments of social life, occupies a part of the tenement. (Thus, in the primitive associations of ancient Greece, the white crops were carried to be thrashed out within the walls of the *city*. Things must take time in their course). This care of the dunghill, and the diligence used to augment it, indicate that a staple of human life and *population*, in the true basis of aggrandizement of individual and prosperity of national society,—the commonalty of the nation,—is coming into general use here! Such is the fact. The nature of the soil here is adapted to that esculent article the potatoe, so important a nurse of the peasant's *menage*, which rears him a numerous family of ruddy children to aid the labours of his later life, and supplies him with a fattened hog, for his chimney or for market, every Christmas, with the refuse. But much more is hereby proved; namely, it proves the intimate connexion attained here between the man and the soil, by which both are so much benefited; between which divorce cannot exist without the whole state languishing; a connexion much more important than that of capital; or, indeed, what is manual labour but the most powerful of capitals? A good breed of swine is not yet introduced here: but the peasant will soon feel the advantage of so doing; those now seen are of the white long-legged kind.

The situation of this level tract is, as said, high; but it still admits the walnut-tree,—now banished by the increasing severities of the seasons from the more northern and eastern tracts of Europe,—to thrive.

The soil is ferruginous gravel. The Upper Loire and some of the heads of the Seine here approximate. The summit-level of the waters is between

La Commodite'—where is no *auberge*, and

Nogent sur Venaissin, which is alike deficient in this respect to the traveller. Here a water is crossed which still runs northward, so belongs to the Seine. The sluggishness of the currents demonstrates the horizontality of the surface in general; although it is here formed into undulations of large extent, but very little rise. The sweeps of rivers are in proportion to the horizontality of their course. This latter lying, as it usually does, between strata differing in their nature; assuredly an investigation into principles hereupon might be rewarded with some insight into the hitherto little understood theory of springs.

Here is for the first time seen (a rarity in the present day) a waste. It is of about a hundred acres extent; a proof patch of what the face of nature was, and would be. Heath on ferruginous gravel, interspersed with juniper. *Turf* shows an inclination to follow the heath. So coal-beds were once formed. Geology brings to the mind here all the connexion of ideas of fox-bench, with the denudation of forests, coal-beds, iron, fresh water* piscatory *exuviæ*, and so forth—the consistency of Nature in all her works.

La Bussiere.—No *auberge*. A rye country. Here the sand-stone approaches to horn-stone; that is, assumes the rhomboidal conformation. Here is a chateau belonging to M. Chasseval, moated, and with a large reservoir of water; baronial and picturesque, though wild and flat. The view of the chateau from the north-east, where it is taken

* The *vestigia* of a fresh-water as well as a marine alluviation of the globe are obvious and distinct—Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto! what were you about?

angularly, is singularly pleasing. Some ground is attached to it, of which a nook laid off among the right angles, for a specimen of English gardening taste, has quite enough of it to cure the people here of the rage of imitating their neighbours.

BRIARE, NEUVY *sur Loire*, COSNE, POUILLY.—Destitution of *auberges*.—To Pouilly the little towns are picturesque by their irregularity, their dingy yellowish walls, and mossy roofs. Steps, windows, all together present subjects that would bear the canvass. Neither dilapidation nor improvement seems to have occurred during the last eventful thirty years. The magnificent Loire here, already so near his head, figures out in all his importance, in volume to strike the eye, and affording reflection to the mind in his application to that first branch of statistics—inland water-carriage*. From the hill above Pouilly the river is traceable for many miles upwards to its source. This tract, as far as the eye can reach, is all dotted with single houses in a way not expected to be seen in France; among which are farm-establishments, in scale and number sufficient for any country. This is also a country of hedge-rows; but these hedge-rows are not sufficiently timbered. This is the only lack of improvement duly in the face of Nature observable. A little is however now doing in this way, and every thing below here must have a beginning. The under soil is a flinty gravel,

* Man has fluttered about the light of improvement long without adopting, as if dazzled, or as if the consequences were too much for his mind. Sluices were invented in Italy in the fifteenth century (China is out of the question for our purpose). Charlemagne had a grand idea of connecting the Rhone and the Danube. The canals of France were struck out in the latter part of the seventeenth century; (that of the South in 1681). The Canal de Briare was the first effort (1642). The *Canal du Centre* joins now the Saone to the Loire. ST. QUENTIN is an important point in this branch of national procedure. Here join the navigations of the North and of the South by a communication between the basin of the Seine and the northern rivers. (The canal of Chaumay there joins the Oise and Somme, which last was not navigable.) Tunnels were adopted here, piercing the elevation which commands the heads or reservoirs of the Seine, Somme, Scheld, and Meuse.

the metallic tinge faint. Schistose clay, and much appearance of a coal-like connexion, with the usual cold rushy soil fit for the dairy. This clay supplies pottery manufacture, which takes its position judiciously on the banks of the Loire. Faggoting is the fuel used. Winter corn in breadths of fifty acres in excellent tillage, though broadcast, on narrow ridges thrown high, probably on account of the tenacity of the soil. Little else until Pouilly (which is surrounded by vineyards) is reached.

When Briare is passed, the *acacia* seems to be at home.

La Charité.—(Sunday.) Abundance of meat exposed for sale. This small town thronged with people. The view hence westward is one of those in which the pencil can but depict its own inadequacy.—Lithology: laminous sand-stone, and iron-stone, which last they are now mending the road with!—ferruginous-tinged gravel. Products: meadow, wheat, vines, timber. At this little town the Loire narrows, and passes through a bridge of ten arches. The navigation on this river is now very considerable; viewed where it may, it will rarely present less than twenty loaded boats at once to the eye. A hundred pass under this bridge in a day; some loaded with coals, mostly small-coal, or slack. As to the beauty of this district, take the finest tracts of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Herefordshire, and place them upon the banks of the Thames at Rochester, for the mind's eye. Still the vineyards would be wanting. The woods are copsed, and very well managed. The most is made of every foot of ground; the gravel-pits by the side of the road are levelled, sown, or planted. The deep colour of the wheat indicates a strong soil. The tillage is excellent, and great attention and ingenuity is shown in the water-furrowing. Some small proof-patches of the state of nature are still seen here and there. Black-thorn shrubs as with us, but that here the juniper takes the place

furze does in our climate. No apparent winter stock of fodder presents itself.

Although the western or setting sun view from La Charité defies the pencil, there is matter for it about the dilapidated castle, walls, and bridge. One of the grandest views in the world perhaps is from the height near Pogues.

Nevers.—Capital of the delightful Nivernois, one of the gardens of the world. The bridge here is of great length, one half being of wood. W. S. W. of this town, distant about forty miles, appears very commanding ground. The vivacity of the common house-fly here at this period indicates temperate in the climate. Although good wine they say needs no bush, every second house has one here; indeed the remark may nearly be extended to the whole department. In addition to his good wine, the Nivernois farmer and peasant, who seem among the happiest of mankind (*bona si sua nôrint*), have the music of the bagpipe to gladden their hearts. The lithology* here presents schist annexing to the former sand-stone; this schist is green, blue, and purple. But west of the Loire luminous sand-stone re-appears, and the soil consequently degenerates. On the whole, the cultivable earth which schist presents to man, is one which best rewards his industry.

Magny—No *auberge*. St. Pierre le Moutier—post-house, good *auberge*. St. Imbert—no *auberge*. Ville Neuve *sur* Allier—no *auberge*.

Moulins—A considerable town. Inland navigation *Canal du Centre*, union of the Soane and the Loire. The local effects hereof may easily be judged. This place is on the southern extremity of a topographical

* Mill-stone is a product for which the world is indebted to France. Some is found near Lyons. The French cut the face of the stone into six diverging edges—not picking it elsewhere, as is seen done with us. Mill-stone is also quarried at Chantilly.

tract of very considerable elevation.—It is a descent nearly all the way from Moulins to Varennes. This place (Moulins) experience, and it is a powerful reasoner, has convinced people, is in its air and situation a specific against that severe affliction to which man alone among animals is subjected—the gout. The same is thought in regard to Switzerland.

BESSAY, no *auberge*.—VARENNES, no *auberge*.—ST. GERAND LE PUY.

This is not Varennes where the mis-judged Louis decided his fate by his good nature in settling a dispute between two ladies of his suite, upon the important point whether the dicky or the rumble-tumble were the more honourable place.

This is now a lower level of country, and alteration may be expected in point of climate.

Face of country. Hedged:—these hedges timbered. Surface divided into large paddocks. Thus the soil is disposed for either tillage or pasturage. (The *inclosure* of England grew out of the *pasturing* system.) The soil is cold and humid, fit for the dairy, and is grazed by a small breed, red and white, of milch cattle, the butter whereof in its appearance proves the excellence of their dairy process. The face of the country is here again thickly studded with comfortable and compact farm-houses and establishments. As rustic buildings, they are wisely constructed of the materials the spot presents, clay and thatch; but, in their way, both enliven and beautify the country. A great breadth of wheat is sown, exceeded of course, however, by the rye; the former is in very narrow ridges. A good many new rustic buildings are springing up. Wise men are making plantations of what we call the Chester poplar, emulating Spenser's "Ash for all things good,"—and much exceeding it in rapidity of growth.

Approaching GERAND (rare object!) a chateau is seen on the left,

pleasingly and peculiarly situated, flanked by woods cutting the horizon with a boldly-marked outline, and altogether picturesque. The country here is strongly undulated. The lithology presents gravel; not silex as heretofore, but rubble, just such as is seen on sea-shores, in like mixture and proportions; also porous stone, and amorphous sand-stone: subsoil whitish clay. Mountains come into view in the south-east. The hazel (December) is now in blossom.

La Palisse. A post, and also an *auberge*, in the yard whereof is a most superb baptismal font of the finest white statuary marble, and capable of containing as much as a hogshead; now serving (devolution indeed!) as a drinking-trough for cattle! Hard by this place is a chateau. Approaching it, fern and broom shrubbery, birch in the timber tribe, predominating, indicate the sandy soil about to show itself, yielding only rye, and too often poor crops even of that; hardly returning seed, and which in England could not repay cultivation:—but be it recollected how little the French farmer has to pay for his cultivation. The lithology offers not only massive but stratified granite, some whereof is red; and of this substance the soil, if it may be allowed the name, seems the decomposition. Horn-stone is also seen. To the south of La Palisse is indeed seen, what rarely occurs, *laminous* granite!

A fine breed of cattle presents itself here, in draught bullocks yoked by the horns, and each weighing, if fully fattened, not less than seven hundred French pounds. Whether the French farmer is able to raise them to their full profit may be yet a problem *; but if he do not, it is not from want of the inclination to make the most of what he has.

Two cows of the small size (for here are obviously different breeds), their dugs drawn to a degree of exhaustion of the procedure of which

* An ox was exhibited this year at Paris weighing twenty-five hundred (French) weight.

we can form no conception, nor of the machinery whereby it can be performed, yoked thus by the horns, their whole tackling not amounting in value to three francs, are daily seen here in this country drawing in a cart six sacks of flour, twelve hundred weight at the very least. These animals truly pay their keeping, and at compound interest! A bracket pig, probably obtained by a mixture with the Spanish, throughout this country now takes the place of the tall long-sided ugly white one (which has, however, its merits in its own way), and is (in its way) a handsome animal.

Droiturier, no *auberge*.—St. Martin d'Estreaux, no *auberge*.—La Pacaudiere, an *auberge*.—St. Germain l'Espinasse.—Roanne.—St. Simphorien de Lay.—Pain Bouchain.—The crab and white thorn have not yet, (December 1st) entirely lost their leaves here.

Tarare.—From La Palisse to this place is a highly interesting tract. About the town of Droiturier are bold cupola-formed hills; beyond them obtuse-angled mountains, the latter in their outline indicating their material. The flourishing appearance of the oak here proves it is in its favourite bed; but the material on the road is hornstone. By the side, however, granite laminous and stratified is seen. And these combinations of substances (granite and hornstone) give this country, in its internal composition, that affinity with the so interesting county of Wicklow in Ireland, which is remarkably striking in the north view, here, of these hills of Auvergne. La Pacaudiere is an increasing, thriving, and pleasant village, with a somewhat of the *je ne sçai quoi* kind, very peculiar and striking in its aspect. From La Palisse to St. Martin d'Estreaux the ascent is very considerable; thence to La Pacaudiere, and onwards until approaching St. Germain, is one of the finest and longest continued terraces of prospect that the world can produce, ex-

tending over the vast tract of fertile country to the banks of the Rhone. On the traveller's right are, as before mentioned, the mountains of Auvergne, with their very characteristic and interesting features, but closing in his view on that side, that it may not be distracted and the grand one on his left by so much enfeebled. *One* solitary chateau of *ancien regime* is here in sight! Buildings of humbler pretensions, but equally essential to the community (which has need of all), are now proceeding with. As to the little and picturesque rustic establishments in the furrows of the mountain's face, embosomed in their luxuriant vineyards, these groups (not masses) of building, so numerous here, are peculiar, characteristic, and pleasing.

Rubble continues to skirt the mountain range; granitic rubble, no silex. From the liberal hand it is used with, calcareous matter cannot be far off from St. Germain. The people are all well clad throughout. Irrigation on the natural meadows is more practised than understood. They, however, seem fully impressed with the value of winter irrigation; and juster notions will follow and establish themselves. As the Loire is approached, domiciliation thickens over the country. The new attempts in the laying out of roads here, prove that no true principle on the subject, such as more recent time has divulged, has as yet reached this country. All is a hedge-inclosed tract. Roanne is a *ville boutiquière* thronged with inhabitants; a numerous rising generation, presenting itself for national effort in the hands of wise statesmen—for destruction in those of state empirics. We may expect shortly to have it *proved* to us, that inoculation and the cow-pock are political evils! Whoever does so, may depend at least on hearing himself *quoted*. One fact is however tolerably clear, namely, that Providence and the statesman entertain very different views in regard to the creatures which are in their hands. Here this noble river Loire is crossed by a bridge, of

which eight arches of stone are now in progress of building. It is navigable yet thirty miles higher, which must be very near its heads, and for a course of four hundred miles through the most fertile tracts of France or Europe, here connecting with the commerce of the Levant, westward with the Atlantic! From this town the traveller must take an additional horse to St. Simphorien; and indeed he will be speedily convinced this is no supererogation, for a most formidable post now presents itself—to draught cattle at least. This mountain assuredly must be classed with those of three thousand feet elevation. Its features are very striking. The horses the post-house supplies are carefully calculated for the emergency. At St. Simphorien on the summit, the post-house is also the *auberge*, and is an excellent specimen of useful viatorial institution on its most extensive scale; all is admirable in capacity (capaciousness), judgement, and execution. The mountain is a prodigious mass of hornstone, which its outlines duly indicate; more precipitous than granite, less serrated than schist. The descent on the south side, by Pain Bouchain and Tarare, is really awful. How high must be the head of the Loire above the bed of the Rhone at Lyons! This spot may be said to mark the distinction between the north and south of France, as the Alps and Pyrenees do between the two portions of Europe. If the quicksilver has not been applied to the measurement of this elevation, it would be interesting to do it. Various computations, all near the mark, present themselves, of which Sir George Shuckburgh's appears the most accurate. The traveller may find his purpose answered by estimating ninety feet, British measure, for each tenth of an inch in the variation of the quicksilver. According to the relative resistance of the bodies, water should be applicable in a tenfold proportion; that is to say, an inch for each ninety feet elevation. Leisure may, perhaps, enable hereafter to communicate more on this

subject, should such leisure be afforded by a life hitherto little blessed with the sweets of indolence. Botany does not seem to be pursued with that interest in regard to the elucidation its objects could throw upon situation, climate, elevation, soil, and temperature. Its votaries seem to be most interested in classification; which is a subject holding out little interest to any but themselves: in the other respect it would afford a truly interesting subject to a traveller. Something about this mountain strikes as very distinctively characteristic from these noble and interesting features of nature in our own latitudes. Schist is found about its southern base.—Tarare is situated on its skirts, though near its foot.—It is no wonder that the ancients personified mountains as giants. Tarare is a place of fine buildings, in a style different from what hitherto presents itself in France.

Arnas, no *auberge*.—Salvagny.—Lyons. From Arnas to Salvagny is a country of ravines.

In this route from Paris to Lyons four *chateaux* of *ancien regime* present themselves. Is establishment to be upheld by such a prop as this?—even with monachism to aid it?

Page 23.—Quitting Lyons. Addison remarks, that the essence of a letter usually rests in the postscript. An official notice is here exhibited, restricting the descent of the Rhone, for passengers, to boats of public license: and the preamble, a very different thing indeed in human affairs from the other, announces that it is from a tender concern arising out of the danger from past and future accidents. So says the preamble; but the postscript leaks out a somewhat of a difficulty experienced in collecting the droits or duties exacted upon the occasion. However, the former mode of journeying is no longer to be recurred to; and the public boat is now the vehicle conveying both passengers and merchandise, articles which do not usually very happily blend,—as

the artist would say, harmonize, -- or of which, of the two fellow-travellers, the one which has the powers of speech and consequently complaint, would hardly deviate from the denomination here adopted to apply the synonymous term, *goods*, to the companion of his route; or, if he did, would, in so far, much belie his feelings. Such, at least, is the reflection which the events of the present Itinerary impress upon the mind of him who had the undergoing of them. Well would it have been, had sovereign authority thought necessary to have proceeded one step further in its solicitousness for the traveller's security; but here, by some casualty, like the charity of the old man in The Winter's Tale, and perhaps in windication it might be urged, from the same reason, "it would have lacked footing." But "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Descending the Rhone, and quitting Lyons, among the striking objects around, the site of the intended palace of Napoleon is not to be omitted. It is a wet scrub, but situated at the junction of two noble rivers. What would it not have been? The nucleus of a social aggregation prodigious in the extent and rapidity of its growth beyond any even the New World can afford! Its quays are of such admirable construction, they must ever remain of value, long, very long after the empty dreams of ambition have passed away, and the heads which conceived them crumbled into dust. It is hard to say which is most transitory—which most empty!

To the 2d of December the weather was mild here, with a westerly wind, and the atmosphere heavy. It then varied to the north, and became very sharp: the mountains in that direction were covered with snow; and the thermometer at mid-day or after, on the river, was at 40. Notwithstanding, the common black fly was still in action.

The western cliffs* which present themselves as the town is quitted, rise to the height of four hundred feet. Duly embellished, what a magnificent boundary on that side to the prospect from the windows of an imperial palace! How rational, how laudable, such an undertaking, compared with the delirious conceptions and exertions of *destructive* ambition!

Granite schist and hornstone present themselves to the eye of the lithologist.

The boats which *ascend* the Rhone are drawn by teams of horses, from four to twelve; or by a proportionate power of men. They move at the rate of two miles an hour. With what a stimulus will this navigation be aided when the force of fire comes to be applied! for this draught is a double tax. Descending, the boat depends solely on the current. The river, too, is peculiarly well situated to derive the aid of steam.

Givors. Here is a glass-manufactory; and, what is much more important, the canal which connects the collieries with the Rhone.

Condriere. Here the boat brings-to, for the passengers to dine; the different publicans using every bait and stratagem to hook their aquatic game. In one of the inns, in the *salle à manger*, the floor of which is raised about ten feet above the ordinary level of the river, is marked, at an elevation of six feet and a half above the floor, on the wall, the height to which the river rose in the inundation of 1802,—nearly two feet higher than the heads of the company now sitting at table!

Vienne is opposite. Condriere is on the west, Vienne on the east. Its situation is more particular than picturesque; but its church, with

* On these cliffs are arches, the *vestigia* of Roman occupation.

flying buttresses, is in the worst style of the later misnamed Gothic architecture. Here in his progress, in obedience to the mandate of the higher powers, the late pope yielded up his breath. Probably his last sentiment, if duly expressed, would have been, like that of his predecessor, when another imperial mandate laid divine service under interdiction, "*En nome de Dio, bisogna someterse.*"

St. Valier on the right bank, where was the evening halt, claims possession of the celebrated vineyards known by the name of Hermitage. Its proprietor was very anxious on the subject of free trade: quite as much so to get rid of this precious commodity, as the *bons vivans* of the rest of Europe to obtain it. And why should man be baffled in such inoxious wishes as these? He is surely as well and as profitably employed in furthering the gratification of his fellow-man, as in a winter (aye or even a summer) campaign! A vast collection of this luscious stock was now ripening for consumption in its dark retreats; and indeed proffered for little more than the price in some places of the casks in which it was contained! But the time will, it is to be hoped, come.

Three castellated villages present themselves in descending so far, on the western bank. This bank appears to be calcareously stratified.

The military science of past days possessed its ingenuity of thought, as it exemplifies here. It took possession of a ridge, the edge of which gives the elevated and saliant angle, the forceps opening to the bottom: the elevated angle is the *keep*.

From St. Valier downwards the Rhone is truly picturesque. This particularly applies about Tournon and Thain; the former especially. The true station is a few hundred yards below it, down the river. But disadvantage exists in these journeys by water. In making the selection, the opportunity of avail is lost!—like time, not to return; and, as

in too many other cases of far more importance, a man cannot know the value of the thing until it is lost to him. Features, tints, buildings, here,—all are admirable. In point of foreground, too, the green flat islands, the banks of bright white gravel, the streams of intervening deep blue water,—all give a picture of much character; contrasted as it is by the uniformly yellow hills behind. At Valence, here, the sallows are still green. Mulberry trees here begin to make their appearance, marking a degree in climate.

A tremendous *vent de bize* from the north, or between north and east, lowered the thermometer to 37; but the human frame (could it be graduated) much lower. The trees on the east side of the Rhone, in their inclination, bear testimony to the despotism of this tyrant of the atmosphere.

The boat having to deliver merchandise, anchored near Valence; in other terms, more properly got aground: and it required the utmost exertions of a numerous body of passengers to weigh her, she was so embedded in the sand and beach. Government dues and passage payments (fourteen francs per head to Avignon, be it observed) had, with a prudent forecast, been secured by the master of the boat shortly after its departure from Lyons. Something now began to be circulated about difficulties and dangers attendant on the descent of the river; and in order to carry conviction home on the subject, our Palinurus now ran us ashore for the second time.

Much attention has been paid to this river in throwing off, by oblique walls from its banks, the violent drift of its currents. The work is excellently executed, as is requisite for resistance of so formidable a force.

Adjacent country on each side, vineyards terraced, with small patches of corn; sheep and cattle tended among them.

Ancone is a village on the east bank, near to Montelimart on the high road. This village the boat reached between two and three in the afternoon; but merchandize being to be delivered*, the *vent de bize* continuing to blow, evening drawing on, and dangerous rocks threatening lower down, altogether induced the prudent patron for this one occasion to make his halt here, giving his passengers to hope, that, if the wind abated, and all appearances were to his satisfaction at eight the next morning, he, probably, would then proceed on his voyage. This was not a very hopeful morning prospect; nor did the village, destitute as it was of inns, afford a much better one for an evening, for forty passengers. To females and strangers the embarrassment was proportionably enhanced. Common candour requires it to be said that the native fellow-passengers, nine of whom out of ten, whether in or out of uniform, were military, behaved in the handsomest manner. They, before taking a single step to procure accommodation for themselves, engaged apartments in the best houses for the ladies and aliens, stipulated the prices that were to be paid for lodgings and suppers, and took care to inform the parties of their precise stipulations, to prevent their being imposed on in the morning by their hosts: and all this done, they had, many of them, a league to go in quest of a lodging for themselves!

Montelimart, a post-town, is a league distant. It is slightly fortified *à l'antique*, and has a castle of quadrangular architecture. Here is an instance of the systematic attention paid by the late government to the benefits of inland waters. It is however unfinished; and is likely to remain only a monument of just conceptions and admirable execution. Here the scanty returns of the dairy begin to be complained of, so that

* The boat could contain four hundred-and-fifty sacks of corn; burthen about forty tons.

it is probable latitude is now making its effects felt. But be this as it may, thus much may be depended on, that Providence has taken due care of his creatures in a way congenial to the situation in which he has placed them; and the destitution of pasture is no more than an annunciation to us of the proximity of the olive.

It is to be noticed, that opposite Ancone is something very worthy of investigation, marked by the protrusion of two vast antlers, as it were, of schist. These are fragments of those tremendous conflicts of the elements, which terminated by leaving the face of Nature in the form we now see it, and which must so extraordinarily differ from that which she formerly bore. Of this they are, by composition and position, a most striking specimen, although to the mind of reflection not more unaccountable than most of what we see around us, travel where we may. This extraordinary instance, however, of the sport of Nature has been seized by man for some purpose of his own. A trench, evidently his work, has been drawn around. This could not have been for any military purpose, to which object antiquarians usually refer all the works of men's hands, for the purpose or history whereof they may happen to be unable to account. For the present they must be left so: but they call for reflection, as well on this head, as in their affording a trace of mundane revolution, more ancient still than that which has modified our globe for its inhabitants, such as they at present enjoy it.

Hard by Donzere, on the road, east of the Rhone, is a vast mass of schist laid bare to the atmosphere, and situated insulated in a tract of calcareous gravel. Insulated to the eye, for it cannot be so in fact. It must connect with more of its own substance somewhere; but appearing as it does, what a specimen does it afford of the *scale* of Nature's operations! The subject does not admit of being followed; but this specimen obviously leads the mind to take into consideration

View in the Pyrenees

with it its relatives, from the Alps to the Mediterranean, and observe how Nature is throughout bound together by the tie of—consistency.

On the left of the road, among the hills, is a castle of the middle ages, of the largest scale, and of a structure well worthy of investigation. Walls destitute of foliage to soften, or water to reflect them, cannot possess the refinement of the merit of the picturesque. Through these tracts the foliage is as yet deciduous, but begins to be blended with evergreen oak. The underwood is box, with some juniper, the worst of tests of soil, in the wastes. Olives now make their dingy appearance.

Page 26.—Pont St. Esprit, of twenty-two arches, is now galloped over without ceremony; but the prospects from it merit a graver procedure. This consideration, however, enters but little into the contemplations of a French postillion. The present bridge is judiciously fortified by a salient angle to meet the current. St. Esprit is a picturesque old town. Here the people of these parts say is a sensible difference in point of climate, in regard to generality, from the northern world. Perhaps the term *permanent* would be more correct. The cypress is at home here. Beautiful cultivation, some planting, and irrigating conducted scientifically.

Page 27.—Tarascon. This ceremony evidently relates to the "*destruction of superstition.*" We may gratulate mankind accordingly.

Same page.—"Le Pont du Garde too."—This wonderful specimen of the powers and conceptions of ancient days proves its sublimity in the inadequate image it leaves upon the mind. Returning to view it after a lapse of years, the imagination finds that the reality far exceeds the conception it had been able to take of it, and it is viewed anew with equal wonder as at first: also, assuredly with equal confidence that it will not fall on the spectator's head, and therefore with sentiments

equally detached from that source of the sublime which terror is by learned critics supposed to supply. Among the glaciers, indeed, the thought of an *avalanche* may superinduce such an idea; but in such case it can hardly add to the gratification which the impression of *true* sublimity (with which terror has no connexion) conveys to the mind.

The Pont du Garde is off the direct road, and may be avoided if the traveller choose it. The intervening tract from St. Esprit, by Bagnoles and Conaux, is one of very great elevation; the descent too, to the Garde, is considerably beyond calculation. According hereto, the bed of the Rhone at the bridge must be very considerably higher than the Mediterranean*. The rapidity of the river's course sufficiently demonstrates the inclination of its plane.—We must stop conjectures here; for, if once indulged, they would lead us further, and less justifiably, out of our road, than to view the Pont du Garde.—Atmospheric. December 4. On these elevations, at midnight, the thermometer 42; but the cold, to sensation, beyond any scale.

Page 27.—Nismes. Some more recent discoveries upon the subject of antiquities have been made here. The curious will do well to provide themselves with introductions to the friends of science here, of a class above the ordinary *cicerone* to whom the leading them about devolves. A publication will point out to them *most* of what is to be seen. The engraving of the *Maison quarrée* annexed thereto, by a gross ignorance in perspective, gives it proportions with which it is wholly incompatible.

Climate. *Page* 28.—Montpelier.—Winter solstice, the sun sets at

* Pont St. Esprit is distant from the Mediterranean seventy miles; all a flat tract of alluvial deposition. A correspondence of barometrical measurements of the quicksilver at Lyons and on the shore of the sea would give interesting and conclusive results. A calculation might also b thereon founded of the descents or inclinations of surfaces, by the rapidity of the courses of their waters.

twenty-one minutes past four, at W. S. W. ½ S. W. The thermometer is at 61 in the shade. Thermometers, however, are no criterion for animal sensation. Pinks are now dispensing their odours in the open air. A severe winter kills the olive-tree; but not more than two so mischievous have occurred within the memory of man. In these, many (not all) olive-trees were killed—a serious loss to land-proprietors. In February, here, if unusual severity do not intervene, the almond-tree comes into blossom; and this tree is one of the correctest tests of climate. Fruit is precarious, as the earliest blossoms are usually nipped, with a fall co-equal with the luxuriance of their promise, by unseasonable severity. Even such is human life! But to continue on the subject of the seasons of this interesting tract, the northern border of the Mediterranean, —Produce has too here, unfortunately, its enemies for all seasons: as, for instance, the formidable *tramontane* in the atmosphere. This is the north-east wind, which, concentrating by condensation in the mountains, sweeps in its course the plain country, bringing with it, in the winter, cold; in summer, famine. In this latter season its blasts are intensely hot, (meteorological observations, when duly adverted to, will explain all this: Nature harmonizes throughout,) shrivel up the corn, and leave not half a crop to the reaper. The wretched residue too is steely, and yields return at the mill even less than its *promise*. It is a true saying, "No one knows the inconveniences of a house until he has lived in it." The same holds good as to a country. Rain in summer the parched traveller's eye hails as the manna from heaven. It is far otherwise with the farmer. If it fall during the flowering of the wheat, this never produces him half a crop. That it should never recover is the more remarkable, for this is nearly the climate where wheat should be indigenous; and with us it seems to be an ascertained fact, that this grain will reproduce its blossom as often as washed away, during the whole

of its growth. It is retarded and deteriorated, but by no means destroyed! Thus we are to infer that this staple of the staff of man's life has, providentially, the power of accommodating itself to uncongenial climates to serve his uses! Thus Nature exceeds her promises!

Meteorological.—Christmas. Thermometer 57 in the shade, 70 in the sun, 78 under reflexion. *A tramontane* brings the quicksilver down to 50; air bright and clear, and no sharpness; not enough to check perspiration. (December 6.)—The *maestral* (this is the south wind) affects the hygrometer (a piece of sponge weighing an ounce when dried in quick-lime) very strongly. Such is the humidity this wind brings with it, that all the timber-work, even of the most seasoned houses, is forced to absorb it, to the material detriment of the buildings; window-frames especially suffer by it.—In respect of winds, whereby climate is affected here seemingly to a degree of which our northern latitudes can afford no idea, the *tramontane* has been already treated of with the notice it deserves; probably this is the *chaurus* of the classical writers. The *tirial*, or north-west, is a genial wind; the *vent de Grec*, or Levant, (east wind,) is rainy. The winds, it appears, have their ordinary denominations in an idiom totally disanalogous to what they have with us.

To dismiss the meteorological subject,—the thermometer has been as low here as 20 of Fahrenheit, which is 6 below 0 of Reaumur.

Climate.—January 1. Primroses in full blow—ash-tree in blossom—beetles fly—the daisy tribe is now in full blow. The naturalist may hence judge the state of the natural herbage (which is here as yet little adverted to).—This subject, the effect of season and climate on vegetation, merits further consideration being bestowed on it.

February 26.—Goslins on the black sallow, and blossoms on the black-thorn. In regard to foliation here, ash would grow freely were it duly attended to, although not to the size of that at Leix-castle in

Ireland. The witch-elm holds its place, generally, in France. The climate does not seem congenial to the Chester poplar. The Huntingdon willow does well, and the white aspen better still*. In point of luxuriance, however, of growth and foliage, the Carolina poplar exceeds them all. The deciduous oak would do well. Its leaf is small, but it has much the appearance of being our single-shoot or Lucombe oak, which has spread out of Devonshire. It keeps its leaves equally long. The evergreen oak is the weed of the wastes here, but very important, as will be seen in its place, as an article in manufacture. The fir indicates deterioration, and the juniper utter debasement of soil; although, indeed, it is hard to decide the palm between them. Furze presents itself, similar in its blooming to what we call French, but differing in other respects. Our native kind blooms in autumn. White-thorn is in the fences: and a most formidable guard here comes in aid, the paliurus with its double thorns; one to repel attack, another to keep captive if forced; one straight, the other hooked. Property may bid defiance to trespass, if such a protector is cultivated as he deserves. The ordinary name the plant goes by is *spinas*. Winter is not the time for attaining botanical lights. The acacia might be availed of for similar purpose. This paliurus bears a blossom like the hop. The wastes present briar and black-thorn; a formidable plant here: and also under them lavender, thyme, sage, and wild carrot and fennel in quantities.—The fir which occupies the soil here is the stone-pine kind; bad, strange to say, even to burn, which is hard to conceive by such as have not tried the experiment. This however is the character it bears among its neighbours, and it will be found strictly to deserve it. It is, however, among the handsomest trees of these climates, grow-

* The timber-sallow grows very freely.

ing in favoured situations magnificently. The oak is classed as *chêne blanc* and *chêne vert*: the former is deciduous. Each has its merit for domestic purpose, that is, for fuel*. If one be more economic, the other is more pleasant. The pine-timber used here for building comes from the department De L'Oude, Quillan, or down the Rhone. But the cypress of Montpelier is a tree which claims a particular interest. It is nearly extinct here:—One specimen remains in the Botanic Garden, fostered by and fostering the shade of Narcissa. The well-substantiated proofs of its duration are astonishing. Rare as the species is, some plants of it at this moment exist at the ancient castle of Montgomery. It is distinguishable from the ordinary cypress by its ramification, which assumes a totally different character.

Upon the subject of GEOLOGY, the people here say their country has not been duly investigated; and indeed it does not appear to be a favourite science with the French. It must be, however, one which would present infinite interest. Hereupon let it be observed, it is somewhat too soon for mineralogists to begin to wrap their science in mystery, before they are in possession of a single proof whereon to substantiate the authenticity of any one of those systems on which they are at war among themselves. One glance of the profound eye of Buffon is beyond all their (hitherto) systems in point of real light. The compo-

* *Fuel.*—This necessary article, even here, is thus classed. *Bois sec*, charcoal; *chêne vert*, *chêne blanc*. The first consists of old wheels and such broken timber, and is sold at forty *sous* the quintal, or one hundred pounds. *Chêne vert* is sold (the like quantity) for twenty-three *sous*. *Chêne blanc*, a slow burner, is sold at eighteen *sous*. A faggot of vine-twigs, containing twelve manipules, is sold for four *sous*.—Twenty billets, nearly three feet long, of from two to four inches diameter, of wood heavy with sap, make a quintal; and twenty-five of these, with fifty such faggots as above, will maintain one fire for a week. Charcoal is four *francs* ten *sous* a quintal.—It need hardly be observed how very little of the year here a fire is endurable.—In regard to timber, the French have an opinion which, if founded, is of serious importance; namely, that its quality is bad if cut in the wane of the moon!

sition under this head *here* is wonderful; mostly calcareous: marine *exuviæ* ready to teem once again into life on the slightest encouragement. Every bank which presents a southern aspect, even in the depth of winter, is covered with spiral shells. Wherever a fire is kindled on a waste, the site of it is forthwith covered in like manner. The oyster tribe (unopened), and other kinds not now known to exist, constitute the principal mass of subsoil. A whale's bone was found in sinking a well in the town. Bones of quadrupeds, which have undergone the process of the alluvial convulsion, present themselves, protruding to the most cursory eye. Here is some pure sand, and in it bedded calcareous *laminæ* found to contain marine *exuviæ*, often in many alternate strata, marking the wash of waters, the action and re-action. This sand, too, has in its process produced iron-stone in small quantity. Breccia is seen in the neighbourhood, and vast masses of calcareous rock. The red marble used here is of the greatest beauty, boasting a richer tinge than porphyry, and equally deep; often in the entire piece, without the slightest admixture of other colour. Marl appears; also potter's clay, yellow and blue.

The collieries of this part of the world are at Alais, in the mountains, a tract of the most important interest. The coals do not contain much sulphur, burn slowly, and cast off a good cinder which burns again, and a little white ashes. They are very shining when broken, and have not much bitumen.—Quicksilver has been found in the earth by sinking a hole in a garden, and in the streets of the town after rain. We must not, however, forget that something of the same kind has been discovered to have presented itself elsewhere from a cause that would not be expected.

Cardinal Fleury worked a gold-mine on his estate in this part of the world, but it did not requite the cost. His observation was, that,

though he was a loser, there was the more of the precious metal in France! A disinterested statesman!—The gold was in threads or fibres.

Statistical Observations.—Currency-money here has depreciated, in the course of the last thirty years, a full third*. This is the main influence which comes home to each individual in the shape of œconomics; for what is statistic matter but œconomics in the aggregate? Such persons whose fortunes are afloat may rise with the tide; but those who are at moorings, if they cannot cut and run for it, will soon find themselves unable to keep their heads above water. In other countries this depreciation of the currency has been duly accounted for; but its existence here has a tendency to subvert much of this hitherto apparently sound logic. Prices have risen here, while produce rots, and population is exhausted! Here is neither time nor place to pursue an investigation of such weighty matter. Coin is the circulating medium. It is by convention only that the metals have value, and that has been founded on the convenience they present; and this is all their *intrinsic* value. Suppose, for instance, the plague found its way into a commercial nation: what would then become of paper currency, when a one-pound note could not be transferred without undergoing fumigation? What a liberal extension of credit would then supervene!—But to keep to the point: Here is no want of gold in France; but in pecuniary transactions silver is the drug. It is, however, adequate for all ordinary purposes. The free appearance, or preserved *incog.* of the gold coin, is the criterion of the political pulse. This gives to that metal an extraneous value. Convenience is an intrinsic advantage in the circulating medium, and this is no way so completely obtained as by a paper currency. Herein France is, to its serious detriment, totally deficient. Thus, in the parts remote

* Handicraft wages have about doubled since the revolution.

from the capital, an order on Paris is a drug. It is only to an order *from* Paris that payment will be made. In case of an inquiry at a merchant's counting-house, the *desœuvré*'d clerk civilly informs—"*Le papier d'ici n'a pas de cours à présent sur Paris—vos fonds sont à Paris; c'est le même cas avec nous.*" Thus, what in a commercial country is only discount, here in France is utter stagnation. The collectors of the revenue* have it in their power to oblige, but are debarred making by it. An export trade would remedy all this, and as such it is sighed for. Thus at this moment, while in England the legislature is directing its exertions to keep up the price of the staff of life, its regulations here impose a *veto* on exportation in order to keep it down, for the benefit of the community, while that very community is exerting its ingenuity (the land proprietors at least) to evade the operation of the law†, for the sweets of exportation. The controversy between grower and consumer is irreconcileable. Yet one commune here, that of Frontignan, made this year (1814) two millions of livres by their *wines*. Lately, however, wine bore no price; in consequence whereof they grubbed up their vineyards to sow corn; but now that, from hope of exportation, they are replanting their vineyards, corn rises. In the way they are proceeding they must shortly be entirely dependent upon elsewhere for food; but the life of these regions is in trade, as all that is said is intended to show, and as yet, how it languishes!

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* *Revenue.*—This article is divided into *Foncieres*, or direct, and *Personnelles*, or indirect (that is on consumption). *Octrois* are the local duties. One observes in the French mind (generally, not particularly *here*,) a tendency to *subdivide*, rather than to simplify, in jurisprudence, grammar, politics; be it what it may.

† This department is of the first class of the regulation; and wheat having risen to its *maximum* in the market, exportation is stopped. This *maximum* is twenty-five *francs* the hectolitre, which is two *septiers* and one *pagniere* (or one-twelfth of a *septier*), or 119 pounds mare weight.

The commerce* of France is founded on agriculture, that of England on capital. Handicraft wages here in France are high, and execution has by no means kept up in proportion. This will operate against their manufactures in the competition market. On such subjects as this the traveller should tread with diffidence; but it by no means follows that he is to renounce them. One of an observing turn will easily gain tolerably correct ideas of what is to be shown and seen; it is by no means the same with what is to be told and learned: it is hard to get, and still harder often to believe with safety.—Manual labour, the sweat of the brow, is at present the floating capital of France.—This leads us directly to agriculture: and under this head, what can present itself with so much interest to an inhabitant of the north as the rustic occupations of these genial climates, where all is new to him; where what reaches him as articles of luxury is the natural effusion of the soil? A great authority tells us that "RES RUSTICA PROXIMA SAPIENTIÆ:" and perhaps the thought could not be more happily expressed. Judicious agriculture demands and involves in it so much of forecast, that one who devotes his mind to it may expect justly to have his ideas modified by such a regulator. This country (France) has become a nation

* Manufactures grow out of the *abundance* of hands. But then a government of some forecast is requisite to give industry its direction, else it evaporates like that of the Savoyards, who become chimney-sweepers, bear-leaders, and puppet-show men.—It is wrong to exact more for work performed than the actual value, even although no previous contract has been entered into, for contract does not make value. There is an intrinsic one in labour. It is, however, still more criminal to take a poor foreigner's services, which are his all, and leave him adrift without payment. Yet how often has this occurred?—But on the subject of manufactures here, it seems as if they were about to have a stir, for wool has recently doubled its price. They say that they have the art of dressing their cloths better than the English. Clermont and the adjacent plains, which formerly manufactured for the Levant trade, are beginning to take it up again. A thin light cloth meets most demand in that direction.

of agriculturists: and the change in national manners is become too obvious not to strike every one. Hence the grave concentrated demeanour so totally opposite to the gay frivolity of thirty years past. Hence that wish for peace so anxiously expressed by every man who possesses ten acres of land in fee simple, as we should term it.—But, without digressing on the subject, let the tillage of Languedoc speak for itself.

Corn, wine, and oil, are the staples of the agriculture of these districts. Live-stock* is but ancillary; and in regard to the mulberry and the delicate insect it maintains †, although the gains are considerable and all clear, it hardly demands a place in the general view. It may appear paradoxical, that what is so important in statistics should be unnoticeable in such an investigation as this; but it is not the less so. A row of trees, the whole business claimed whereby consists merely in the plucking the leaves off, with the minute *et ceteras* of process, may be discussed apart, for they no way connect with agriculture. The silk-cultivation has been on the decline in this part of the world, from the extreme delicacy of the insect; experience convincing that the mountainous tracts; as for instance Alais, where aspect can be selected, answers best for the purpose.

In pursuit of information on this most interesting object, agriculture, a series of questions was addressed in three different directions, each

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* *Live Stock.*—The markets in the south here are supplied at about the following rates:

An ox fit for the butcher, (in English money)	£. 13	6	8
A fat calf	2	18	4
A fat sheep	1	13	4
A hog	1	15	0

The sheep vary considerably in size, according to the breeds. Here is seen a tall, large-boned, loose-made race, as well as its opposite in all these respects. These large sheep carry long coarse fleeces.

† The sea air is disadvantageous to the silk-worm. The cocons produced in a bad season are coarse, and not manufacturable.

list to a person in a different class of life, each being fully competent to decide, but without the slightest communication between themselves on the subject. They most liberally undertook the task; and the answers have been, as might be expected, plain and candid, and without any substantial difference among them.

The series of these questions was, First, as to white crops;—secondly, farming, cattle, stock, and forage;—thirdly, vineyards;—fourthly, labour;—*fifthly*, agricultural establishment (implements);—sixthly, purchase of land.—These questions condensed, with their answers at large, as they are well entitled to be, shall now be given; to be followed by such supplementary remarks and notices as a matter of such interest draws with it.

To query the first (upon the white crops) A. answers:—The corn measure of this district is the *septier*, weighing, in good wheat, from ninety to a hundred pounds (*poids de marc*). The land measure, in ordinary calculation, is the *septarée*, containing seventy-five *dextres*, which are three hundred and seventy-*five* square toises*. The soil of Languedoc varies, as soils do elsewhere, both in regard to its power and quality of produce. But little ground can do without some rest. The best lands yield two successive crops, and remain in fallow the third year, during which they must be most carefully tilled to keep them clear of weeds. The ground of middling quality is only sown with a white crop one year, and the next with a green one to cut for fresh fodder, as lucerne, sainfoin, trefoil or clover, which occupying the ground for successive years, considerably enhance its value or produce. Lucerne, which lasts from six to eight years, requires a good soil. A strong ma-

* Take the *septarée* at sixteen hundred square yards, and the English acre at four thousand eight hundred, the former may, for ordinary calculation, be rated as *one-third* of an acre.

nuring too must precede the sowing; and four or five mowings in the season are reckoned a good crop. Sainfoin yields but one or two cuttings, requires no manure, and maintains its place three or four years. Clover or trefoil is only fit for moist ground. It yields two or three cuttings.—After clearing the ground of these green crops, it may be sown three successive years with white crops, and yield a good return *. Commonly from half a *septier* to three-fourths of one, or from fifty to seventy-five pounds of seed, is allowed to a *septarée* of land, in seed. Good land requires proportionably less, and that of inferior quality more. The return in common wheat is from eight to fifteen for one; of fine wheat, called here *touzelle*, from five to twelve for one. Some arid spots, or those which have not been well manured, or which have suffered by weather, will not yield more than two or three for one. Rye is a very uncertain crop in this climate, either too dry or too wet for it. Oats succeed generally, and yield an ample crop †. Three or four ploughings are requisite to till a field well: one plough will turn two *septarées* in a day. The day's labour of it may be rated at from five to six francs. Thus the tillage of a *septarée* for the year costs from ten to twelve francs. But to this is to be added the cost of clodding and weeding, which, however, is but a trifle; and all together may be covered by the twelve francs.

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* Three crops of white produce are taken here sometimes after manuring, or a summer fallow. Here the corn produced is not adequate to the interior consumption, and the market is supplied from a distance.

† Some calculate the returns in grain here at ten for one. They object here to dipping the plough into the new earth, complaining of an acid in it; probably no other than the vitriolic; yet the soil is calcareous. The peach-tree dies at about twenty years of age, from the same reason apparently. They use *plaire* as a manure, dusted on lightly before rain. Burnet is considerably cultivated in France, but not here

The annual produce of a *septarée* of lucerne is from thirty to forty quintals (of a hundred pounds). In sainfoin the *septarée* yields fifteen to twenty; in vetches, fifteen to thirty. The value of these articles varies, according to circumstances, from two to four francs the quintal.

B. answers. The *hectar* makes about seven *septarées* of this country. In ordinary calculation it is supposed that a *septarée* of tillage ground should yield about FIVE *septiers* of wheat. If it be a tenant who occupies land, he cannot sow it with white crops two years in immediate succession; he must leave it one *en jachère*. But if it be the proprietor, he may derive a profit from it every year by the use of the artificial grasses, some whereof last five or six years in the ground; after which wheat*, and the coarser grains subsequently, may be cultivated for several years. A *septarée* of sainfoin is worth, in an ordinary year, thirty-six francs; of lucerne, eighty francs. Wheat is worth thirteen or fourteen francs a *septier* †.

Manure being the soul of agriculture, too much pains cannot be employed to procure it; but those lands which are adapted to green crops are the ones which can easiest dispense with it by the procedure under which they are placed: but a manuring every five or six years is sufficient to keep land in due heart. It is well known that lime ‡ is an improvement to land; but it is costly to use here for that purpose. If

* The best flour in France is produced about Toulouse and Montauban. The economical mill system here must enable them to undersell in this article.

† The household loaf is sold at one penny farthing per pound our measure. Best bread, the loaf somewhat short of two pounds (weighing thirty ounces) for two-pence-halfpenny.

‡ They burn the lime in the rudest manner. The material, which presents itself universally, is quarried; laid by the pit in a heap, with wood fuel, and set fire to! They do not go to the trouble of constructing kilns. They are not utterly ignorant on the subject: however, they are not yet aware of the improved principle of the inverted cone. What they most excel in is their drainage, which is bold, costly, and judicious.

a tenant sell his wheat under twelve francs the *septier*, his rye under seven, his oats under four, he cannot pay his rent out of his ground. A yoke of oxen will plough a *septarée* of land and a half in a day.

It is five days' labour of one man to break up a *septaré* of ground that has been already cultivated; but where this has not been the case, the labour will depend upon whatever is the natural quality of the soil. Four ploughings are necessary for a sowing. A *septarée* of grain is reaped for three francs. Men's harvest labour is usually thirty sous a-day.

C. answers.—Return of tillage or wheat crops may be rated in land of the lowest quality at *three*, in that of middling quality at *five*, and in the best land at *nine* and even *ten* for *one*. After a wheat crop a fallow must ensue. Land of the first quality may, however, that year receive a crop of vetches or millet to cut green. Millet sells at seven francs. The value of a crop of millet is about equal to that of a crop of wheat.

Lands are generally let, whenever they are let, in one of these ways, namely—half profits; the division to take place when they have been marketed, or at an agreed-on price for the ground, the proprietor always paying the taxes. The cost of tillage of a *septarée* of corn for the year is twelve francs for the three ploughings.—He observes elsewhere: Three ploughings at the above rate, or by hand and hoe, (the instrument is a powerful two-pronged fork bent, called *bigarre*,) six men for the first going over, three for the second, and two for the third—the *septarée*, in one day, understood. It is necessary to manure the ground every three years at the rate of about twenty-nine francs the *septarée*.

The fairs of France, on looking over the lists, are very few comparatively for so large a country. In regard to meat-market, grass-veal is sold here at Christmas, also lamb. Mutton, good; beef, not so. Good

beef is rarely killed; that sent into market is usually cast plough cattle.

To the queries upon horse-keeping, feeding sheep, cattle,-draft, &c.

A. answers.—Owing to the heat of the climate, natural grasses are hardly known here, except with the aid of irrigation. Thus managed, they may last fifty years or more. They yield two or three cuttings in the year, but the first only is considered hay. The others convey little strength of nourishment. The first cutting of a good natural meadow will give from twelve to eighteen quintals a *septarée*. The others are much less; and it is seldom that the season will permit the third to become properly dry for fodder. The landholders for the most part graze it off. As this is a tillage country, I will not speak of the flock*; few landholders have any here. It is only towards the mountains that this part of the rustic system is on the great scale, and so an object of any importance.

B. answers.—The weight of a fat sheep here is very unequal. This inequality proceeds from the variety of breeds brought from the different tracts of mountain from which they come to us. It is however ascertained, that the breed of our country is that which weighs heaviest, having the largest carcase. One of these weighs from fifty to sixty pounds; others weigh from twenty-five to forty, according to the breed. A sheep carries six pounds of wool. Sheep should be sold here the

* Languedoc, January 1st, Ewes lambing.—The produce of the Malmaiton flock of merinos is advertised for sale. Here in the south the wool is of three different qualities; but none so fine as to be put in competition with English.

March 17th, Sheep-shearing is now over in Languedoc, and the sheep in good condition. By the grazing system here, the flock is nearly all clear gain to the community, thriving on what else goes waste. It is no more money sunk than the maintenance of a shepherd and his dog to every hundred sheep. Each is consummately intelligent in his business. No such thing is to be seen as a lame or a scabby sheep. The dog knows and takes his post on a crop of vetches, or any verdure that is not free pasture.

moment they are fat *, as the cost of the keeping to maintain them so is extremely heavy. The ewes of this country rarely twin; but a breed is introduced from Barbary which lambs twice in the year †. The horse and mule here are maintained on fodder and oats; the ox on straw and *des vannes*, and some coarse articles of food, during winter: at other seasons he grazes. Dairy cows are kept on green fodder until the time they can be put on the meadows: they are tended in the woods, banks, road-sides, &c. The price of a horse to mount a gentleman is about four hundred francs. The maintenance of one varies according to the prices of articles, but may be rated at three hundred and fifty francs *per annum*.

C. answers.—A fat sheep weighs from sixty to ninety pounds, and one yields four pounds of wool. To keep them fat during summer, they are sent to the mountains. The ewes rarely twin, but they frequently lamb twice a year †. When the flocks range during the winter, an

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* Mutton is sold at the stalls at 9 *sous* the pound;
Veal - - - 13;
Lamb - - - 12;
Pork - - - 13.

To conclude the subject of œconomics, potatoes retail at one penny per pound.—Turnips, two-pence.

Parmesan cheese - -	2 *francs.*	(The cheese de Roquefort is very good.)
Roasted coffee - -	2	8 *sous.*
Raisins - - -	0	10
Wax candles - -	3	10
Tallow - - -	0	19
Olive oil (per quart) -	1	14
Huile de noix - -	0	18
Brown sugar, per pound -	1	5.

The carrot sugars are very strong of the saccharine or sweetening quality, but very soft.—Largest cauliflowers three sous each.

† Observe how Nature accommodates all to her primary laws. This would not be the case had our statistical writers the power to rule. The grand mandate, "Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth," uniform in its results, conforms to circumstances in its progress. Where food at lambing time, whether naturally or artificially, is abundant, ewes twin; here, where twins could at no time be duly maintained, the produce comes in succession.

agreed-on price is paid to the local proprietor. By lucerne, if given green, cattle are apt to be hoven and killed. A horse is kept for about four hundred-and-fifty francs a-year, on hay and oats; the former at the rate of three francs the quintal, and oats at that of six francs the *septier*. This is meant of a saddle-horse; the draught kind is kept for four hundred francs a-year: a mule for three hundred; an ox for a hundred-and-fifty. A pair of oxen, young and strong, costs from four to six hundred francs. They last at labour from five to six years; after which they are sold off fat *. A mule costs from five hundred to twelve hundred francs; a horse for draught, from two hundred to six hundred. A horse for a master to ride costs much the same, unless he choose to go to expense to gratify his fancy †. An ox kept in the field costs from one hundred to two hundred francs a-year; maintenance according to circumstances and situation. Horses and mules cost more. If well kept, their annual cost may be rated at about three hundred francs a-year; and their consumption in quantity of forage and straw at about a hundred quintals, Montpelier weight. Much less, however, of this last will suffice when they get oats.

Query: Vineyards?—Their management, produce, value, &c.?

A. answers.—The vineyard is the principal produce of the province of Languedoc, particularly the maritime parts. The wines, red and white, some of which are much esteemed, are a most considerable object of

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* Twelve plough oxen sold for, or were valued at, 4*l.* 10*s.* each; three mules at about six guineas each; three horses at about three guineas each. The dairy cows are usually of the weight of about four hundred: they cost fifty crowns, and are brought from La Caune, a distance of fifty leagues, to Montpelier. Dairy cattle are kept in the house: the process is well understood.

† This indicates the low state of the breed of this valuable animal here. Improvement will most materially influence diversity or enhancements of value. As to animal stock, a good pig, tall, but of the bracketed breed, is brought in large droves to be slaughtered before Christmas. They are reared by the mountain farmers.

exportation. The muscats of Lunel and Frontignan are in particular request *: the more ordinary wines serve for the distillation of brandy. The price of the good red wines varies according to the demand, season, and place of growth, from one hundred to two hundred francs a *muid*. Muscat is worth from four hundred to six hundred, according to the year. The *septarée* of muscat produces far less than that of the red grape, or common sort. The *septarée* of seventy-five *dextres* of good plants, in a good soil, may be rated, in produce, at three *muids*: but this only takes place in the most favoured situations.

The medium produce here is from half a *muid* to a *muid* the *septarée*: and in vineyards ill-managed, or where the plants are very old, sometimes much less †. The olive is planted in the vineyard; but, as it occupies much space, is of course to the detriment of the latter. To till a *septarée* of vineyard properly is five days' work of hand labour for the first going over, and three for the second; but if it be once allowed run to weeds, much more. The expense of the vine-harvest is about

* The red wine of St. George d'Orques, in the vicinity of Montpelier, is most celebrated for its excellence; and with reason. Good wine is to be had at one franc; the ordinary *vin du pays*, very good too, at seven sous per bottle. Good wine was offered at Narbonne at *fifteen francs* the pipe!!

† The chateau and demesne of Grammont is a striking specimen of the vine cultivation on the great scale; yet its proprietor is not by any means the greatest vine-grower in this part of the world. It would be supposed the most lucrative tract belonging to any one person in the world, considering its extent, and the price its produce bears. Yet the soil is a red ferruginous siliceous gravel; so conblended with soil, that nothing but the vineyard could make it cultivable. It cannot be stoned; for, were the stones taken, all would be gone. Four hundred acres of vineyard are here in a ring-fence, and manured round every *five* years. The cellarage contains casks for eleven hundred and twenty tons of wine (a ton to the *septarée*). Of these casks the largest is thirteen feet diameter, and contains sixty-two *muids*, or a hundred and twenty tons. The smallest cask is nine feet by seven. Seventeen such casks are ranged here. The *muid* of fifteen-hundred quintals sells on the spot for fifteen hundred francs. A hundred thousand livres a-year for a wine-grower is not thought much of. At Marseillan, near Pezenas, one person made, *this year*, by his *white wines only*, and exclusive of the other, a hundred and fifty thousand francs, at a *muid* of wine to the *septarée*.

covered by the sale of the pressed grape (the *marc*); that of dressing, by the sale of the wood. But another article is to be taken into account, namely, the re-placement of the stocks, which must be done after forty or fifty years; for several years after which the vine yields no return, yet requires equal care and cost as if in full bearing. (This seems a deduction of one-fortieth from the nett profits.) The vineyard is cultivated in two ways; by hand-labour and by the plough: but in the latter case, still the plants must be hand led. Although the plough-process is considerably the less costly, still the disadvantages more than countervail, as under it the noxious weed the dog-tooth, so injurious here, spreads; and it is proved by experience, that wines managed by hand produce more, and last longer.

B. answers.—The produce of a vineyard is annual. It yields from four to five tons the *septarée* of wine of good quality, fit for exportation. Near to the town of Montpelier the produce is much greater, amounting to six tons the *septarée*; but this wine is only fit for distillation.

C. answers.—Vineyards produce every year according to soil and cultivation. A *septarée* of land of the third quality, worked by the plough, gives, common years, a *demi-muid* (three hundred and ninety *litres*) of wine *. The wine, the quality or goodness whereof is in the inverse ratio of the quantity produced, is sold usually at one hundred francs the *muid*. When the soil is of the second quality, and has been worked with the *bigarre* two or three times, it produces a *muid* and a half; and when it is of the first quality, it may produce even two *muids* a *septarée* of sixty-five *dextres*. But this wine, so abundant in quantity, is of inferior quality, and, of course, value; selling for one third less than the other by equal measure. White wines are not allowed to fer-

* The vines are planted three or four feet asunder, according as the intervals are sown or not: they are not trained to high poles, like hops here.

ment. Stony vineyards yield wine of the strongest quality, but soft soils give most produce *.

Query, Labour?

A. answers.—Every property here any way considerable has an overseer, or steward, called *payre*, who lives in a house of his master's. Fuel, five *septiers* of wheat, and five of rye, are allowed him, and each person under his orders, annually. Also six *septiers* of this *meslin* for his wife, called *la mayre;* and half a *muid* of (good) red wine for each.

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* A faggot of vine twigs sells for four sous, in the town. An English acre of these will produce, annually, one hundred and twenty, worth twenty shillings; part of which profit may be placed in aid of charge of cultivation.

On the Vintage (from additional information).—The process is this: The grapes are pulled, and well cleared off the stalks; which last, if left in the pulp, give it a taste of roughness or asperity. They are then trodden by a man with wooden shoes, in a vat, but not into an impalpable pulp, but only so as to separate the skins off the fruit. Fermentation (in red wine) then takes place; and the moment subsidency ensues, it is drawn off. If let remain, sweetness, probably a saccharine fermentation, would ensue. But white wines are not allowed to ferment. This is particularly stated. However, it is admitted a slight fermentation takes place. It is probably checked, as in the cider process with us. Wine is at present an article of heavy sale, on account of the state, or rather extinction, of foreign trade, and the bulk of the article. This induces the grower to turn his thoughts towards the distillery. The product of brandy is, to its wine, as one to four. Brandy sells on the spot for three francs (2*s.* 6*d*) a-gallon, Holland *proof*, which is not equal to London proof. In regard to the process of white wine, they assure us it does not ferment in the cuve, but when put in the cask it does somewhat. It is thus more heady than red, and yields more brandy. The newer the wine, the more it gives under distillation.

The roads are covered by carriages, conveying loads of glass retorts for the distillery, in this direction. The first decree of Bonaparte's return was to free this article from vexatious procedures of excise. By this recent decree, the fine on the individual illicitly distilling goes in relief of the general duty on distillation of the district, and of course makes the fair dealer a levier of the penalties.

Seventy-four men are seen working abreast in a field, with the hand-hoe or *figarre*. It may be supposed that the soil was particularly refractory: but this is not the case; the adjoining field was under cultivation with a one-horse plough. Between sixty and seventy men are often seen here at work, abreast, with the *figarre*: let it be judged if money goes here in agriculture. The great enemy here to be eradicated is the *chien dent:* it runs under the ground in ramifications of many feet; a joint at every inch, and every joint a new root. It is very sappy food, and gives to the milch ass a superior richness, as well as an additional quantity of milk. Our couch-grass, on a small scale, somewhat resembles it; and it is probably of the species of the horse-grass of India.

Some proprietors give up a part of the *marc* of their grapes to make *piquette* (sharp weak wine) for the people; but as this *marc*, or residue, sells very well for the verdigris manufacture, it is generally preferred to give an equivalent of one third of a *muid* of pressed wine; which makes for each person five-sixths of a *muid* of the other. The *payre*, and each man also, receives a *carte* of oil, the *mayre* half a *carte*, and a half of a *carte* is also allowed to light the stable. Each person also receives twenty-five pounds of salt annually. The yearly wages given the *payre* are two hundred or three hundred francs, and each yearly labourer has from fifty to sixty francs wages. This article of wages of rustic servants varies according to their usefulness or capacity, amounting to a hundred and fifty and even to three hundred francs a-year. They have the privilege of rearing fowls, sometimes rabbits, often pigeons. In such cases the master finds the first or breeding stock, and is reimbursed. Where these animals are not allowed, the proprietor gives his servants an equivalent in money. Day-labour varies in price from one franc fifty centiemes, to two francs fifty centiemes, according to the season and the number of hours of work. A woman's day's labour is worth from seventy-five centiemes to a franc.

B. answers.—It is not the custom here to maintain the labourer's family: the labourer is given yearly wages, and thus maintains them. In the greater rural establishments, a man and his wife are hired, who occupy the demesne (inhabiting the mansion). He is thus the steward, and called *ramonet*. He maintains all the labourers employed on the premises, and is allowed for each ten *septiers* of *meslin* (five wheat and five rye), a ton of *piquette*, and a ton of forty-five *veltes* of good wine, eight pots of oil, thirty pounds of salt, forty-two francs for garden vegetables and for minor articles of food or luxury. The *ramonet's* wife has six *septiers* of *meslin*, four pots of oil, and fifteen pounds weight of

salt. He is allowed a garden, and his wife rears fowls. He is also allowed to sow a *septier* of *peaumelle*.

C. answers.—The yearly expense of a day-labourer is about eight hundred francs.

Query?—Prices of plough, cart, harness, for oxen, horses, and mules —with all that relates to this branch of rustic management?

A. answers.—Ploughs vary in price according to their forms. The price of an ox cart is from two hundred to two hundred and fifty francs: that of a three- or four-horse or mule cart is from three hundred to three hundred and fifty francs. An ox cart weighs (empty) from fifteen to sixteen quintals: the horse cart from twenty to twenty-four quintals.

B. answers.—Ox harness consists in a yoke and two straps to the horns: the yoke costs nine francs, the straps twelve. (Thus accoutred, the pair, and the plough hung upon one of their horns *, they sally out a-field. Here—*optat ephippia bos*—in vain.) The plough ready to work is rated at eighteen francs. A cart for four horses costs, when fully equipped, five hundred francs. Cart harness for four costs two hundred francs. A four-mule cart will convey ninety quintals.

C. answers.—A wheel-plough costs sixty francs; the harness seven francs. A four-horse cart costs two hundred francs. A cart numbered 3 carries twenty quintals for each horse †; a common cart carries thirty quintals, with four horses. A common plough weighs about sixty pounds.

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* It has been mentioned, the plough goes out to the field, hung on the ox's horns: very excellent work is seen performed by the instrument, cut out of the stump of a tree; one branch left for a handle, and the butt for sock and share; without having aid of carpenter or smith called in to its fabrication.

† The wheel of the present vehicle is ten feet high. The high wheel has been in use about twelve years. On their adoption they bore the name "*à la Marlbrouk*:" their superior utility soon brought

Query—Purchase of land * ?

C. answers.—By the *hectar*. Land of the first quality may be purchased at from three thousand to four thousand francs; of the second quality, from two thousand to two thousand nine hundred; that of the third quality at six hundred. Of surface only fit for planting of wood, a *septarée* may be purchased for ten francs; but a *septarée* of meadow-ground is as high as five hundred.

Thus concludes what was obtained by inquiry upon the subject. What follows is the result of observation and noting. In the first place, the value of land, as at present, is unquestionably very high in France, considering all the circumstances of this country. These circumstances it is unnecessary here to particularize; but that such a result should take place is obviously the consequence. In the first place, the utter destitution of commerce imposes a necessity of vesting all the capital there is, in land. The instability of appearances comes in some degree to this effect. A man preserves a better chance with his landed than with his hoarded property. He will also prefer land, under all its disadvantages, to funds. The prevalent opinion is, that when France be-

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them into universal adoption. Instead of a drag-chain, pressure is used to check the run down hill, and effectively.

* *Sale of property.*—Nine hundred-and-twenty acres (a hundred *metres*, or the square of ten each), which are nine *septarées*, or three acres, estimated at annual value two hundred and thirty-six *francs* (10*l.* 10*s.*) *per annum*, and consisting, in different proportions, as follows:—namely, three hundred acres of vineyard, three hundred ditto of meadow and open field, twelve ditto of mulberry plantation, twelve ditto of olive, three hundred ditto of mixed vine, meadow, and corn field, with decayed building on it, is sold under decree of the courts, or rather offered for sale, for two thousand francs (100*l.*). The postponements are reiterated from want of sufficient bidding; and by the process it looks as if most would fall into the hands of the law, of whatever it was ultimately to fetch. The process of decree and sale, for recovery of debt, is very ready and facile to a certain point here: but the sweets of postponement are well understood. See the public notices under head of "*Vente par expropriation forcée de propriétés immobilières.*"

comes a settled country, the price of lands will fall below what they are. About St Simphorien, a purchase of eleven thousand francs brought in five hundred and fifty livres a-year. Some assure us that judicious purchases, with due improvements, would, in some years' time, yield a return of ten per cent.; and so they ought, to compensate. Still, however, that land should in France bear a price above its *relative* value (a thing much more easy to gain an idea upon than its intrinsic one) will probably afford surprise to some *. How much more would such persons be surprised to see the vast expenditure now actually in progress upon such purchases!—in stoning of surface, in blowing up of rock, in hoeing and clodding, in picking (with the *bigarre*), and in building! It is utterly unnecessary to specify why the French landholder should find it his interest to go to an expenditure upon a piece of land which, in England, he would not hold at any rent. The specimen afforded here is by no means applicable to the whole of France; but let each part of that whole speak the truth for itself, and then judgement may be formed from the general voice. The cultivation of the soil is the basis of the state: the less there exists constriction or obstacle therein, the stronger is the vital power of the state. It is utterly impossible to form any true idea of the agricultural situation of France from any thing seen or known of any other country upon earth. Heaven only knows what further sufferings this country has to undergo! But be they what they may, internal debility will never be one of them. Those who saw it prior to the revolution will not have its picture of that day erased from their minds, because it is so, in the

* By accounts, part of the country about Limoges, on the direct road between Toulouse and Paris, wants population. This is by no means the case more to the west.

present one, from the face of nature. All is totally changed; so completely, that the contrast strengthens the impression of both. France is fifty-fold the country she was in 1784 (meaning within the same limits), computing her permanent internal improvements, the appropriation of her surface, and her moral and physical energies. The spirit of improvement, where it prevails as here, has not, assuredly, pecuniary capital to aid it: but it has the firmest of capitals, the sweat of the brow!—that which the illustrious Locke founds his basis of natural property on. Still, to view the activity of the spirit of rustic improvement, it is a puzzle how the fund absolutely necessary to keep the wheels of the machine greased is found! Building, not wretched hovels, but substantial stone habitations; terracing with stone walls, where there is as much perpendicular as horizontal surface; picking and tilling the new vine-grounds for years without return! How all this is done in a country not abounding with pecuniary capital, and with no outlet for their produce; is really inexplicable; and unquestionably any where else would be utterly impossible. But such is the fact. Land sells high; and most of that which is bought must require great labour and expense, with the aid of time, to bring it to profit.

According to information and calculation, the measurement of an English acre of meadow here, in France, sells for, of our money, 62*l.* 10*s.* But by the foregoing calculation, taking the *hectar* at seven *septarées*, and a *septarée* as one third of an English acre, land of the first class sells almost at 80*l.* our acre, and of the second or medium quality at 60*l.* Then, how is this repaid? A tenantry such as we know it has no existence in France. The whole speculation in land, which in fact comprises public speculation altogether, is to the purchase, and not merely the occupation of land; to realize, and not to turn the imme-

diate profit, which is, as has been already observed, utterly out of the question. Tenants are mentioned, but it is by no means a system; it is only here and there that such a thing exists. The agricultural process, and the circumstances of people in rustic life, utterly debar it. If a tenant offer a yearly rent, as with us, he must do it expecting to engross nearly all profits. On the contrary, in the ordinary way, after cultivation, harvesting, awaiting the period of marketing, consigning it to the factor, and receiving the money,—when the division of the profits comes to be made, what an unsatisfactory procedure must this be! It is in fact incumbent on the land-proprietor to hold his land himself; but where he can afford it, as here divided with the assistance of a steward, *he* feels encouragement to expend in improvement; he can await the day for sale. The result of this is the simplification of land-tenure, with all its beneficial results to the community. The time will, however, come that a tenantry, a body of people possessed of agricultural knowledge and habits, and with a capital equal and ready to embark in this speculation, will arise, and land-proprietors, for their own ease, will be ready to compound with them. But time is necessary for this. In the interim, the thing is just as well for the country as it now is. Every land-proprietor, be his pursuits what they may, feels he is a loser if he does not reside upon his property; and although from the bounties of nature, and afflictions of politics, produce drops, and rots all around him, still, there, he can *live*. The only two interests now throughout France, over the country, are the proprietor and the labourer. Under which circumstance, the latter situation may well be what it is, that of a prince compared to his fellow-labourers throughout Europe; worth 30*l.* sterling a-year, where necessaries, comforts, and even luxuries, are so cheap. The land-proprietor, as already observed,

pays taxes. These are more now than under the old *regime;* but lighter in proportion to the ability of the people of the present day to pay them. In fact, they are so light that people hardly know in what proportion they pay. The tax is on all property *ad valorem*, and considered very unequally imposed. This results in one respect from what it is an incitement to, improvement. The more property is bettered, the lighter is the tax, which remains as before. The land-proprietor at any rate settles his affair easily with his government. In this he pays his church establishment. In the sale of his produce he pays, under the denomination of *octrois* *, his local charges; and he has no landlord to lay up for. So situated, he may well improve. The agriculture of these meridional districts is of an improving kind, too. The olive will thrive among rocks; the vine in a gravel-quarry; and much of the face of nature here, now so blooming, was originally thus constituted. Many thousands of acres of the best vineyard-land here, are constituted of red gravel, as nearly pure rubble as any quarry by a highway side in Middlesex. Many acres are as purely such gravel as the roads themselves. With due tillage to keep the land clean, a handful of dung or

* This charge is incurred on the article in its process to market for sale. The following is the market scale of this year. Last year it was immoderately high; double, they assure us, *per septier*.

Wheat of the first quality	25 *francs*,	75 *centimes*.
second do.	23	50
third do.	21	50
Seigle	16	
Oats	9	75
Peaumelle	14	50
Maize	16	
Black vetches	16	

The state of the market is transmitted to the bureau of the *directeur général de l'agriculture, de commerce, des travaux publics, des arts, et des manufactures*

marl laid to the foot of each vine plant will produce an ample return, and of the best quality. Whilst thus employed, the process of stoning goes on *; and by the period the number of years when the vine stock is exhausted, the land is clear enough for the plough. Thus the first reclamation is all; and, in fact, the vine is the grand improver here; to which corn is but ancillary, as live stock is to corn. The average of the corn-tillage on good land, by the measurement of the English acre, may be taken at 6*l.* sterling *per annum* for the gross profits, supposing the succession to be wheat, oats, and lucerne, or sainfoin and no fallow. From this one third may justly be deducted, on accounts the farmer will very easily understand without having them pointed out to him; and there may then remain to the French proprietor here, in the meridional tracts, a profit at the rate of 4*l.* sterling, according to the English acre, which will account for land of this valuation finding purchasers. So much for this branch of agriculture.

But to revert to the vineyard. The gross profit of the vineyard may be rated to the proprietor at 15*l.* sterling *per* English acre, taking a *muid* to the *septarée*, and 5*l.* for the price of the *muid*. From this is to be deducted the interest of money first sunk, costly storage, and waiting for sale. Still it may be computed at 10*l.* *per* acre. This is probably in each case taking profit at its maximum. But it is much otherwise with expenditure. The Languedocian agriculturist justly says manure (*fumier*) is the soul of his business; but he omits a great deal of what he might do in this way, and pays most enormously for what he does †. With the vine every thing depends on it; and it is

* Used to build walls, or, in the vicinity of high roads, laid by their sides by contract and measurement, ready and at hand always to repair them. The hammer used to break these stones, on the roads, has a spring handle, which gives it force, and a boy does the work of a man.

† Agricultural investigation is becoming active here. It has ascertained two hundred different

one of the inexplicables of this country, where they can possibly find all the manure they employ, with their slender means of providing it. Live stock, it is seen, is not to be taken into account here. The country is traversed by flocks during the winter, and dairies * are in some degree attended to, but neither claim any place in accounts. The olive, indeed, is an important article, and requires a place fully to itself, although it has been hitherto excluded, as it seems to be a matter of justifiable doubt how far it can hold a place under the head of agricultural profits: but be this as it may, that it is of the first consequence in statistics, from the money it brings into the country, admits of no demur, and as such it will be now proceeded to.

The Olive.—Here are three or four different kinds of olives. This tree bears but once in two years. In the bearing year, an olive-tree will yield from one to two and even three hundred weight; to which weight the oil expressed bears the proportion of one eighth. The ordinary measure is a *quartain*, or twenty-two pounds (some say twenty-one). Six hundred trees in one plantation yielded, this year, on an average, fifteen pounds of fruit *per* tree, taking in the number, young plants put down to replace decay, and the bearers of the former year's deficiency: so that this may be considered an average valuation. The foregoing makes nine thousand pounds weight: but another plantation yielded but five thousand pounds, of an equal number of trees. A good tree, however, will yield three *quartains*, or sixty-three pounds. The *quartain* makes

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kinds of potatoes (that root formerly so despised), in the short time it has yet taken up the subject. Of these one hundred appear distinct species, and thirty are recommended for superior merit.

* The best dairy cows come from the district of La Caune. They sell very high: A cow that has newly calved fetches from two hundred-and-forty to two hundred-and-fifty francs. They yield, *per* day, in summer, seven, eight, or nine pots of milk:—the pot of eighty cubic inches, five inches by four dimensions.

eight pots, each pot being four *triquets*; but it is hard to guard against confusion in measures here, and this baffles inquiry; the common pot is but three *triquets*. But, in short, the *quartain* of eight pots sells on the spot for twenty-two francs. An olive tree's annual value is probably about eight shillings of our money. The olive is planted out at five years of age, and in five years more will begin to yield produce. This, however, has been denied. Before Christmas (December 20th) olives are sent to the mill to be pressed.—Process: They are first ground under a perpendicular wheel, as bark is done, which reduces them to a pulp, breaking the stones. In this pulp the oily quality now becomes obvious for the first time, for hitherto the olive is but an acrid bitter (that eaten at desserts is a different species from the one sent to the mill). This pulp is laid in a vat; hence put into rush baskets, like those in which figs are sent to England. These are piled perpendicularly under a double press, in two columns; and each basket, as laid on, receives into it about two quarts of boiling water. Thirty of these baskets are thus laid up in each column. The fluid begins immediately to drain, and run from them, by stone channels, into vats of stone (two), each of about a ton contents. This liquid is of the colour of coffee. After a time the oil floating on the top of the liquor becomes distinguishable. The columns of baskets are about five feet high. The screws are worked by four men, who press while any liquid is yielded. The whole oil is collected from two pressings; for after the first the pulp is repacked in the baskets, and watered again: after which it undergoes the process as before. The more oil is extracted by hard pressure thus, the more the quality is deteriorated. The oil press is of common use to the neighbourhood; and it costs the proprietor of the olives, to have them pressed, four francs. The idea cannot be put out of the heads of the commonalty, that machinery, with its improvements, is inadequate to the extraction

of the oil, compared to the jerk of the hip, the ancient seat of effort. Such was the procedure of primitive days. The oil floats in the vat at the top, and is skimmed off. The lightest is the best. The pressed substance feeds fowls and pigs well.

A *quartain* of oil, twenty-two pounds weight, is the produce of two hundred weight of olives, the growth of fourteen trees. Reckon a hundred and twelve trees to an English acre, supposing them to stand thirty feet apart, more or less, eight *quartains*, at twenty-two francs the *quartain*, yield a return of about seven pounds sterling the English acre. A good olive tree will produce *three hundred pounds weight* on its bearing years. Assured.—If a tree bear two successive years, it is very detrimental to it *.

Corn, vines, &c. are planted in the intervals of the olives, but apparently to little avail. The olive requires to have the earth frequently stirred about it; and this must be done by hand, and with the greatest nicety. It requires, too, the very best of manure; such, for instance, as old rags. On this subject, of manure, they let go waste, here, much of the very best, namely soap wash; used so abundantly now in these

* This tree thrives only within twenty-five leagues of the sea. It is a delicate plant, but, notwithstanding, can support a very considerable degree of cold without its foliage being injured (as for instance in the winter of 1814, when the ice was three inches thick); but if snow settles, or icicles fix on the twigs, they wither, and the tree frequently dies to the very roots. In that case it is cut down to about six inches below the surface of the ground; and such parts of the roots as have retained any life send up fresh shoots to renew the tree; and a stock of them is further thus furnished for reproduction, and to plant elsewhere. But this procedure is very slow; and those who make olive plantations do it more for their children than for themselves. The ground around the tree must be carefully tilled and kept clean. It ought to be hoed three times a year, the earth opened to the roots, and dung of the stable applied every three years. Woollen rags, sweepings of slaughter-houses, and such strong manures, are proper; but the usual one is a composition of horse-dung with them, as those articles are so expensive. Sheep's dung is considered too hot, and that of pigeons still more so. An olive tree may produce thirty *cartes* of olives, and these four *cartes* of oil; but to do this a large tree, and of a very capital kind, is necessary. Those which yield eight

countries, where the quantity of linen (of hemp almost universally) come into use is remarkable. A washerwoman's stock exposed to dry conveys the appearance or idea of a ci-devant French battalion drawn up in front. But to return to the olive: This tree does not like to quit the vicinity of the sea; at least it does not thrive beyond thirty miles distance from it. This proves the range of the influence of sea atmosphere in rendering the climate mild. Thus we see the allegorical spirit, too, of the ancients, in the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the service of mankind! One presents him with the olive, the natural growth of the sea-shore; the other with the horse, that is to say the ship, the *steed of the ocean*. The idea is familiar to our northern bards. The olive can bear *dry* cold, but not sleet or icicle. A tolerably severe winter, however, has *not* killed any trees here, although they look sickly. Indeed their natural hue is such; but in congenial weather their leaves drop off. The proprietors of olive plantations do not speak of them; it has been observed as equal in point of profit with other objects: yet they are cultivated, planted, and replanted, especially in small proportions, probably for domestic convenience. The sale of the offal pays the expense of trimming and dressing. They are a very im-

cartes of olives and one *carte* of oil are considered very good. As, usually, these trees bear but every second year, and moreover many but every four, or even eight years; and as in an olive plantation there are some which occupy a large space of ground, and some declining, the computation of profits cannot justifiably be made upon its highest scale. The *canne* or *carte* of oil varies in price, according to the fineness of the oil, and the abundance of the harvest, from fifteen to twenty-four francs. This *canne* or *carte* weighs from twenty to twenty-two pounds weight, Montpellier measure, the finest being the lightest. The costs of the gathering are paid by the wood which the pruning the tree yields. The use of hot water extracts more oil, but injures its quality under the press. Languedoc furnishes much valuable matter; as for instance the silk-worm (our informant continues): but the mulberry is not now much cultivated, except in the mountains of the Cevennes and the Vivarais. Although the climate there is cold, the worm is found to thrive better than in the vicinity of the sea! Although the nidus of this animal is, as is well known, rendered by Providence, like that of the bee, impervious to the thunder-bolt, yet it is frequently killed by the very noise of it.

portant statistical object. It is a matter of regret that truth compels the observation, that the adulterating the oil with that of rape is too prevalent. A quantity of that plant is now grown; not here, but in the north of France. High prices hold out strong temptations. The adulteration, however, may be easily detected, either by weight or taste; yet in some instances it is nicely done too *. It takes place before it comes into the market. Thus much must suffice for the staple articles of the meridional farmer,—his corn, his wine, and his oil (as a statistic we must add silk), such sources of endless wealth to a community when allowed the scope of commerce. If the south be the productive, the north is the active part of the world, and will not spare its labour to have its share. Although the information obtained varies, it is not even in its variations inconsistent with truth. The calculations are not vouched for. No settled system, nor still less equation of weights and measures, has been able to establish itself in France; it is only to approximations that an attempt can be made. Sufficient, however, is attained to show what is the state of the land occupant of these interesting districts; his process, his revenues, his charges, and his expectations. The latter are at present very flat. He sighs for peace: not a man in France who possesses ten acres of ground in fee simple who would not be at peace with all the world. Circumstances have made them a reflecting, a calculating people. That despotism, being a great abuse, should have succeeded in calling up a powerful party in its support, is no wonder: but although it subjugated, it cannot extinguish the good sense of the nation. The real people of France wish for quiet, and to be able to bestow their thoughts on their own affairs.

* The *carte* of twenty-one pounds of oil, of the best quality, sells for twenty-two francs; that of the second quality, mixed with *huile de navet*, for nineteen; and the latter, or *navet* oil, equally good for the lamp, sells for sixteen. This *navet* oil is very good in its kind.

Something is requisite to be said now upon the subject of weights and measures. No criterion can exist without their verification; and this is a most laborious task, in a country where every seigneur had unlimited power upon the subject within his own demesne, and *ancien regime* is adhered to in this most inconvenient shape. Perhaps, as merchants say of exchange, it is found good for trade:—there must be some reason, good or bad, at the bottom of it. Here are the national weights and measures of heretofore, which, it may be concluded, wherever they are used, are uniform. Here are the feudal weights and measures, which differ at every step; the revolutionary jargon, which supervened to put a new face upon every thing; and the late feeble attempt of crying to things once more "As you were," which cry is not heard, or at least not listened to. Weight, in one case, is by *grammes*; and the *gramme* is (taking it for general purposes, near enough for the traveller) nineteen French or twenty-three English grains. The weight of the *decimetre* cube of distilled water, at four degrees of cold, which is its greatest density, is a pound. Thus *decimetre* is a tenth of a *metre*: this *decimetre* cube is also the *litre*, or liquid measure. But this subject must not be treated lightly. Chaos itself would be advocated (note the flowers of modern elegance), if it presented aught of gain. Measures apply to weight, contents, superficies, and length *. Let it be tried to be seen how to make them correspond, so as to answer the purpose of the present calculations. As we have our troy and avoirdupois, so the French have their *poids de marc* † and *poids de ville*. A hundred and

* *Grammes, litre, are, metre.*

† *Poids de marc.*—72 grains make a gros;
8 gros an ounce;
8 ounces a marc;
2 marcs a pound;
100 pounds a quintal.
20 quintals a ton. (Weight.)

twenty-five pounds *poids de marc* is a hundred pounds *poids de table*. The new pound is the half *kilogramme* (five hundred *grammes*), and is to the English pound as eleven to nine. The *kilogramme* is sixty-four inches of water; and twenty-seven cubic inches of salt water are as near to the English pound avoirdupois as (it *may* be said), possible. The *kilogramme* was two pounds six ounces and a fraction *poids de table*. The *demi-kilogramme* comes nearest to our pound weight in use, exceeding it by two and one-eighth *per cent*.

Measurement of Contents.—The *septier* (a corn-measure) weighs ninety French pounds. The *hectalitre* (which is what we would call the statute measure) weighs in good wheat a hundred and sixty to a hundred and sixty-five pounds *. Of liquid contents there are the *litre* †, sixty-two inches, or nearly two new pounds weight, probably the *kilogramme*; the *pot*, eighty inches, or one *litre* ‡ and three tenths; the *velt*, or two gallons, or twenty pounds weight; the *muid* §, which is three *bordelaises*, or ninety *velts*, or fifteen quintals *marc*, or eighteen quintals Montpellier measure. This *bordelaise* is thirty *velts*. A ton is four *bordelaises* of five quintals *marc*.

Of Length.—The French foot is longer than the English by sixty-eight in a thousand; the *metre* is three feet three inches and seven-tenths of an inch, English measure.

In superficial measurement, a thousand toises are 4626 yards square. A *septarée* is 375 toises, or seventy-five *dextres* ‖, or 1620 yards: This is to our acre as 1620 is to 4840, or as *one to three*. 3920 *metres*

* The *septier* is something under three cubic feet (French). (Contents.)

† Some make the *hectalitre* two *septiers* and one-fortieth, or one *pagniere*. These differences cannot be settled here.

‡ The *litre* is larger than the Paris pint by one-thirteenth. (Dry.)

§ The *muid* is twenty-nine cubic feet and a fraction; or two hundred and eighty-eight *pintes*, or thirty-six *velts*. (Liquid.)

‖ The *dextre* is the square of twenty feet. (Superficies.)

go to our acre. The *hectar* is 2540 toises, or 10,000 *metres*, two acres and a half, and almost eight perches: or to the acre as *five to two*; deducting from two, one-fiftieth.

The *are* is a hundred *metres*. Correct calculations cannot be hoped for, except by a perfect collation of weights and measures between the two countries, *on the spot*; and this is not easily effected. Until, however, this takes place, we must take up with approximations; but acres and roods, bushels and quarters, gallons and hogsheads, alone convey *accurate* ideas upon the state of production and value. It may be judged how liable a stranger is to suffer by his ignorance in any country, in these respects; but this is not the matter here. Having tried to communicate what insight could be obtained on this subject, that of agriculture shall now be brought to a conclusion.

Letting of land is not the practice; but when done, it is considered that it ought to pay the proprietor four *per cent* for his purchase-money. If he hold it himself, he expects it should pay him *ten*. The tax of five *per centum* on property, estimated by the old *cadastre*, but not, in fact, five upon one thousand in the present day, is laid on the farmer, and allowed by the landlord; as is the *octroi* or market-duty, paid on sale, and applied to local purposes. This may be considered as two-and-a-half *per cent*.

If the meridional farmer gets in the market two pounds ten shillings *per* English acre for his wheat crop, he is paid for his land; otherwise, not. The maximum he is permitted to export at, is three pounds twelve shillings. The produce of this acre in wheat may be averaged at forty-eight stone. The above maximum is at the rate of forty shillings the English quarter*.

* Prices at Dantzig for nine years:—55, 47, 53, 75, 59, 46, 36, 41, and 52 shillings. Prices, Wismar, per last, of thirteen quarters and a half, 34*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*——In the

When the farmer here sells his wheat at the above rate, he makes clear but one pound five shillings *per* acre of his white crop. Then it cannot be from these that he looks for ten or twelve, or even three or four *per cent.* for his purchase-money.

Let us take facts as stated. The well-known author of the system of Assignats lives respected in private life. He is a purchaser, but to no great extent. The purchase he made is of the grange of an episcopal see. At our Reformation the lands of the clergy fell into the hands of already-great landed proprietors: here, in France, they fell to the public. For this farm he gave a hundred thousand francs. The revenue it heretofore brought in was about five thousand francs by the year. He raised it by letting it in lots, to the sum of twelve thousand, at the rate of two *septiers* of corn *per septarée*. The *septier* then sold for ten francs. Below this price the tenant cannot live. Whatever inconsistency may be in these statements, truth requires their collation.

To sum or close up the subject—France may, with a view to her agriculture, be divided thus; namely, into northern, midland, and southern districts. The first to extend as far as the commencement of the Nivernois; the midland to Lyons, Tarare, and that latitude; and the southern, of course, thence to the Mediterranean and Pyrenees: the northern is for the most part uninclosed, and under tillage; the midland is inclosed, and is a tillage-tract, intermixed with pasturage. The third is a tract for exportation, for the produce of the luxuries of commerce, wine, oil, silk, &c. Of these, the south only has the staff of life in an incompetent proportion; and pasturage still more so: it has, therefore, to be fed from the others; for France is so happily situated as to depend on strangers for nothing.

Prussian ports for the last twenty years, fifty shillings per quarter; 3*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* minimum, of the English farmer.

The extensiveness of such an investigation is obvious. Equally so is it how little applicable must be the researches in one place to enable to form a judgement in another. Still, assiduity will obtain its reward: matter of interest is presented everywhere.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.—The verdigrise trade is in activity. The artificial sodas have of late been adopted in the branches of manufacture into which they enter; and that article is no longer one of importation. The tanneries are active here. This is the more remarkable, as in the west of France their fine deciduous oak is seen constantly felled with the bark remaining unstripped; probably owing to costs of carriage: but it indicates a defect in statistics somewhere. Here the process is executed with the bark of the *root* of the ever-green oak. The rocky wastes into which no implement can enter, which gunpowder only could work upon, were once overrun with this weed of the forest. These have been long cut down for fuel; but the stumps remain, just marked out by a few twigs. A woman now earns fifty sous *per* day by grubbing up these for the tan-yard. They cure the leather more effectually in *two months* than other bark does in six, or in a year. This quality was only discovered recently, and by accident. It is only the peeling of such stubbed roots that will do, they say. Business is now very active in it.

Tired as the public was of war, they dreaded still more the return of their own armies; indeed, feared their countrymen in arms more than the national enemies. These are returned; and "*ce sont des agneaux*," is now the expression concerning them, and deservedly so. They are extremely well-behaved now in quarters: the peace of the towns is no way disturbed by them. The towns-people now account for this as an effect of a superior class of men having gone into the ranks in consequence of the conscription; and it may be so. To escape the con-

scription, near-sighted men were *made* to plead their clergy. If they could read through a diminishing glass they were exempted; if not, they marched.

In regard to taxation, it is considered this year as very heavy. But this is only according to the ancient *cadastre*. The general contribution to be made up is eleven hundred millions (fifty millions sterling). The *impôt personnelle et mobiliaire* is a fiftieth on property. House and window tax are rated according to the situation of the premises.

Eight hundred millions (thirty-three millions sterling) annually France is very well able to bear, it is admitted by all.

The work-house, or *maison de détention*, here must interest the philanthropist, when he learns that it proceeds to its object without affording the sweets of jobbing or salary. It is not true, that "no one is to be found who will do any thing without being paid for it." But it is true that, before we take upon us to cast imputations upon others for vices, at our own discretion, we ought to imitate or equal them in the virtues they do put in practice. In this establishment, which is common for the province, six hundred prisoners are watched, dieted, lodged, clothed, and fitted out in the world for industry, for the sum of 6,500*l.* annually: the administrators of the board which regulates it (respectable inhabitants of the town) acting without salaries. The prison has been built, and institution formed, since the revolution; indeed within these ten years.

Men, women, and children are, each description, kept apart. Two sleep in each bed. These sleeping-rooms are so clean kept, that at eight o'clock in the morning, on entering them, it would be thought they had not been inhabited for six months. Mattresses and woollen coverlets, laid on boards on iron tressels, constitute the bedding, every article of which is made in the prison. Nothing presents itself to offend any sense

of the most delicate. Every one is made to work. They are now spinning cotton. Men may use their respective handicrafts:—here is a carpenter's shop, a tailor's, even locksmiths! A man learns to spin cotton in six weeks. All the prisoners are clothed, too, in the manufacture of the place. The number of the confined has amounted to eight hundred and fifty. The number of sick is about eighty. The gain of a prisoner at labour is about forty sous a week, or seven sous a-day; out of which he is allowed one half to expend at will. The residue accumulates, and is given them at coming out of jail, that want of employ may not re-stimulate them to crime. Woollen was formerly manufactured here for the Levant trade; but at present the looms are not in work. In case of contumacy, should a prisoner refuse to work, he is put in close confinement: then cotton is put before him to beat; and he is told, "Work, and you shall come out." The worst dispositions rarely hold out long; and none have ever been found unconquerable: yet they have had them of several, indeed most nations:—all have been brought by this method to work. There are various yards in the building, respectively appropriated. Very few sentinels. Much of the offices and duties of the prison is done by prisoners. One is now posting accounts in the bureau. They all uncover and remain standing and silent when an inspector or strangers enter. The expense of a hundred and fifty thousand francs *per annum* is paid by eight departments, all which send their prisoners hither. Some are detained for twenty years; one for life. The maintenance of a prisoner last year was rated at six sous and a half *per* day (three pence farthing). This year it amounts to eight sous (four pence). They have meat on Sundays (cheap and sparing of course): on other days broth thickened with lard, sheep's insides, vegetables, &c. varying as much as possible. A pound

and a half of bread to each—brown for the well, white for the sick—is served out daily from the bakery in the prison. Baker and journeymen all prisoners. The bread is excellent. The service of the diet is conducted with a regularity, not an idea whereof can be possessed without seeing it. This takes place at the hour of twelve. Apothecary's store, laundry, all is in the same place with the rest. Those who die are transferred to the surgeon's room for anatomy; and thus the school of that science is supplied here. To continue the subject: Such is the excellence of police in this part of the world, that escape of prisoners in conveyance seems totally out of all idea; and rescue, of course, equally so. How other countries not under the disadvantages in which this has laboured should blush! They are marched in files, in chains, escorted by one *gendarme* rarely more. The jurisprudence of the present system has great merit. It has its faults, like every thing human, but not such gross ones as those which pervade other countries.

Of the modern system of jurisprudence in France.—Publications exist of comparative statements between present and past times in this respect. The absurdity of this foolish clay-compound man, as our humourist expresses it, never devised any thing that could exceed the last. They are now so ashamed of it, that it induces them to throw doubts upon the affair of Calas at Toulouse, as if it never existed!—Revived fanaticism and the like will come round again. To the merit of the nation be it said, if their heads were not able to resist this infatuating stimulus, political rancour has not succeeded to drive them to those reactions their enemies wished to see, and had calculated on seeing. But these subjects lead too far. In regard to jurisprudence, man is exposed to be assailed in society by injustice or violence in various ways,—in his character, his habitation, his property, his person. And

wrongs are of two descriptions, public and private. When a person comes to reside in a country new to him, it might be thought that nearly his first step would be to inform himself what is the procedure which is, or ought, to take place under such circumstances as may happen. Of how many does it never enter the thoughts! All in police employ, namely *gendarmerie*, posted by brigades (small bodies) horse and foot, all through the country, and *gardes des eaux et forêts* are bound by their duty to further the object of a complainant. In each town, or indeed village, are a mayor and his adjunct to receive it.

Bureau d'application corresponds with our magistrate's office. Here the aggrieved apply; and the officers who receive complaints are the *commissaire de police*, the *procureur royal*, *juge de paix*, *maire* and his *adjoint*. The *procureur* is the officer who transmits informations, sending them to the *juge d'instruction*. He is in some respect correspondent to our clerk of the peace, or of the crown. The *juge d'instruction* completes that duty by laying them before the court of indictment, which sits weekly at the *chambre des conseils*. This court is a section of the *cour impériale* of the department; and is composed of three judges, who, like our grand jury, find, or throw out, bills. This is named *cour de dénonciation*; takes informations upon, and examines into the proofs. It is the substitute for our grand jury, and the main constitutional difference between the two codes. It is indeed impossible to imagine a more essential one; but the blame of it is upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it. It is an absolute fact, that those who framed for their nation this system of jurisprudence, wished to have modelled it precisely upon that of Great Britain. The very essence of our constitution is, that no man shall be indicted but by his peers. This most wise guard we owe to the earliest judgement of those ancestors to whom we owe so much. It

was tried in France; but habit is more obstinate than nature, and grand juries could not be got to find *any* bills. This then was the substitute. From this court, however, the business is transmitted to the assizes, which are held in each department every three months. As the judges and all officers of the court *must reside in the department*, a special commission is readily ordered on any particular emergency, or indeed any case which is thought to require it. The judges bear the title of *conseillers de sa majesté:* the number for Paris and the departments is—for Paris sixty at the utmost, and forty at the lowest; for other places forty at the utmost, and twenty at the lowest. Before them comes all matter, civil and criminal; but appeal lies to Paris. The *procureur royal* answers to our coroner; the *prefect* to our sheriff. In court, five judges sit upon the bench; one being, as we should say, chairman. The supreme judge appears in the course of the session in court, but does not take any part in the business there. The jury is drawn very fairly; but it is extremely difficult to induce people to attend. Their objection is, "What business is it of mine?" so that they do not seem to have an idea that any trouble of governing themselves must devolve on free men! The fine for non-attendance is five hundred francs; and the *accuseur général*, the prosecuting officer, moves the infliction of the fine upon defaulters. The court is not thrown open to the public until the jury is sworn. The main defect in the procedure here under view was, that neither the opening the case, nor the testimony of witnesses, was kept sufficiently *close* to the point. The exceptions taken by the prisoner's counsel were judicious, and his arguments powerful. The witness is asked on oath if he is connected with the prisoner. The president judge warns the counsel not to say any thing *contra bonos mores*, nor against the dignity of the court. Undoubtedly here is much irregular matter, which time

and practice will expunge: such, for instance, as the bench interrogating the prisoner, and drawing out indiscreet avowals. Matter of former years was brought in charge against him; matter which, as his counsel observed, no one knew ever happened at all. Three witnesses are under examination at the same time; and the *accuseur général* putting questions to the prisoner. Leading questions are put, too, to witnesses, by the bench. All this will be rectified; for here is an extreme anxiety to know the mode of procedure of our law-courts in England, whereon they wish, fully sensible of its excellence, to model themselves here. The trial finished, the prisoner is remanded, and the jury go home; not probably liking to risk the lenten entertainment the rough equity of our ancestors subjects ours to. The court adjourns. On the next morning prisoner and jury appear in court; he is remanded out, and the jury retire to deliberate. When the jury enter to give verdict by their foreman, the prisoner is not in court. The terms of the verdict seem to us somewhat *chevalresque*, which some will admire: "*Sur mon* honneur, *et ma conscience.*" The prisoner is then brought in, sentence pronounced, and law quoted *.

The *code d'instruction criminelle* is but a sketch of jurisprudence: but what is this, here in France, more than an incipient thing? where can they have as yet a mass of precedent to walk by? In case of slander the words must be proved; which done, a pecuniary fine is incurred.

* Such was the process in the supreme court of the department. Other courts, composed out of the bench of judges, sit elsewhere. All this is at the discretion of the president; but his, which is called *cour royale*, is the supreme. The term for adjunct is *assesseur*. The first-president's place is worth 1500*l. per annum*. The minor departments of office have small salaries to reward the toils of study: but, *en revanche*, there are many of them; as for instance, nine *conseillers*, six *auditeurs*, three *avocats généraux*, so down to the *greffier* or clerk of court. A justice of peace receives from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred francs.

Trespass is well guarded against, under the heads *domicile* and *cabane*. Religion is secured in its rights, something more than toleration; as is fully experienced and felt by the Protestants of the south. Personal assault is punished by imprisonment and fine, very heavy too *. It is not, however, considered here a breach of the public peace, but merely as a wrong to an individual. Engagement is taken to prosecute. In regard to the oratory of the bar: the French language, although admirably adapted for the fluency of ordinary conversation, as its universal introduction proves it, has not the rough edge requisite for versification or oratory. Walter Scott's romance, with its teeth so filed down, would not harrow us as at present; and how much more powerfully would the same matter that is delivered *here* impress us, were it conveyed in Spanish or in German! It is obvious to the stranger, however, that with *juge de paix*, *maire*, *procureur*, *gendarmerie*, and *gardes forêts* †, there is no want of means of wafting his complaints, should he have any to make, to the higher powers.

There are three ways in which law, the emanation of Heaven, reaches man. First, As on Mount Sinai, which precludes all discussion; for law is a divine light, however perverted or refracted here below: hence the Numa of Rome, for *Num* in Scythian means the divinity. 2dly, It

* Neither blows nor homicide are punishable in self-defence, or in defence of another. Offences against decency are punished by imprisonment of from three months to a year, and fine of sixteen to two hundred francs. Personal assault, without arms, is punished by imprisonment of from one to two years, and by a penalty of from sixteen to two hundred francs. *Menace*, however, does not give us any insight how the line is drawn between two outrages, of which the one treading so close on the heels of the other, it is difficult for a party aggrieved to decide the precise moment when he is justifiably to assume the care of his case into his own hands.

† This body is not only respectable but formidable. Strong as it is, it is not beyond what a country of such great extent and population ought to have. It amounts to eighteen thousand. What are called *brigades*, answer to what we would denominate *squads*.

is conveyed from man to man, or to man by his peers and neighbours, as in England, which is the best method here. Or, 3dly, It is imposed by despotism, in whose hands, or from whose hands, it will rarely flourish. May these gloomy surmises, however, be falsified by experience*! It is impossible not to approve the promptness wherewith a special session is convened here, on the transmission of the indictment from the court of inquest, for the trial of a single crime. Here is no accumulation of guilt and depravity lying in gaols for a general *delivery*. No putting off trials by unsubstantiated affidavits, until prosecutions are wearied off, or tampered off. Here is, with all the faults of the system, (and its principal one, novelty, is one it will cure of), much to approve; although undoubtedly every thing the term admiration relates to must be reserved for our own at home in England, notwithstanding any imperfections that may be found in it, as in all that is the work of *men's* hands.

It may well be expected that alteration, in human life, should proceed with much more rapid and certain steps than amelioration. All of old days here is changed; but the superstructure of what is to be, in this

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* The following statement will more completely show how fully the law in its administration is put in reach of the public here. This is in the chief town of a department:—

The assizes, as already observed, are quarterly.

Sittings.—Chambre des appels de police correctionelle, every Friday.
Audience of civil tribunal, Friday and Saturday.
Chambre correctionelle, Monday and Tuesday.
Tribunal of police, Wednesday and Saturday.
A tribunal of commerce sits once a-week.
One of municipal police sits twice in the week.

And the town is divided into three sections, in each of which justices of peace hold open session two days in the week. Here is also a council-general of the department, which performs certain duties. *Eaux et forêts* in general through France are under five administrators, assisted by conservators, inspectors, and sub-inspectors. Thus Montpelier is the head quarter of the fourteenth conservation, which includes the eastern Pyrenees.

respect at least, proceeds but slowly. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, possibly as requiring less pains in order to be understood, the substitution of new *regime* is complete. It is not unwise, probably, to constitute a numerous body in this department, in order to turn the public mind to the study of jurisprudence. In the process of time additional encouragement will be constantly acquiring to this direction of the application of rising youth. It was in former days at a very low ebb. The *noblesse de robe*, as it was called, was, for its noblesse, *vox et præterea nihil*; nothing was on the *ton de supériorité* save the sword; that is, for honours; for profit, all merged in the church. Thirty years ago, the only thing seen like affluence here was in and about the ecclesiastical order. As for instance, the bishop of this diocese, which was nothing in comparison to others. He had, however, a revenue of a hundred and fifty thousand livres, 7500*l.* a-year; a vast sum in that time. To his patronage went twenty canonries of from six thousand livres to twenty thousand *per annum* each; fifteen prebendaries, and as many grand vicarages as he chose to nominate *. The cures were nearly as to-day. These last have been preserved. Besides this, two magnificent palaces; one in town, one in the country, with extent of demesne attached to it. All the good things of this world held equal proportion to the establishment which supported them. Then to come to monastic life: here were in one town thirteen monasteries; seven of men, six of women. The monks were in the number of ten or fifteen to each; but the women considerably more numerous in their own establishments. But it was not the numbers, it was the system which was oppressive upon life. Much, also, is to be said in mitigation of censure on female convents; for monks, nothing.

* The present church establishment of the diocese (two departments united) consists of a bishop at ten thousand francs *per annum*; two vicars-general at fifteen hundred each; and thirty-six curates, first class at fifteen hundred, and second class at a thousand.

Still the cruel mode of their reformation must excite compassion. But that is very different from a wish to see them here again. It was impossible for any country to bear up against the weight of church establishment which heretofore oppressed France. They had the tenth of all; but this was the nett tenth, so that it was in fact a fifth; and thus every five years, and indeed before their expiration, they received one entire year's produce of the whole country; that is, so much went by their means, totally sunk and lost to the community. This calculation, made here, seems to be just; for labour, capital, and time must be rated at half the gross produce *. Of this the clergy yielded none; it all fell on the layman, by whom, too, all imposts were to be paid out of the residue! No wonder, then, that he could keep little to put in his own mouth. *Monsieur l'intendant*, too, the *seigneur's* steward, could hope to get but little, after the landed property had undergone the scrutiny of the lynx's eyes of the clergy; between whom and the game, hares, pheasants, and partridges, this fine country's produce was divided. Besides this, the clergy had the church posessions, which had devolved to them before the mortmain law, and which also contributed nothing to the state. This enabled them to reclaim and bring to their own profit lands which, in those days, no one else would have attempted. The revolution seized all this—

"Squeeze thou the bags
Of hoarding abbots—"

—but the nation has it. The bishop in former times drove his coach and six from his country to his town palace; and had all the concomitants of affluence, of good and evil, moral and physical. The present bishop walks on foot, hale, cheerful, and robust.

* They contributed in no shape; theirs was pure consumption.

The dissenters * are extremely numerous throughout these southern tracts. They occupy that most respectable middle class, which resides upon property, and lives in competence, without desiring to soar. They are extremely strict in their religious principles and discipline; and their pastors are men of most exemplary assiduity and decorum †. It may well be judged what their opinions of things are. Be this, however, as it may, nothing could prevent their taking the most decided steps, in the late unhappy event, in support, by arms, of the regal government, as by law and constitution established. Enrolment for that purpose, on the first alarm, took place with the greatest spirit; fifteen hundred volunteers entering themselves from the *one* town, in the course of four days, eight hundred of whom actually marched. Misfortunes have made the French a reflecting people; and the reflection of "*O navis! referent te in mare,*" occurred to every mind. Nothing could exceed the despondency of the people of the towns in the south, on hearing the language used by certain of the military in marching through: and this was universal. In no instance did the latter meet with concurrence; no, not from the very lowest order, who, it might be supposed, would

> "——rub the hands
> "At sound of burly discontent."

The universal wish of men in France is to sit each under his own

* The protestants amount to twenty-four thousand. They have now (far different from the times when they were fain to creep into holes and corners to worship their God) a consistorial church for every six thousand souls. Five such churches complete the circuit of a synod. Since catholic persecution has ceased, the protestants gain but few proselytes, and their number is in the present day rather on the decline.

† They are, like the vicar of Wakefield, strict monogamists.

fig-tree. He wishes to pursue occupations promising rational result, and to possess a durable happiness founded thereon, if it will come. He no longer tries to disentangle himself from the misery accumulated over him and his, by dancing and gaiety, forced and foreign to the circumstances. It will not be easy to conjure up the fiend of political reaction in France; and without that she can hardly sustain any serious mischief, situated as she is by nature and politics. Two plans are in view for France; one is, to have her as in the days of Louis XV., the other, as in those of our Henries and Edwards: but those days are neither of them the present ones. We have a trite Latin proverb as much to the point as any thing we can say thereupon. All is changed. —But here is not the place for discussions such as this subject would lead to.

In regard to LOCAL OBSERVATIONS, antiquities ever bear an interest. Some tombs of the ancient Gauls, of stone, and divided in compartments, have been recently discovered in quarrying by the side of the great southern road, a few miles from Montpelier, close to and on the right-hand side of the road.

The ancient inhabitants of this country belonged to that branch of mankind so diffused through Europe under the name of *Volsci*. The language now spoken here, one of the Gascon dialects, is more pleasing to the ear than pure French, but probably has no traceable relation to the ancient tongue. Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Goths, have all traversed these districts, and left some traces behind. Commerce drew some establishments of these nations here, conquest others. Lattes and Maguelonne have an interest in this respect.

The tract of lagoons, which borders both sea and land, is unwholesome to the human constitution; and the grand specific, jesuit's bark (*quinquina*), is beyond the reach of the victims of intermittent disease,

the poor. The author was happy to leave behind him as a substitute, the knowledge of the inner bark of the barberry, in French *épine vinette*, and its virtues, to the same effect, and even in a stronger degree.

These lagoons abound with what is called the mud-tortoise, which boiled down supplies the human stomach, even when in its most delicate state, with nourishment which it neither rejects nor is encumbered by. They likewise abound with inmates which it is difficult, if not dangerous, to class. The naturalist would probably make them birds; but the theologist claims them for fish*; and this on account of what they are by no means responsible for—the goodness of their flesh! We shall not burn our fingers by taking a part in such weighty controversy. They never come to land. This, however, certainly is not sufficient to deprive them of a niche in ornithology: some better reason must exist. The conformation of their claws is very curious. They are in great flocks, and present an easy mark to the gunner, paying well for the little powder and shot they require. The whole face of the country is now covered by sportsmen, with guns and dogs; very different from the time when such freaks sent a man to water the roads, in chains. The river affords a fish worthy of a niche in the bill of fare of any *bon vivant*: its name here is *remouge* †.

Climate.—(Extracted from notes upon foliation and vegetation, taken between the mouths of the Rhone ‡ and the Pyrenees.)——January. Thermometer frequently at and about 40. Wet weather from the south,

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* See plate. † See plate.

‡ At Aiguesmortes St. Louis embarked for the Holy Land. The alteration in the face of nature, which has taken place between his day and the present one, affords a scale to judge by of former processes of nature. It is in this vicinity, as is well known, that Jupiter prostrated with his thunderbolts, and inhumated in superincumbent earth, the Giants, for opposing the progress of the viatorial Hercules. This last divinity appears upon the scene of ancient life in various characters at least, if not personifications; none but had their reason.

Macreuse.

Merge.

dry from the north.—January 7th, Some snow, which evaporated without wetting the ground (the wild rose keeps its verdure through all the severity of winter); but it is hardly one year in ten that snow falls here to whiten the ground.—February 5th, The green sallow blossomed: bees began to stir; the house-fly reappeared.—On the first of February the thermometer in the shade at mid-day was at *temperate* of London. But on the preceding 26th of January the ice was five inches and four-sixths of an inch thick, when the thaw commenced. (A dry frost.) Great electricity in the air, indicated in the repulsion of silk, crackling of hair, &c. On a hill, about fifteen hundred feet above sea-level, turf* (*tourbe*) is found, where the surface retards the transudation of moisture readily. Lavender grows on this turf. Here is no granite; but the derivatives of granite are found. Neither does true schist present itself; but an approximation does. The lithology is much;—a blue free-stone flag, or sand free-stone, with marine exuviæ. This is the poorest of soils; and ranges of hills are composed of it, which the trees of resinous tribe affect. This is the worst of tracts. Some of the country much resembles parts of Berkshire, in its long-ledged slopes. The river tract is composed of flat meadow, of sandy composition, but the swells are ferruginous gravel. The tamarisk is the common aquatic of the ditches. The *quercus coccifera* is the common tanning plant. The meadow tract has a tendency to rushes and turf; but all is now bringing to the vineyard by the powerful aid of hand-labour, seventy-five men in a field.

Page 33, NARBONNE.—The ravelins of this fortress are now under (not Cadmean) crops. Cette and Beziers are passed on the road hither.

* Turf requires humidity of atmosphere. Very observing people have been, and are, astray on this vegetable's formation. It is competent to form itself. It would, however, have hardly been expected here.

Both contain matter of interest. The trade of the former place is becoming very active. Its value as a harbour was known but by an accident, and an unlucky one; a French seventy-four obliged to try it, to escape the fate of her companions. It is small, and commanded. The rocks above it appear to be a compound of granulated trapp in a calcareous bed *. It is a pier-harbour. Should trade flourish to all the extent it might, it will be found too small for its object. It could contain two hundred vessels. The lagoons which line all this coast, and furnish inland water-carriage, are crossed here by a bridge of forty arches, and eight hundred feet length. This water is here the lake of Thau. The fore-mentioned branch of inland navigation goes by the name of the *Canal des Etangs*, communicating with Aiguesmortes beyond the Rhone, the former difficulties at the mouth whereof are now obviated by the *Canal du Port de Bouc* at Arles. A bason and sluice have also been made at Beaucaire; and a hill at Agde on the coast no longer impedes the inland communication of the water levels, for the connexion of the Rhone, the Aude, and the Garonne †.

Feb. 15. Strong lambs, mottled breed, apparently six months old.

22. Weeping willow foliated.

24. White-thorn and quince foliated.

March 18. Horse chesnut, ash, and Carolina poplar foliated. Furze in blossom.

March 19. The mid-day blasts are of extreme severity. As the air rarefies in the lower tracts, the cold and condensed fluid of the Ce-

* Some marine exuviæ.

† In regard to the canal of Languedoc, its annual produce at present is several millions of livres. Part is received by the representatives of the first proprietors; part of its produce was seized in the revolution, and yet remains to government. The great *étang de Marseillette*, which occupies so considerable a space upon the more ancient maps, between Beziers and Carcassonne, has been drained by an Irish lady, Madame La Oules, and is now a rich tract of cultivation.

vennes rushes down to occupy its place; and thus will it be until thermometrical equilibrium is established. Winter cold lies torpid until the returning sun calls it out.

March 25. The swallow was seen at the north of the Mediterranean.

April 5. Cuckow heard between the Garonne and the Loire. Elder is here, as elsewhere, the first of annual foliage.

A *garrigue* means, in this part of the world, a stony waste. What was once so has now yielded to the industry of man for a vast extent. Those longest in cultivation have lost considerably of their red tinge.

Corn, wine, oil, and lucerne are the crops. The intermediate stage north of Beziers is a delightful tract of cultivation. Some tracts of the red ferruginous gravel present themselves. The country in advance is not so thickly studded with single habitations, but is as closely cultivated as ever: the vine still predominating. About Beziers the views are of uncommon beauty and richness. The soil is here calcareous. This town is on the grand trunk navigation. The sluices are half a post distant, and off the main road. They were considered wonders in the dark ages of navigation; but men are become better acquainted now with what may be done. Hard by the canal, here, is a powerful lime-kiln of scientific construction, recently built. This great water-communication, which connects the two seas, is the only good derived to France from the long reign of Louis the Fourteenth. It was a truly noble idea. At the foot of this prolonged range of mountains terminating near Toulouse, on the south side, the waters stagnated. They have been seized on the descent, and turned to the most valuable of purposes. The banks of the canals are now planted with the *platanus* (a favourite tree in France); the benefit will be found in this climate, where absorption is so powerful.

Passing this line of water-level, a considerable descent brings to another tract, apparently little above sea-level, and extending for many miles up to the very gates of Narbonne. This was in former times a noxious waste; a tract of rubble, of weeds, of stagnated water poisoning the atmosphere by its effluvia:—all is now one tract of cultivation and plantation, intersected by canals for the convenience of water-carriage. An excellent road is made now where the traces of the wheel could hardly be made out. The whole tract, too, is amply built!—a boldness and extent of improvement that could not have been attempted in any other country on this side the Atlantic. The waters have not as yet here quite sufficient freedom of outlet; but still even in their excesses they are now so manageable, that what they leave can be of no ultimate detriment, is indeed of value. All this is recent improvement. The road for several miles bears direct upon Mont Canigou, one of the venerable parents of the Pyrenean chain, which extends from sea to sea. Not a foot of these (once) wastes but now is under occupation and tillage. Every house has its orchard and its grove!—its water-carriage, too. The plantations are of aquatic timbers, and grow luxuriantly. The crops, both white and green: not much of the vineyard. A hundred square miles of country is thus brought in. The water-carriage is active to the gates of Narbonne, which place exhibits now a scene of as much bustle as it formerly did of torpor: the communication with the coast trade linking here with the other. The boats on the inland canal navigation are of thirty tons burthen. Flotillas of fifty to sixty lattine-sailed vessels together, and several passing in a day, carry on the coast trade, secured from the danger of the sea, either element, or plunder, by an intervening rampart of sand, secure under which they follow their unoffending and profitable pursuits in smooth water, careless whether peace or war be the order of the day.

View in the Square in the New Road.

Thus the produce of the foot of the Pyrenees finds its way across Europe now to Amsterdam.

The vicinity of Narbonne, where all was formerly famine and apathy, now teems with produce, animal as well as vegetable. In its rich natural meadows an ox of from six to seven hundred weight will, in the present day, on the new face of the earth, fatten; and proof to this effect is conspicuous in its daily market. This is now literally a land flowing with milk and honey; as that which has been just left is one of corn, wine, and oil.

March 21. White-thorn in blossom. Vine and mulberry foliated. Aloe fences appear.

The princely income of the late archbishop (Dillon), and the hospitality wherewith he dispensed it, were proverbial; and in his instance such wealth was not misapplied: but the same cannot be allowed for the system—a community in famine, and a state in decay, with the mere exception of a few individuals at the head of the church! More solid meat appears now upon one butcher's stall here than was consumed, in days of yore, in a month! But although ecclesiastical revenue, and hospitality with it, are no more, the cathedral remains. It exemplifies a fact, conspicuous every where, that the true taste in this valuable branch of architecture is confined to England *. Here ornament has been substituted for science. Indeed, this is a general fault in the architecture throughout this country—an over-load. The arches are lancet †, which indicates the backwardness of the art. The plan is

* The church of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, has *Gothic* (lancet) arches on *Saxon* columns.

† But these lancet arches are overloaded with ornament; therefore heavy without taste. Ours are simple and light. The crocketed pinnacles are too heavily loaded. Their towers have spur-stones through their whole elevations, at their angles. Round, slender, conical, and very acute-pointed turrets, running up the whole height, are most frequently annexed to an angle of these

stupendous, and in consequence does not harmonize, for proportions could not be kept. The roof is thrown up to such a height, that, within-side, the ken of the eye hardly reaches it. The ribs and burrs are scientifically placed; but the former do not spring out of corbels, but are spun out of the plain wall. The polygon western termination of a French cathedral has not by any means the grandeur of one plain window opposed to the setting sun. The entrances, too, are in consequence paltry. The beauty of the colouring in the glass exceeds for richness any thing that can be conceived. On the outside, the prodigious dimensions to which the architect sought to bring it, required buttresses of no common description—flying buttresses of course: and they are of a lightness to deserve the term, or they would, from the width they required, have made darkness not visible. Cavaliers, too, with pinnacles loaded with crockets, are put astride on them to keep them in their places. Abutments, too, are necessary to hold all tight. On the whole, compared with our similar works in England, it is rather stupendous than beautiful.

Page 36. PERPIGNAN.—Much geological matter presents itself in the route from Narbonne to Perpignan, in the hilly tract, which is for the most part lithological. Some alluvial traces are, however, obvious on its very elevations. A considerable tract is very refractory to human effort here, but occupation has begun. A considerable number of substantial cottages present themselves; and here and there messuages of more comprehensive plan. The vine must do the business here.

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sacred buildings. These round towers perfectly correspond in dimensions, and form with the now insulated towers seen in Ireland—the *turres ecclesiasticæ more majorum* of Giraldus Cambrensis. The most ancient church of the pointed architecture of ascertained æra is that of St. Sophia of Nicosia, built under the Greek emperors. This, however, is sufficient to settle the Gothic part of the question.

The tract from Beziers to the foot of the Pyrenees may be described as follows: namely, as a horizontal stratum, through which protrude, at intervals of from three to five miles each, the oblique edges of stratified rock dipping northward. The soil is calcareous; but a more recent marine deposit is seen horizontally placed on the summits of these rocky chains.

At Salus, the post on the north side of Perpignan, is an ancient castle. It affords a specimen somewhat rare of the intermediate step, the lapse of *ancient* into *modern* fortification, when the power of flanking became to be duly felt. This is somewhat previous in its plan. It has the circular bastions, and the original half-moon. A semi-circle, covering the prolonged curtain, already extended beyond the reach of the bastions. From this the lapse into straight-faced and angular work, under the range of cannon, was an obvious step. The work has, altogether, much the look of Oriental fortification *.

Great masses of quartz are seen in this tract. The schist under the limestone bed is metalliferous. Rosemary predominates in the vegeta-

* Military architecture may be thus classed. The quadrangular system is Roman; the round, Oriental; the oblique, modern. The Oriental style crept into the world with the progress of Christianity. But for the subject generally, it merits somewhat more in the way of advertence. Building is proceeding extensively in the south, which will be a result different from what those who have only seen France in the north will expect; for in that part of the country it is not the case. No dilapidation is, however, seen. For rustic buildings, thatch is the covering in the north; slating in the centre; tiles in the south of France: and this latter mode of roofing merits particular observation. In the timbered parts of France, *down* the Loire, wood is chiefly used for farm-houses, with plaster. Very little mud-building is seen in France: but it is generally stone-masonry throughout the country. They dispense with hod-men for the most part, using wheel-machinery to haul up the materials. Their masons build well, considering the very clumsy apparatus they use: as for instance, for a plumb-line and right angle, a stone tied to a string and suspended. Our term *batter* for reduction comes from the French *beterie*. A great quantity of timber is used in their roofing, as will be perceived. Their slating is usually bell-edged at the eave. But the process of their tiled roofs, in the south, where the heat is to be kept out, as well as the other molestations of the atmosphere, is

tion, great quantities being collected for distillation. Here is the field of battle where Charles Martel defeated the Saracens. The borders of the Mediterranean, planted and built, are beautiful; inland, the face of nature looks white and arid, but has yielded to tillage.

As many bourgeois are counted by the side of a field, as peasants at manual labour within it. Thus, now-a-days, the labourer carries out that food which in former ones gave him so little trouble in this way. He is now at least as well provided as Hudibras is allowed, by his poet, to have sallied out, at least; for on one side is seen an enormous loaf *, on the other as enormous a bottle of wine. Their meal is considerable enough to take some time; and they take special care not to dispatch it with any indecorous haste. Of this their employers complain, but it is of no avail:—*corvée* is over, to return no more—task-masters are on the shelf. They do, however, it must be admitted, work hard, early and late.

A good deal of bustle prevails in this town of Perpignan. From it to Le Boulou at the foot of the Pyrenees the soil rises. It is composed entirely of granitic rubble, and decomposition.

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most worthy of particular advertence. This roof is very heavy, and of little pitch; of course the walls require to be strong, bearing no fewer than three courses of tiles. They do not use thorough rafters, but horizontal beams; as for instance, one at the ridges (though they have not always a *central* ridge) and parallel ones. Then these beams being at the distance from each other of five or six feet, the shorter rafters are requisite. The slope of the roof is to its horizontal extent as one to four. On the rafters a course of flat tiles is laid; on these another of concave tiles bedded in mortar; and on the edges of these again a course of convex—forming altogether a roof equal to vaulting. These tiles are not cylindrical, but shovel-shaped; the flat tiles are convex-quadrangular.—Dimensions:—*Rafter* to rafter eight inches.—*Their scantling* four inches broad by two inches and a half deep.—Flat tile, one inch thick, fourteen by seven; weight six pounds.—Segment-tiles, length twenty inches; narrow, seven inches; broad, ten inches; thickness three-fourths of an inch; weight seven pounds.—Segment, one-third of a circle. The eaves are well projected, with machicolations of segment and flat tiles. The dove-tailing of beams together is very well understood.

* The household loaf is at one penny farthing, beef at three pence, per pound. Wages eighteen pence (English) a-day!

The plain of Perpignan is now one sheet of culture; this must have increased population, and thus have caused that present stir so different from the days when the principal inmates of towns were the occupants of barracks and convents: when what remained of the nation were wretched *metayers* at home, or frivolous adventurers abroad. And yet these are the times some flatter themselves are to return!

Page 37. PYRENEES.—All to the foot of these mountains, what once was a *garrigue* is now a sheet of corn-land. The crops are light.

March 22.—The rye is now shooting into ear. Some considerable buildings appear, once places of inhumation alive of the human race, male and female, under the denomination of convents and monasteries, now rustic establishments. The Spanish advanced posts of the revolutionary war are traceable.

March 23. The platanus is in leaf, as is the witch-elm; deciduous oak the last. In the vast glacis of granite rubble, which extends from the foot of the Pyrenees to Perpignan, may be recognised the decomposition of those mountains, and the material which once constituted a part of them. But, query on this subject: Where is the saliferous mountain of the Aigle? and where is reference to be made to Captain Wild, who makes such sensible remarks thereupon? Granite is found as observed in the decomposition of these mountains; but they present it rarely in its radical situation. A rotten granite may with pains be here and there discovered among the summits of the chain. It is probable, from the contour, that the snows of Canigou rest on this substance; but the general composition of the Pyrenees here is schist, indicated from a distance by the serrated edges. On this schist the granite, wherever found, lies. From Le Boulou the road takes the direction due south by the pass of Belgarde. The process of nature forms, however, an extensive flat, called *Prat de Mello*, in former days a

garrigue; now smiling with cultivation and cottages, although a sandy soil. At its head is Mont Louis; and it presents the route for the wonder of nature, Cardona in Catalonia, the rock-salt mountain. It is as yet too early.

At Le Boulou the valleys, as mentioned, diverge; that of Belgarde to the south, and that of Fort Louis to the south-west. The former is abrupt; the latter, not so: but, on the contrary, a wide expanse, now under rye. Its soil alluvial, much of it coarse sand. It is thickly studded with villages, and contains also the ancient town of Arles. On the left, at the extremity of the chain, and where it touches the Mediterranean, are Collioure and Port de Vendre. The plain to the east is little above sea-level. Canigou, the patriarch of this part of the chain, is to the right. His height is estimated at nine thousand feet. His summit is generally obscured; and, of course, within the region of perpetual snow *. (Has this question ever been asked, or duly solved,—What placed snow upon heights to which vapour never reaches?) Canigou is not, however, the highest of this chain. The mountain has obtained observation from Cassini; but it were much to be wished that M. Remond had, in later days, possessed opportunity to extend his observations thus far to the east, as he has in the other direction. The mountains here diverge, in a fan-like form, of which Canigou, being the centre, proclaims their origin. The way to penetrate them is by following the course of the Tet. (*Gave* is the radical, to signify water; cut off the affixum and suffixum, and the primitive sound remains, *Au*. These mountains also present us with another Gaelic acquaintance, *Ossau*.) The Pyrenees differ in their composition from any known mountains, tending therein to fill the mind with more astonishment

* Ten thousand feet at the horizontal line of Gibraltar.

north at least, now teems with production. The valleys among the mountains are irrigated; the cliffs are parapeted, to afford tenure for the olive and vine; but the inn, as of yore, offers nothing in the way of food, save the produce of the banks of Newfoundland. One or two Moorish castles crown the cliffs to the eastward toward the sea. What granite is found here has not large crystals: indeed it is somewhat a task to find any. Nothing but schist presents itself, except to very minute search, and then at the summit of the ravine.

The white lupine is much cultivated as an article of food in these mountains. The temperature in the prats (or valley) is the summer heat of Reaumur (March 23d), and rye forms its ear. The flat tract which lies between the foot of the schistose mountains and their decomposition range of hills, is a mile across. In this is the bed of the river Teta. Nature ever acts by laws, and is consistent: *lusus naturæ* is the grand solvent of dunces. The geology of the foot of Atlas may be studied at that of the Pyrenees. These mountains are cultivated wherever their sides are not perpendicular; for it seems as if this alone were capable of forming an obstacle to the French spirit of agricultural improvement. Their cattle (of the dun kind) are in good order;—very different from heretofore. This arises from the farmers having acquired a property in the waters as well as the lands. They show that they feel their value, by the pains taken in levelling, damming, and sodding. The cattle are all herded. Village-field rolled. Exportation of horses and mules from France to Spain now constitutes a considerable branch of trade.

The different zones of climate on mountains interest, and could be ascertained by their botanic productions. The variations which require time and cost to follow over the wide tracts of latitude on the earth below, are here passed through in the course of a few hours. In such situations as these, Science should take her post of observation. The base-

ment zone thus is the sea-level; above that is the temperate one; next the humid, where turf forms; above which is that of the glaciers, or the scene of contest between frost and thaws; and finally, that of perpetual snow, which crowns all. These are the seats where the principles which agitate the wonderful atmosphere we breathe are hatched and fostered, by which it is never permitted to stagnate. One day these may be understood more to the bottom than they are at present. What the effect of a torpor of the elements might be, the instance of what occurred previous to admiral's Byng's action in the Mediterranean hints. A calm prevailed for three weeks, and the sea became almost mortally offensive to the smell. The water of this sea, it is true, is not so salt as that of the ocean; but it would be supposed sufficiently so to have guarded it against such a result as this. It is one of the numberless proofs of the manner in which the works of Nature link together, and how essential each is to each, and their harmony to all. Neither fluid will rest until its equilibrium is restored. The one we breathe is liable to have it perpetually invaded, and in its own agitation involves the more placid one of the two,—and all for our good!

Improvement, whether on the great or small scale, terminates with the French boundary. All on the Spanish side remains in what is called the *status quo*. But this world will not stay, fain as man is that it should, so. It will be progressive; and, if not in a way of amendment, will take a course of its own from bad to worse, rather than be a fixture. Such is the case, and such long likely for it to continue, on the south side of the Pyrenees.

But here, at the moment of standing at the borders of two great countries actuated by such different moral causes, and to such opposite results, a thought or two will occur. What makes a nation, and the strength of a nation, is the extension of individual sentiments into

a whole—the general pervasion of an impression. Thus it is, from the spirit of enterprise down to such paltry impulses as pride and vanity. All these in individual breasts lead to confusion or rupture in the state. But let these sentiments be applied nationally, and they constitute the strength of the commonwealth. Monarchy seems to have produced this effect in France. National pride may be both dated and derived from it; and Louis XIV. brought it to its climax. It has remained through all those convulsions which subverted every thing else, and is likely to remain to save the nation from whatever ruin menaces it.

It is difficult to bring those who feel no national sentiment in their own minds, or who view the country of which they eat the bread with contempt or hatred, fear or malignity, to ascribe any truth or effect to this sentiment of national love: but such persons will be frequently out in their calculations of judging of others by themselves. And how often is man thus mistaken! for, in fact, what other criterion has he to judge by? what scale or sounding line is he to measure others by, save his own?

France, as observed, owes its consolidation to the house of Bourbon in this way, by the nationality which the ambition of Louis XIV. inspired and diffused. How different the conduct of the Bourbon dynasty in France and in Spain! and the effects have been precisely accordingly. Let a Frenchman be what he will, or where he will, France is the object of his heart; and much erroneous judgement arises from the disposition to think of him otherwise, or that he can be anything but what he is in this respect. France was once frittered into subdivisions, as Spain still is, and distracted by local interests and contending politics; but the lustre of the reign of Louis XIV. gave a nationality to the public mind, enabling it to bear all misfortunes, and ultimately constituting one great bond of public sentiment.

A View of Mount Cenigua 20 Miles distant from the Fort of Bellegarde.

The partition of France was long a favourite idea of charlatanerie. Under Louis XIV. she entered the lists against Europe at large, and she has felt her power ever since. The events of those days have never made their *true* impression on mankind. Compare her internal situation then, when the church and the *fermier-general* divided the revenues of the state between them—and now.

This mountainous tract, with the interesting objects it presented, was enough to excite the inquisitive spirit in the most torpid mind. Conscience too upbraided past neglects, and opportunity a second time omitted could never have hoped forgiveness. A variety of circumstances, but amongst which was one of predominating importance, subverted, however, all these hopeful speculations, and imposed the necessity of relinquishing again a prospect anticipated with so much delight. The investigation of this tract of the earth must be left for quieter times. It is indeed necessary to warn such as feel inclined to the undertaking, that they must not attempt it before the middle of April. The weather is not until that period sufficiently settled; winter has not duly subsided to his arctic retreat, to enable curiosity to pervade duly the recesses of nature here.

The drawing herewith gives Canigou in a west-north-west direction, about thirty miles distant, taken from the north of the fort of Belgarde. It is about forty miles distant from the sea, situated between the vale Prats de Molto, through which runs the river Tech by Le Boulon, and discharging north of Collioure, and the vale of Prades, through which, subsequently passing Perpignan, runs the Teta. In Prats de Molto is the ancient city of Arles, mentioned as well worth a visit. In Prades is Mont Louis, a fortress by which passes the road to Puycerda in the Peninsula, communicating with the heads of the Segre and the Cardoner river, marking the direction to be taken for an investigation of

that wonder of nature, the mountain of salt. The communication with the Peninsula from Prats de Molto in that direction, namely south-west, is by Camprodon.

Villefranche is in the district of Prades: and the month of May would probably suit the investigator of nature best, in point of time and place, to follow his beloved pursuits, which by all accounts here is wherewith amply to reward.

May the fiend of Politics never be conjured up to molest him in his unoffending occupation!

ITINERARY THROUGH FRANCE IN 1814.

No. I.

Belgarde, on the Frontier of Spain, to Toulouse, on the Garonne.

BELGARDE.

BOULON.

PERPIGNAN. No post-horses prior to Perpignan. Honest Calciseros.

SALEES. Rocky. Cultivation has not ventured on the hills here. Salees is on the flat. Its ancient castle a matter of interest.

FITON.

SIGEAN. Observe the once great lake of La Marseillette, now drained, tilled, and planted.

NARBONNE. (Line to the Rhone from Narbonne.) Nissan, Beziers on the river Orbe, the beautiful village of La Beguede Jordy—Meze. At Meze the road branches off to Cette: the other branch continues by Nismes to the Rhone.

CRUSCADES.

MOUX.

BARBEIRA.

CARCASSONNE. On the Aude.

ALZONNE.

VILLEPINTE. Fifteen considerable towns counted in sight.

CASTELNAUDARAY. Beauty of its reservoir, on a summit level.

VILLEFRANCHE.

BUXIEGE. In the plain here, the proof patches of the diluviated stratum.

CASTENET. Mounds on elevations. The handy-work of the fathers of mankind are observable occasionally through this tract of country. One thing is clearly noticeable in regard to these works; namely, their prevalence *westward*, in Europe, in preference to the other direction.

TOULOUSE. Here, by the junction of the waters of the Cevennes and the Garonne, is formed the most important inland communication in Europe, that of the Mediterranean and Atlantic: yet how little the result for many years!

32 posts.

ITINERARY, No. II.

Descent of the Garonne—from Toulouse to Bourdeaux.*

A BOAT, which conveys carriages, with sail to use if requisite, can be hired at Toulouse for seventeen napoleons, or less; with the stipulation that no merchandise shall be taken on board: in short, hired exclu-

* The dialect of the Lower Garonne approaches nearest of any of these patois to its parent stock, the Latin.

Lower Passage near Laret. Forty Thousand passed here.

Duke of Wellington's Head Quarters, River Garonne.

Upper Passage of the Garonne, the Duke of Wellington passed Forty Thousand People

View up the Garonne, near the pass of Laret.

sively. Some of the satisfaction in the voyage depends on the state of the river, as in a very dry season the navigation has obstructions that do not exist in more favourable ones. But, generally speaking, the volume of water is considerable; and the descent not being by any means so rapid as that of the Rhone, is by so much the more agreeable, for danger is out of the question.

The route is this way performed for about half the price of land-carriage by post, for a family. By land it is thirty-six posts, about a hundred and eighty miles.

Descent of the Garonne.—Quitting Toulouse,—the field of battle, so little productive of aught in the way of result beyond glory, comes into view; the line of the advance of the British on the north side, or right bank, being only recognisable by one or two now unroofed cottages. Equally slight seems the impression of the event on the minds of mankind. The field of battle has not any interesting feature.

Chateau de Blagnel.—two hours' sail below Toulouse on the left bank.—The head-quarters of the Duke of Wellington.

Planete.—Here forty thousand troops passed by the pontoons. Considering the volume of waters, a very fine military operation, reflecting the highest credit on the skill which must have been necessary to conduct it.

Verdun.—On left bank.

River Tarn.—Junction with the Garonne. The connexion of inland navigation had great obstacles to surmount here; but all is, they say, now effected.

Petit Buisson.—A beautiful village.

La Magistere.—The first night's halting-place A small village.

Agen.—Below it a chateau of the Duke de Grillon, and below that a large alms-house of thirty-six windows in each front; the honour of

which (it is now in the progress of building) is ascribed to Monsieur de Zaspes.

Tornain.—A considerable town anciently fortified. Lithology, sandstone.

St. Geneisse.—A beautiful village. The river is here apparently about the width of the Thames at London bridge.

Marmande.—The second night's halting-place. A small town. A chateau on the left.

Lariol.—A pretty town on the right bank, with a convent on a prodigious scale now unoccupied.

Poveron.—Here vineyards take place of white crops.

Langou.—A considerable town on the left bank, with *Macail* opposite, twenty miles above Bourdeaux. Tide rises to this.

Castre.—The third night's halting-place. Advertence is requisite now for navigation to avail itself of the tide, to which hours must conform. This is five hours voyage from Bourdeaux; twelve miles above which shipping come. Castre is the last intermediate halting-place on the voyage to Bourdeaux. It is remarkably clean; and the accommodations show that it has been frequented by those who knew what good things were, and were willing to pay accordingly. The river is now magnificent. Its banks are chiefly under copse, for the cooperage of Bourdeaux, to the main trade whereof all in its vicinity owes the complexion it bears.

The lithology of the tracts adjacent to the Garonne, throughout its course, presents calcareous matter and sand-stone; the former chiefly on the right bank, the latter principally on the left. Each preserves its characteristic features; the former in arid nakedness, the latter in all the fantastic forms of its picturesque beauty. Trees feel the conge-

niality of the situation here. For which reason among them we see the English elm. The north bank has two hard lines of chalk stratum, one of which terminates at the junction of the Tarn. These strata both dip (but very obliquely) eastward. Such is the general outline.

The bed of the Garonne is granite rubble. Its banks are more beautiful than those of the Rhone; its superior buildings far more majestic in their ruins; its rustic ones far more picturesque: they are, indeed, with their projecting or receding balconies and corridors, their extended eaves and roofs, and in all their concomitants, the very perfection of beauty in rural architecture. Few parish churches, however, ornament the scene: herein, England may justly boast a decided superiority. To say the truth, where such buildings are, although they may here have a handsome tower, they have nothing comparable to us in the way of steeples. Such was the case on the land route to Toulouse, which town presents matter of considerable interest in this way in its tower of seven stages to heaven; of Oriental origin of idea. But here by the Garonne the landscape's only fault is its peculiar destitution of this inestimable ornament of a country.

One general observation in regard to rivers must strike the traveller's mind. The Niger, the Guadalquiver, the Tagus, the Garonne, all run from east to west. All coincide in another leading feature, namely, that their north banks are higher than their south; that on the former strata protrude, while on the latter the soil is alluvial, and in the first degree; sand. Here, then, is presented an important feature of the globe. The head of the Garonne is among the summits of the Pyrenees: this accounts for its granite bed. Meilhan is sited on the extremity of a sand-stone bluff ledge: such also seems Obillard, which was passed near night-fall. France seems the country of this globe for presenting geological studies and wonders!

ITINERARY, No. III.

Bourdeaux to Paris.—Bourdeaux, and to the north of it.

After passing the Garonne, the Dordogne is crossed on a *pont volant*. The current of tide setting up the river is at the rate of three miles per hour. Hence may be judged the benefits which its navigation presents, as a fork of the Garonne. The equilibrium of impulse is of great importance in this branch of statistics, and the disadvantage is very material on the Rhone.

Soil white, poor, free-stone on a blue-clayey substratum.

Timber, sallow; fences, white-thorn and quince in all the beauteous gay livery of spring.

Produce, grass and vineyard: the vines poled, but the poles not of the height of our hop-poles. In other parts of France they are staked.

Stock, large cattle.

Tillage, indifferent; labour hard, and hands (seemingly) wanted. Some common tracts tending to moor, and even to turf, prove humidity in this western climate.

Timber, fir. Produce, rye, Indian corn. Much rib-grass in the natural green-sward. Deciduous oak clothes the hills in large growth, obviously of two distinct kinds, one foliating before the other, being now (April 5th) in leaf. Fine chesnut trees, walnut trees, Chester poplars, and timber sallow, all of great growth. Level of country, high.

Proceeding northwards the soil improves. Horses powerful; two breeds, a roan and a chesnut.

Montlieu.—Soil quartzose. The vegetable stratum, when it comes to lie on quartz, does not blend with this refractory substance, with

which its light atmospherical conformation will not combine; and it remains *too vegetable* for fructification. Hitherto the taller heath only prevails; very little red heath being seen, scantily scattered. The water lies very near the surface, and is bad. Tillage is by the wheel-plough. Here is, however, in France all the variety in which this implement can be formed to effect. Produce, beans.

Barbesiaux. Here the country is more champaign. Very few parish churches in this route.

La Couronne.—Hedges neatly clipped; and correspondent circumstances indicate an improved spirit of agriculture.

Angoulême.—Eighteen posts and a half. For them see Post-book of the year; for although distance cannot alter, the book of the current year is the only authority.

This town is the *Chester* of France. It is on the river Charente; a mild and smooth-water current meandering through a flat tract of meadow. The houses on its banks are of ancient architecture, with sharp-pointed roofs, and dormant windows of cut stone, in the town constituting a curious and picturesque mass of buildings, and most pleasing embellishments where detached and scattered in the vicinity. Interspersed, too, are round towers, machicolated, battlemented, and conically roofed, the parent stock of the more extended chateau. Blossom now clothes every hedge. The lithology is laminous free-stone. Geology, red-land soil; produce, oats.

Minieres.—Coals.

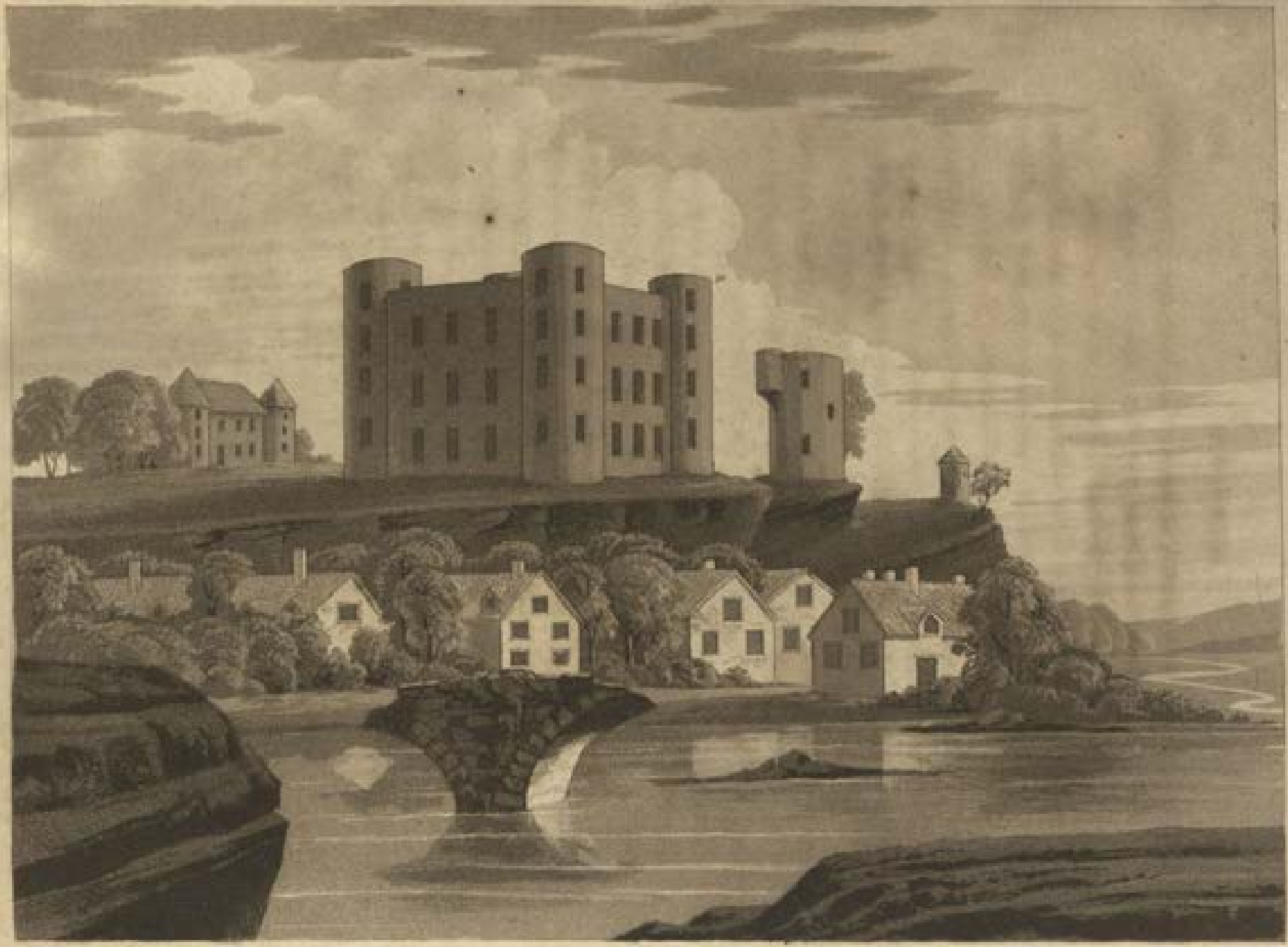
Vivonne.—A place presenting traces of antiquity subsequent to Christianity. By the road-side here is seen what is rare, waste land; a tract of fallow running to briars:—or, crowned like poor mad Lear, a pole surmounted by a wisp of straw, and stuck up in the centre, is as much as to say, "Who buys me?"

Poitiers.—Sixteen posts and three quarters. On the river Vienne. Europe has thus more rivers than one of this name: the radicals of language should be dived into, here. It runs to the Loire, marking a new level of country. Peasantry all riding to market. The field of battle is to the east of the town. The site of this place is most beautiful: the approach from the south enfilades the town and the river; and the cathedral standing at right angles therewith, crosses the eye. All that the fancy and benignity of nature, aided by the lucky hand of man (for this was all luck) could combine, here presents itself for joint effect.

Chatelherault.—Five posts. How little of the *spirit* of trade has yet pervaded France! Here is a hardware or steel manufactory. The poor retailers (however objects of commiseration), the workers in the article, can only be compared for obstreperous obtrusiveness to the persecutors of our illustrious Webb, in England. But a traveller here is by no means bound to lay in an equal stock of merit to entitle him to the like, or enable him to bear the honour with meekness, when inflicted.

Face of country: rich timbered flat meadows; gentle rising wooded grassy hills; bold free-stone rocks. This last is a predominating feature of these tracts. *Danish* forts are frequently observed on the heights, avicinating the navigable rivers. The uplands are very light, but tilled; sometimes barely worth the eating off; evidently paying no rent.

Mont Bazan.—Six posts and a half. On the river Indre. A delightful spot to the lovers of the picturesque, but one impossible to do justice to on paper, or indeed on canvass. It exceeds the view, in point of beauty, from the churchyard of Ross. Masses of castle broken by round turrets, and sited on perpendicular rocks, castellated mansions,



Mount Brazon.

sharp gables of town-structure, imbosomed in lofty and luxuriant foliage, winding streets showing their diversified objects beneath it, and setting the malignity of uniformity at defiance; a full but slow-flowing river, sweeping through richly-timbered meadows interspersed by farm-houses; steep coteaux at a distance on their verge, with pinnacled mansions and turrets. The nearer objects reflected in sheets of water, whence spring the rugged piers of dilapidated bridges. A bold elevated fore-ground thickly foliaged with orchards now in full bloom, and whence the whole sickle-shaped sweep of the river is taken to the distant range of hills in the back-ground, through an aperture whereof it works its way until its traverses merge in the indistinctness of the lines of the horizon deeply tinged by the western sun, altogether complete one of the most perfectly beautiful scenes on the face of Nature here below.

So much for the picturesque, for those who have no wish to view the fair face of Nature through icy spectacles, while permitted to do otherwise. But to examine her in other respects. The crops are deep-coloured and strong; the tillage work is admirably performed with very bad ploughs, in all shapes, from the most complicated to those of Arcadian simplicity. The fences are kept neat, which is much more worthy of notice from the happy rural spirit it indicates, than from any real beauty conveyed to the landscape, in which view of the thing the painter certainly can never acquiesce: but man has two faculties which can receive gratification, he has a judgement as well as an eye. The black cattle, as we term them, are of an inferior breed, diminutive and cross made, probably good for the dairy. Here are indeed evidently two distinct breeds: and breeds may very well be maintained, each good in its way, distinct, to render each its peculiar service to man. The sheep are good. The farming establishments are considerable,

fully adequate to their object. The houses are slated. Manufacture is making rapid strides, in its more useful line, in articles of primary necessity, whether of cotton or of woollen.

Tours.—Two posts and a half.

The river Loire.—The whole of France from the Garonne to the Loire may be considered a wooded tract. Here, indeed, spring is seen and felt as depicted by the poets. Imagination cannot exceed the luxuriance of the meadows, or the richness of their dairy-produce.

Dilapidation is the best friend the painter has to his back. Sketch-books would be in requisition at the sight of the shattered arches, their segments remaining in the river—their intersections under the cliffs; where indeed, it must be admitted, the pick-axe of destruction has been wielded with taste. Sandy beds and green islands, too, in the river, above the heads of the gay poplars; whereof the massive and dingy structures of the town, of sacred character, yet remaining, (and we hope ever to remain,) call the eye around to successive objects of delight, of harmony, and contrast.

The boats of the Loire are clumsy in point of form. The roofs of houses here are slated with bell-edged eaves. The north bank of the river in the main predominates. Calcareous matter.

Veuves—Coucy.—Between these places is a massive tower with *ribbon buttresses.*

Blois.—Seven posts and a half. The rustic buildings to the north of this place lose their characteristic beauty. Wood-land ceases at the north of the Loire.

Orleans.—Nine posts.

Artenay.—Two posts and three quarters.

> "We gravely strive to read the lines
> Written beneath the country signs." Swift.

And this is assuredly one of the legitimate occupations of the traveller. Were he to rely implicitly on the information obligingly conveyed in one instance of the kind at this place, he would be inclined to think Medea's kettle no fable. The communication to the public is this: "*Ici on rajeunit*"—"Here people are made young again." Attracted, of course, by this most novel and inviting information, he on further inquiry finds that it proceeds from——a barber's shop!

PARIS.—Twelve posts.

Recapitulation.—Belgarde to Toulouse,		32 posts.
Toulouse to Bourdeaux,		36
Bourdeaux to Paris,		80
	Total,	148.

APPENDIX.

Vol. I. *Page* 101.

*Observations upon a picture called La Madonna or Nuestro Señora del Pez *, made by Mr. Henry, an Irish gentleman, who visited the Escurial in the year* 1754; *occasioned by the King's painter (Signor Amiconi) having said it was not a picture of Rafael Urbino.*

WHOSOEVER wishes to form a correct judgement of a picture, should above all things ascertain precisely the purport of it; for an historical painting is essentially a representation; and for any one precipitately to enter upon the depreciation or praise of a portrait, without knowing what resemblance it bears to its original, is nothing better than an absurd temerity.

But as portraits vary infinitely, according to the points of view in which they are taken; so one and the same object will appear very different, according to the moment of time which is seized for committing it to canvass. As for example: The resurrection of Lazarus, at the instant Christ commands him to rise from the sepulchre, will be in many circumstances the direct reverse of that same resurrection considered at the point of time immediately following. In the first case, in regard to the spectators, a few appear disposed to believe in the miracle about to be performed: many will doubt the result, and many more will mock at and ridicule the attempt of our Saviour. But, in the second stage of the procedure, the most will appear convinced, few will hesitate, and a very small number indeed appear incredulous. Hope, fear, suspicion, doubt, disbelief, will be the predominating passions of all in the first act; astonishment, joy, conviction, and a confused agitation, succeed to them in the second.

When the intention of the canvass is ambiguous or defective, in this case the imagination is authorized to determine its purport, and supply the deficiencies: but in difficulties of this nature, it is requisite that the intention should be ingrafted upon the painting, and not the painting upon the intention. The purport or object once

* This masterpiece of that first of painters, referred to in page 101, appears in the present day to have escaped notice. There remains, however, a tolerable engraving of it in Mr. Twiss's Travels. This treatise, by one eminent in the art, the late Joseph Henry, Esq. of Straffan in Ireland, is well worthy of the present attempt at preservation, being a valuable essay on the science in general.

ascertained, it next follows to examine and see if the painter treated it judiciously or not; that is, if he disposed the figures in the manner, order, and arrangement most advantageous. If he did not, it may be said that the artist took a bad likeness; but if he *selected* it happily, this one perfection*, rarely duly appreciated by many pretended *cognoscenti*, and never by the ignorant, places him beyond all censure with those who truly understand the rules of the art. Tintoreto is the most defective in this particular: he seems to have studiously seized the moment the most improper that was possible; his heads are always mean and sordid, his attitudes vulgar, and generally ridiculous. As the principal part of his works proves this, it is necessary to cite but one of them, and that is the washing of the feet in the sacristia of the Escurial; in which, among other absurdities, he represents one of the disciples stretched out upon the ground, whilst another disciple pulls off his stocking.

In the composition of a picture three things are principally to be attended to. First, that the main design of it should be the most conspicuous object in it; that is, that the figures should be so disposed that the eye may distinguish, at the first glance, who are the persons interested in the transaction represented, and who are not. Otherwise the composition will be confused, and the eye, embarrassed, will remain in doubtful suspense: for, as each figure or group attracts it equally, it cannot find any predominating object whereon to fix itself and rest. Few artists have composed correctly: even Rafael has his faults; for in his famous picture of the Transfiguration he represents two actions which equally attract the attention, *in so much* that it does not know where to fix itself, whether on the miracle above, or on the disciples and the lunatic at the foot of the mountain.

The second point which is to be attended to in a picture is, that there be a perfect propriety in the contrast: that is to say, that the figures or groups have little resemblance to each other, either in attitude or countenance, posture or dress. The ceiling of the principal choir of the Escurial is a proof of what I say; for, from want of this due contrast, *there* rather appears to be represented a regiment of militia drawn up in rank and file, than a chorus of angels and blessed spirits singing the praises of their Creator.

Finally, it is necessary that all the figures or groups be duly poized one against the other; else one side of the picture will preponderate, which must offend the eye. This rule extends itself equally to portraits; for equilibrium is as necessary in a single figure as in a group. Count Duke Olivarez on horseback is a model of this species of perfection, and appears to me preferable to any work I ever saw of the kind†.

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* The judicious selection of the point of time.

† A famous picture of Velasquez, in the possession of the king, and now in one of the halls of the palace of Madrit.

Many must be surprised at the anachronisms or inconsistencies which are seen in some pictures: such as The marriage of St. Katharine with the infant Jesus; St. Anthony, St. Ignatius, and many others, with the blessed infant in their arms: but these, however, are not strictly anachronisms, but rather pious representations of graces which it was the holy will to confer on certain favoured persons.

With all this, however, certain it is that real and palpable anachronisms do appear in some paintings; sometimes arising from the caprice of the artists, sometimes from the ignorance or bad taste of those who employed them. When I first saw in the famous picture of The Transfiguration, by Rafael, the two Franciscan friars on the summit of Mount Tabor, nearly side by side with our Saviour, Moses, and Elias, it occasioned me no little surprise; and I could not conceive how so enormous an absurdity could have been committed by one of the erudition and truly delicate taste of Rafael, until I recollected that this picture was painted by him in compliance with the application of a community of Capucins*.

Du Piles, in his Art of Painting, reduces the science to four parts; composition, arrangement, colouring, and expression. This division of his is defective; for in it is wanting grace; a feature infinitely more essential to good painting than any of those which he mentions. Grace, as a quality of the painter's pencil, is the faculty of conveying to, or inspiring his figures with, an air of dignity and *repose*, in such manner that it appears natural to and inherent in them, and not an effect of the ingenuity of the painter. This admirable talent is what places Rafael above all the painters that ever existed. Grace, in Rafael, is an inherent quality: in other painters, the mere effect of chance. Some have drawn as correctly; others have composed with equal judgement; and many have excelled him in colouring; but no one ever equalled him in grace. This is the reason why the pictures of Rafael please the more they are studied; and judges feel themselves compelled to dwell upon them every time with additional minuteness of investigation, and quit them every time with increased regret.

It is necessary to observe here, that grace must not be confounded with elegance. For grace consists, as has been already observed, in dignity and repose: and elegance consists in delicacy and repose. One is noble, the other soft. Many painters have succeeded in this latter perfection, but Guido, I think, beyond them all. Correggio united them in a particular degree. His attitudes are usually graceful; but his heads, base, plebeian or vile, rarely possess that dignity which constitutes what we call a noble air. Thus in his School of Love, which is in the possession of the Duke of

* This statement is not strictly correct; but the anachronism is quite as gross as Mr. Henry represents it here.

Alba, the attitude of his Venus is gracefulness itself; but the head, although beautiful beyond expression, is but a mere copy of nature.

Some people betake themselves to the examination of a picture with no other object than to find out its defects; as if the whole skill of criticism in this art consisted in making such detections. Consequently, one frequently hears such persons exclaim, "How awkwardly that leg is extended!" then, "That is a club-foot! As to this arm, it appears as if it belonged to Artaxerxes Longimanus!" and other observations of equal taste and judgement, whereby, with excessive levity, they censure the picture and the artist. But such critics ought to recollect three things; first, that it is much more easy to discover the defects than the beauties of a painting; for every painting has its faults; but those which contain perfections or beauties are very few indeed. Secondly, that such oversights, even although they do amount to faults, do not always prove want of ability in the painter; and finally, that the greatest masters have fallen into the like. True it is, when we see a leg or an arm badly drawn, the artist is doubly culpable: first, for his ignorance of the rules of drawing; secondly, for not having, in imitation of some celebrated painters, (as for instance Bassan,) concealed his want of ability;—the last-mentioned painter, for that same reason, seldom risking the attempt to draw legs and feet.

On the other hand, if we see that these limbs are drawn correctly in other performances of the same painter, we must conclude that the slight defect we censure was not caused by want of ability, but by some casualty or inadvertence. If we were to censure the great masters for such trifles, which we see every where scattered throughout their works, it should be supposed that Rafael did not know in what position the leg of a man should be to sustain his body; for in his School of Athens, painted in fresco in the Vatican, one of the legs of Alcibiades is turned the wrong way: or that Leonardo da Vinci knew not how many fingers were on a man's hand; for in his Last Supper, which is his masterpiece, and is at Milan, he has painted the hand of one of the apostles with six. By the same rule, also, we might agree that Virgil did not know the laws of poetry; because he admitted a false quantity into some of his verses.

It were well, however, that those who undertake to criticize paintings should first ascertain of what school the painter in question is: for, as every nation has its peculiar language, so every school has its peculiar style, which distinguishes it from any other: and no pupil can possibly arrive to any degree of perfection in the style of any school, save that in which he was trained up. For this reason, it is unjust to blame a pupil of the German school for not composing as correctly as a Roman: we might as justly blame a native of Germany for not speaking Italian accurately, or exclaim, as many do, "What a pity it is that Rafael did not give to his pictures colours as beautiful and as lasting as Titian did to his!" which is just as much as saying that Rafael

ought to have been both a Roman and Lombard, or of the schools of Rome and Milan at one and the same time.

As Felibien, Fresnoy, and Du Piles have laid down very fully the rules and precepts of painting, I refer to their works, wherein the reader may satisfy his curiosity upon this subject; and will proceed to examine partly according to the rules established by these masters, and partly by those here laid down, a picture in the Escurial (the merit whereof I cannot better express than by saying that it is a masterpiece of Rafael Urbino). This picture, which is about eight feet in height, is known to the world by the name of La Madonna del Pez, or Our Lady of the Fish.

Vassari tells us that Rafael painted this picture at the desire of a community of religious brethren in Naples. The instructions he received probably were, that he should paint a piece, wherein should be represented the following personages; namely, our Saviour Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin his mother, St. Geronimus, the archangel Rafael, and his pupil the young Tobias; leaving to the judgement of the painter in what manner to associate persons so distant from each other in respect to time and existence. Fortunately, I say, they did so; because no other painter upon earth could have conceived a picture of such extraordinary beauty from so barren a subject, and one so totally inconsistent in itself. To execute what was intended, Rafael produced the idea formed in his mind, upon canvass, in the form and manner following:

The blessed Virgin is sitting in a chair with the holy Infant in her lap, listening attentively to St. Geronimus, who is reading the prophecies of the Old Testament relative to the birth, doctrine, miracles, and other mysteries of the Messiah; but is suddenly interrupted therein by the entry of the Angel, who introduces to them young Tobias, presenting him to the Virgin, and then, in an attitude which Rafael alone could paint, imploring her intercession with God, that old Tobias should be restored to his sight. The painter has seized his instant of time, while the Archangel is speaking to the Virgin, and thus he actually represents him: she, as the mother of pity and mercy, is listening attentively to the Archangel, while her eyes are directed compassionately on the boy; whilst he, overwhelmed with reverential awe, turns his eyes upon or rather towards the blessed Infant; for he seems to be too much confused by his situation to be able to observe any thing distinctly.

As the infant god and St. Geronimus have no parts in the principal action, the painter, in order to preserve the unity of his subject, introduces them as episodes in it; but in a manner so judicious and natural, that they neither distract the view, nor fatigue the attention of the spectator. The infant, anxious to seize the fish, which is suspended from the right hand of Tobias, leans forward with that intention, looking at the angel as if requiring his aid to obtain it. While St. Geronimus, who since the arrival of the angel had continued reading to himself, and finished the page, has the leaf

ready to turn over, and only waits until the infant removes his arm, which he has, with childish inadvertence, cast across the book. Thus we see that the entire piece is composed of one principal, and two minor or subaltern actions; or, as the painters express it, of one action and two accidents. These are, the anxiety of the infant for the fish, and the silent attention wherewith St. Geronimus awaits the removal of the infant's arm from the book, in order to turn over the leaf. These accidents are not only distinct in themselves, but so inferior to the principal action that they by no means blend or interfere with it: on the contrary, they serve to relieve the eye, and give repose to the attention exhausted by examination of the principal action. This and the first accident are extremely natural and obvious: but the manner of introducing or combining St. Geronimus with the other figures, by casting the arm of the infant across his book, was a thought truly worthy of this great painter; for, entirely detached from the other figures, he would have been one too many, as being a useless personage: and if he had represented him, as many painters probably would, interceding on the behalf of Tobias, he would have been one equally unnecessary, and besides obtrusive.

I do not recollect to have ever seen any piece wherein were more accurately preserved the laws of perfect contrast. There are not throughout it any two points which resemble each other:—the infant appears to be of the age of one year; Tobias of ten or twelve; the angel of fifteen; the Virgin from eighteen to twenty; St. Geronimus upwards of seventy. The infant is endeavouring to raise himself upon his feet; Tobias is upon his knees; the angel is standing; the Virgin seated; and St. Geronimus with his knees bent. The face of the infant is three quarters: that of Tobias an exact profile; that of the angel foreshortened; that of the Virgin almost full; and that of St. Geronimus something more than a profile.

The hair of the infant is a bright chesnut; that of Tobias inclining to red; the angel's brown; the Virgin's somewhat more dark than that of the angel; St. Geronimus is gray:—in one word, the piece is diversified in the most pleasing manner that can be imagined. The equilibrium, as well of the whole as of the component parts, is as perfect as the contrast, and managed with exquisite art and attention; particularly to be noticed in the body of the angel, which is a perfect balance.

As the painter had no place for the lion * of St. Geronimus, and knowing that without this, or some similar counterpoize, St. Geronimus would be an inadequate balance for the angel and Tobias, he placed the infant on the left arm of the Virgin's

* How it should have escaped so accurate an observer as Mr. Henry it is impossible to conceive: but, true it is, the lion is introduced in the picture, as may be seen in the engraving given by Mr. Twiss. A very fine engraving of this picture was once executed, and is yet probably extant.

chair, with only one foot rested on his mother's lap, preserving thus the exact equilibrium; and adding at the same time beauty to the picture. Having thus explained Rafael's plan for this picture, I proceed to describe to the lovers of the art the manner in which he has executed it. This will be done by investigating the different parts of which it is composed; that is to say, drawing, colouring, and expression.

As to the drawing, or outline, it is the most beautiful by a great deal that ever I saw. All the heads are dignified and majestic, except that of Tobias; which the painter has humbled purposely, and for a reason which we will mention in its proper place. The Virgin's head is perfectly Greek; that of the angel a mixture of antique and natural, which the painter has brought to the highest degree of perfection. The oval of the Virgin's face, and the outlines of the neck of St. Geronimus, are exquisitely beautiful, and difficult beyond what can be conceived in point of execution; the drawing of the infant Jesus, correct and delicate: in one word, the whole of the designing of this picture may be pronounced *perfection* itself: for, as to the right leg of Tobias, which is the only thing I ever heard objected to in this picture, if the forced position in which he is be not a sufficient answer, I say that it is no more than a slight inadvertence of the painter's, which has a claim to be overlooked, according to the rule of Horace, as applicable to painting as to poetry.

As to the colouring, it is in the last and best style of Rafael, with this singular excellence, that there is not in the whole painting one simple or true colour strictly so called: as for instance, of three different greens which we see in it, two in the dress of the Virgin, and one in the curtain behind her, none is perfectly grass- nor true sea-green. The white of her dress, as well as that of the wings of the angel, are but *whiteish*; the clothing of St. Geronimus is red, but not pure scarlet; and finally, as observed, there is not throughout the picture one primitive colour: notwithstanding which, the painter has exercised his art with such exquisite taste and judgement, that what would have been sufficient in the hands of any other to have ruined, or at least very materially injured the picture, has produced, in those of Rafael, a softness and delicacy almost equalling those of Correggio. If my reader wishes to be convinced upon this head, let him cast his eyes upon the picture to the right, the Apotheosis of Charles the Fifth, by Titian; a very fine thing certainly, but which, by reason of the innumerable *pure tints* which it contains, appears harsh and crude by the side of La Madonna.

As to what regards expression, the subject of this picture admits of very little, as we shall show hereafter. The angel speaking is, in strictness, the only person on whom it devolves to show much; and, in consequence, he is the most expressive figure I ever saw: not even excepting the father of the lunatic at the foot of the mountain, in the famous picture of the Transfiguration. True it is, Tobias expresses a reverential

fear, like one astonished or overwhelmed with awe; but this, though admirably depictured, is but a passion of inferior stamp, which the painter introduced solely for the purpose of animating the figure, and heightening the relief of that of the angel, by the contrast.

Finally, let us come to taking a general idea, or view, of this work, and noting in it those perfections and beauties which arise out of the harmony of its parts. But as sailors, in making their reckonings of the way made by a ship, take into their account tides, currents, and tacks; so, in order that our reader may see that we examine without partiality, and with the utmost strictness, this picture, it is necessary, together with its merits, to point out the difficulties the painter had to surmount. The first is in the subject; which, in addition to being full of inconsistency as we before observed, is by no means picturesque. A subject, in order to be picturesque, should be a real object, which, as obvious to *sight*, can be represented by colours; but the subject of this Madonna is a *conversation*, which is matter for the ear, an organ just as capable of conveying an idea of what may be done in colours, as the sight is of the operation of sounds; so that, although the painter selected the most proper moment that could possibly be chosen, still his subject in reality possesses no more animation than what belongs to what the painters call *still life*. All Rafael could intend, or endeavour to express, was, how the company looked while the angel spoke to the Virgin.

Secondly, The cardinal's habit in which St. Geronimus is clothed, is neither antique, picturesque, nor pleasing. Rafael did all he could to mitigate the glare of that mass of red, in order to prevent it from enfeebling and dimming the other colours, and drawing the eye solely upon itself. It cannot be denied that he has succeeded in the main, but the Gothic form of the habit unavoidably remained unimprovable, forming an inconsistency in the drapery of the painting which Rafael would never have fallen into if there had been any means of escaping it.

Thirdly comes the fish; which, according to the idea given to us of it by the Holy Scriptures, was at least eight feet in length, a thing out of all proportion, and exceeding the dimensions of the picture itself: but Rafael, with equal judgement and boldness, extricated himself from this difficulty by reducing it to a proportionable size. These are the difficulties which it appears to me Rafael had to surmount. I say the first and principal, but not the only ones, because more might be pointed out; but as these last are derived from the others, I will leave to the ingenuity of connoisseurs the merit of discovering them; and conclude my observations by noting some of those graces and master-strokes which distinguish Rafael beyond all painters, and his performance, La Madonna del Pez, beyond all pictures.

The attitude of the Virgin is gracefulness itself. The infant, anxious to grasp the fish, springs forward as before mentioned. This movement is so sudden, that he runs

the risk of falling from the arm of the chair: to prevent this, his mother, without interrupting the angel, or taking her eyes off Tobias, leans gently forward, pressing her right hand against her child's breast, to retain him during this inclination of her body: the right side of the head of the holy infant nearly touches the left cheek of his affectionate mother, which gives to her beautiful countenance a heavenly air of tenderness, which may be imagined, but cannot be expressed by words; causing at the same time a gentle turn in her most beautiful neck, that in delicacy exceeds, beyond all comparison, any thing I have ever seen, and which would be misapplied in any neck whatsoever save that of the mother of Jesus.

The angel and Tobias are also perfect in their respective characters, and form a most beautiful contrast. The head of the angel is noble; his figure full of grace, and his attitude easy. The head of Tobias is rustic, his person coarse, his attitude awkward and clumsy. In the kind countenance of the angel we see beaming forth innocence, benevolence, and compassion; in that of Tobias are respect, fear, and bashfulness. The angel, conscious of his dignity, makes his request with a confidence that it will be immediately granted; whilst Tobias, sensible of his own unworthiness, trembles though an angel be his advocate. But nothing in the whole piece more completely shows the judgement of the painter in its most consummate degree, than his having omitted the dog of Tobias, which, from his having been mentioned twice in the Scriptures, might be considered his attribute, as the keys are to St. Peter, and the book and sword to St. Paul; for which reason, by the strict rules of the art, he ought to have been introduced: but a great genius, as our first of critics and of poets, Pope, says, occasionally breaks through rules, gloriously soaring to the commission of errors which critics will not dare to censure or amend; and if ever there was a man who might venture to commit such a fault, that man was Rafael.

In the first place, every domestic animal, as a household object, belongs to common or low life, and is, as such, unworthy of so exalted a picture as that of Our Lady, La Madonna del Pez. The second thing is, that according to the position of the figures, the dog must necessarily have been painted in the foreground, the most eminent and conspicuous place. And finally, the introduction of the dog would have troubled the action in such a manner, that Rafael must either have broken the rule, or spoiled his picture.

If we were to extend our observations to point out every object of grace and beauty in this picture, we should never come to an end; for there is not a touch in it that is not a beauty: the uniformity of the light, the foot of the Virgin, the obliquity of her veil, the attitude of the angel, the posture of his body, maintained by the extension of his wings, the attitude of his right foot, as well as that of the left arm of Tobias, the great taste which is conspicuous in the drapery;—I say, that to examine or enter into

a detail of the perfections included under each of these heads, would fill a quire of paper, and take more time and leisure than I possess. Therefore, contenting myself with what I have already pointed out, I shall conclude by observing in general, that every touch of the pencil is laid on with such judgement, every tint drawn with such consummate skill, as cause this picture, notwithstanding the disadvantage under which the painter laboured, to exceed in beauty and in value all the works of the kind, taken individually or collectively, in the Escurial.

I am aware that there are in this vast collection many master-pieces of the most illustrious and classical painters; but I affirm without fear of contradiction, that there is not one which can be compared to this admirable production, in which every figure, to appearance, speaks and thinks: in a word, it is the most valuable article of the kind that any prince upon earth possesses.

APPENDIX, No. II.

MESTA—THE WOOL STAPLE OF SPAIN.

This term is misapplied, for it signifies in its strict sense *tillage produce*. The first trace of the wool staple of Spain is distinguished towards the latter part of the reign of Don Alonzo, the last king of that name.

Although Spain is *said* to have been celebrated for her wool many years previous to that æra, yet there is preponderating reason to conclude that the fine-woolled sheep she at present possesses descend from a breed originally brought from England, by the return of her merchantmen, or carracas as they were called *.

King Alonzo, as is said, imported the sheep called at present in England Merino †, in Spain Merinas, and properly Marinas, which explains the sense or derivation of the name, viz. the sheep brought from beyond the sea. Alonzo died An. 1350; so that the first importation of this breed of sheep into the Peninsula may be dated An. 1345.

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* Those who dissent from this opinion say that the English wool is not sufficiently fine to admit of her breed of sheep being identified with the Merinas; that the wool is of different qualities, exclusive of fineness; that the Spanish is soft, that of England elastic; the former short, the latter long; and in these qualities resembling the fleece of the *ordinary* breed of Spain, as well as in others, whereby they are, they say, applicable to the same uses: and they derive *the last-mentioned breed* from the *English importation*.

† Merino, a place in Spain.

The plague which desolated Spain in the middle of the fourteenth century, and carried off two-thirds of its inhabitants, with the various other causes of depopulation operating in that country, prepared the way for the extension of its wool-staple (*mesta*) by leaving the centre of the Peninsula one vast waste for a sheep-walk.

Vicinity of Segovia., Ridge of mountains, which divides the two Castilles: Rio Frio, a village there. In these villages and their neighbourhood the great sheep-owners have their shearing-houses. These buildings usually inclose large courts, of which some are of the dimensions of six hundred feet by four hundred; with every accommodation in the upper story for lodging the master, his family, and the persons requisite for the attendance on the flock at shearing-time, which takes about a month; the rest of the year these places are left in care of a servant, and otherwise are unoccupied. In Segovia is a company, as it may be called, of storers (*ricibidores*), otherwise factors, who being very conversant with the article, usually attend and give their advice and assistance at the shearings, or in other words direct the whole process.

The abovementioned *ricibidores*, wool-storers and clothiers of Segovia, (admission into which body is obtained by four years service of apprenticeship), attend in and according to their due stations, in the number of one to every fifteen shearers, to roll and pack the fleeces, separating therefrom the coarse.

The fleeces when shorn are stored with great nicety, in piles, up to the roof of the storehouse.

Thus the process of shearing is conducted under the eye of the master, by the factor or wool-storer, the shearers, the *ricibidores*, to whom are added a quota of women-pickers to gather up the loose wool; another of basket-carriers to collect it; *morenero*s, or boys with vessels of charcoal, to rub the galled sheep; and *echavino*s, or wine-servers, who go round with drink for the whole, each being allowed eighteen draughts a-day. All these persons are divided into squads, under chiefs, to maintain order; and the whole furnishes a scene of industry, regularity, and festivity.

A sheep is allotted to every ten, and two pounds of bread to each person for the day's diet. They begin to work at six in the morning, and leave off at five in the evening.

After shearing, the sheep are so susceptible of the weather, that a year rarely passes without the loss of whole flocks from the early shearing, which, however, cannot be dispensed with, on account of the increasing heat of the season, and loss of wool in the interim. To obviate these losses, for some time after shearing they only let them pasture in sight; and indeed prefer their being altogether without food, even for several days, than incur the loss of a whole flock.

The shearers endeavour to cut as close as possible. There is much difference of time occupied in the shearing each sheep. Some shearers will do it well in eight mi-

mates: but twelve ewes, or eight wethers and rams, in the day, are considered sufficient. The difference is chiefly owing to the size of the animal, weight of the fleece, and the trouble the sheep gives.

When shorn, they are marked and sorted. The skins of the sheep which died during the preceding year are now sheared, the skins having been *wetted* and placed on the corner of a piece of timber.

The flocks are kept separate, and guided by bell-wethers, the sheep knowing the sound of their own bell.

If the weather is mild, they are turned out to feed in the day, and at night the walls of the buildings yield them shelter; if the weather is bad, they are housed. In the open plains about Segovia they suffer much during the first few days of their progress to the mountains; but when once there, they have sufficiency of shelter among the trees and bushes.

Immediately as the shearing is finished, the wool is weighed by scales and not by steelyards, which is not so exact. This is done under the direction of the factor, and according to his report of the weight. If the sale takes place immediately, one person attends on the part of the wool-owner, and another on that of the purchaser, to note down the weight of the wool. On being sold, it is immediately shifted from the store of the one into that of the other, in case, as above, that it is *not* first cleaned, as, then, the sorting takes place at that operation.

The sorting is the separation of the three kinds of wool of which each fleece consists, which is done with great dexterity by the *recibidores*; and it is a process in which the greatest care and skill are required, as thereon depends the mercantile credit of the wool-grower.

They part the wool on wooden frames, through which the coarse and short falls, and taking it up with both hands they divide it according to its qualities. The breeching and wool of the legs is separated at the time of shearing, and is not included in the fleece. The first quality of wool is that of the loins and belly; the second, that of the neck and sides; and the third, that of the neck and shoulders. This separation requires the greatest skill and nicety. In the lamb's wool no distinction is made.

The wool when divided is sold; some cleaned, others not so: but the former is more usually the case for exportation.

Winter pasturage.—The tract allotted for this consists of Estremadura, part of Andalusia, and La Mancha, on account of their mildness of climate, and plenty of grass in winter.

Summer pasturage.—This consists of the mountains of Leon, Cuenca, part of Aragon and Castille, the verdure and humidity of which render them peculiarly appropriate for summer feeding.

On arriving at the summer pasture, the first business of the shepherd is to allot the sheep to their respective tracts; 2dly, to wean the lambs, separating the ewes and rams. Sometimes this is done at the shearing-houses if the lambs are forward.

Salt is given them in small proportions, and every third day. A reason assigned is, that the mountain herbage is not so nutritive or so nitrous as that of the plains.

The excellence of the flock depends upon the judicious selection of the rams; and here the skill of the head shepherd is shown. The principal points attended to in the choice of the ram are: that he should be of a good size, of a square set shape, his chest broad and belly round; as without these last shapes his breed, especially the ewes, would be dwindled, and not fit for the purpose. His head should be prominent in the upper part, and fine or flat towards the nose. He should not be speckled: he should be white, and no way foxy in colour, save and except behind the left shoulder, where it is not amiss that his wool should approach a little to a gold colour; because the heart being seated near thereto, it is a proof of greater warmth and vivacity of constitution. He should have a good fleece; thick, straight, fine, soft, delicate, and somewhat oily. Each fibre of the wool should terminate in a small head, like a pin's. His wool should be of sufficient and proportionate length. He should be dew-lapped. The rams are left with the ewes a month or more. If they appear weak, or if the weather is cold, the shepherds give them toasted salt and a little black pepper.

In the Merina flocks the rams are left uncut, except the bell-wethers, on account of the superior quantity of their wool, their stronger constitution, and greater length of life.

Their age is known by the teeth of their lower jaw. Those of two years old have two; those of three, four; those of four, six; those of five, eight; and after that age they do not increase *.

Until six years of age they suffer no decay either in flesh or wool; but after that age they decrease in one and the other. Their utmost extent of existence is to eight years; after which, from want of teeth, they are no longer able to feed, and die.

The ewes should be full-bodied; their heads small, erect, and free from wool. Those which are otherwise are bad nurses.

Raddling begins to be exploded among the more enlightened shepherds.

In case of snow, frost, rain, or winds, at yeaning time, some care is necessary at the time the ewes drop:—such as warming the lambs, and putting a little milk in their mouths from the teat. If the ewe is too weak, the lamb is killed, and the skin saved to be put upon another lamb to be reared by her when she gets strength, in case of others twinning. Sometimes it is necessary to fasten and compel the ewes to admit

* The first year they are named *cirderes*; 2d, *terres*; 3d, *andruces*; 4th, *trasandruces*; 5th, *corredas*; after, *revejos*.

the lambs, either their own or fostered on, to suck them *, in a cleft stick. After two or three times they desist from resisting them.

The breeding rams are kept apart from the main flock of males, as these are from the ewes; the first-mentioned being always placed, and requiring to be so, in the best pasture that is to be had. They require more food, and are less active to seek it than the ewes †.

Value ‡ yearly of each Merina to its owner, one real and a half, de Vellon; to the king, six reals and a half: total gross profit upon five million Merinas per annum, seventy-five millions of reals;—thirty-two millions and a half to the king; seven millions and a half to the wool-growers; the other thirty-five millions to the public.

Of the quality of wool of different places, Leon is the first, then Segovia, next, Soria, and last Cuença.

Of the wool, the best is that of the ribs, beginning four fingers below the back-bone, down to the ends of the ribs, and from the elbow to the flank; this is named *refina* §.

The second is that of the breast, loins, flat of the neck, some best of the *breeching*, and between the elbows; this is called *fino*.

The third is that of the belly, flat of the neck, which is co-equal with the best of the breeching above recited, back of the neck, behind the ears to the withers. The rest on the belly affords a fourth sort, if clean; if not, it is rejected; as is the case with that of the insides of the hind legs. The refuse ‖, that between the legs, is not re-

* To foster on a lamb, they tie the ewe, and at night compel her to give suck to the lamb two or three times, having put on the lamb the skin of the dead one, and sprinkled it over with salt. In the day the lamb goes to its own mother, and is thus doubly nursed; for a piece of the skin aforementioned being left round its neck, the foster-ewe still admits it.

† Six rams to every hundred ewes; more if the pasture is rugged. The rams are left with the ewes for a month or six weeks if necessary. The late lambs are put on prime pasture, to make the whole young flocks of the year as even as possible.

‡ The duty upon the wool paid to the crown is to the net profit of the owner as more than *four* to one.

§ Care should be taken in choosing a ram, that he has not coarse wool here, or hairy.

Wool.—1st. Of the ribs (*refina*).

2d. Between the elbows, loins, flat of the neck, and dry of the breeching (*fino*).

3d. Belly, flat of the neck, correspondent in value with the dry of the breeching, up as high as the ears and behind them; for that thence to the horns, is called the *renco*, and a part in the flank where it joins the leg.

4th. About the navel to the teats, and there, the tail, inside the leg, all if clean, and the fore-top.

‖ What spoils the quality of the cloth is the introduction of refuse and inferior wool, or fourth quality—gleanings (*espigadura*), or what is found on the grass after cleaning; oakum (*estopaliza*), refuse gathered out of the water where the wool is washed; and *seconding*, hairy part, picked out of the finer qualities.

ceived. This assortment, including many other minutiæ, is that for the *Segovian market.*

Of the Cleaning.

In hot water.

1st process of washing—5 or more men—4 denominations of labourers.

2d. Draining—on frames.

3d. Collecting.

4th. Watering in cold water and treading—11 men—4 denominations of labourers.

5th. Treading and extracting from the water.

6th. Draining—several hands.

7th. Taking it out to the field to dry in the sun, taking care, if any dew gets on it, not to remove it until the dew is dried off, as the wool is stained thereby.

Forty thousand persons are employed in the care of five millions of sheep.

Process of Washing.

A boiler, weight forty *arrobas*, whence boiling water runs into the *tinos*, or pits, which are breast-deep, and hold each forty *arrobas* of wool, which is put in by layers, the bottom one being a yard or thereabout in depth, the others less. As the water cools, or is cooled, first four men, which number is ultimately increased to ten for the same purpose, enter to tread the wool, which, when trodden sufficiently, is taken out and put on draining-frames of nine feet by four and a half, with intervals which about admit the edge of a crown-piece, whereon the wool is laid after being first drained, and squeezed by hand. Being drained, it is pitted in cold water, in a vat of four feet and a half and one deep (*una tertia*); here it is trodden by people, who to support themselves lean or hold on a cross-placed stick, whence the wool goes to the entrance of the canal, which is like a mill-shoot, widening at the mouth from half a yard to a yard. At its hence entering the canal, it is again met by a man, wrought with the feet, and by this man leaning on the edges of the canal, which is waist-deep. This process is repeated on it by four or five persons successively; after which it is taken out piece-meal by others, who lay it on the flat edges of the canal, whence it is taken by four others, who lay it to drain on stone shelves; whence it is again taken and laid in lines or beds a yard broad, and the height of a man, against the wall; parallel to which others are made, the water draining off, and running therefrom by gutters.

Where the canal evacuates is placed a net to catch what would pass off and be lost. At night it is laid out in the drying-ground.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

TRANSLATION.—Vol. i. *page* 71. *line* 11:]—In the year 1657, the most reverend general of the congregation of San Benito of Spain, Don Francisco Diego de Silva, who was afterwards bishop of Astorga, being at the monastery of Montserrat, accompanied by various other respectable persons, a female child of the age of five or six years came thither, under the care of her mother, a widow, and told the abbot that she came on the business of her father, who was in purgatory, to request that three masses, which he owed to the altar of the Holy Virgin, might be said in order for his liberation from the pains he then suffered. The abbot communicated this extraordinary application to the right reverend general, who, induced by an impulse of devotion, commanded that the three masses should be immediately sung, he himself joining in them. All the community of religious of the monastery assembled in the presbytery, and the most reverend general placed the child close by him. He then, during the course of the first mass, asked her if she saw her father: to which she replied, that she did, and pointed out that he was at the side of the epistole close to the steps of the altar, and that he was all in a blaze of fire. On hearing this, the general took a white linen handkerchief, and gave it to the infant, saying, "Since, then, there is fire, go where your father is, and kindle this." The child went, (for she alone saw it,) and hardly had she reached the spot where her father was, with the handkerchief, when it began to blaze in flames visible to all the spectators. All were astonished with this prodigy, which so clearly proved the truth of the child's story. When the first mass was finished, the general ordered that the other two should be also sung, the whole religious community joining with the utmost devotion and satisfaction. At the time of the consecration in the second mass, the general asked the child Where her father then was? if she saw him? and how he was clad?—To which she replied, That she saw him, that he was near the altar close by the deacon, pointing to the place, and that no fire was about him, but that he was clad in a dress most beautiful of colour. The second mass being finished, the third was begun with the same solemnity; and at the due time the general again asked her the same question as before; and she replied, that her father had passed to the side of the Evangelist, that he was clad in white, and very cheerful, by the side of the officiating priest. The mass still pro-

ceeding, as soon as the priest had eaten the host, the child cried out repeatedly, and aloud, "There goes my father! There goes my father!" having said which she fell in a fit, all who saw it remaining affected and astonished. When the infant recovered from her fit, she told those around that her father had ascended with much alertness to the top of the church, and that he went by the side of our Saviour Jesus Christ very cheerfully. She was asked then, How she knew it was Jesus Christ who was by the side of her father? To which she replied, that she knew him by the crown of thorns he wore on his head. Finally, the child declared that her father desired her to give his thanks to the convent, that God was pleased, and that he would recommend it in heaven, &c. &c. &c.

But the account continues—Lest any doubt whatever should remain upon the evidence here adduced, it is necessary to know, that the priest commands the soul to which he addresses himself, for the purpose of bringing it out of purgatory, into different situations during the process of the mass; but this is done mentally. But when the priest quits the sacristy the soul goes before him, as at the commencement of the mass he orders it to place itself at the side of the Evangelist. When the mass is finished, the priest asks the person to whom the soul has appeared, what he has seen? For to that person it usually continues visible throughout. And whereas this said person always agrees and concurs in what he attests, precisely with what the priest has mentally directed to the soul to do, the slightest doubt or suspicion of fraud is impossible either on the part of the person testifying to the sight of the soul, or on that of the evil angel himself: for the one cannot penetrate the mind of the priest to ascertain what he has said to the soul; nor can the common enemy of man find any personal advantage to himself in fostering or abetting deceptions under such a description, which, on the contrary, would be of much injury to him.

One more.—On the first day of January 1741, Maria Roseras, a native of Vigos, came to this sanctuary, and gave information that the soul of Paul Cole, a farmer of Mintornes, who died in the year 1726, had appeared to her, and informed her that he had made a vow to go barefooted to visit our Lady of Montserrat, taking with him his sons, and that he had not fulfilled it; but in the end, and to make short of the story, by masses, the soul ascended to heaven very gay and contentedly. All which is sworn by me, before God and upon the Holy Cross, to be true;

MARIA ROSERAS.

Witnesses { MIGUEL VIDANT, FRANCISCO PRATS.

FRANCISCO MANUEL, *Notary Public.*

"Five justices' hands to it, and witnesses more than my pack will hold."

SULTAN, *page* 188. (Chaldean and Arabic) Lord. But it seems to have some connexion in its etymology with the idea of the sun.

SHERIFF, *page* 191.]—Title. *Nobilis*, magnificent: it is seemingly derived from the word *Aschraf*, the epithet given to the kings of Yemen, Syria, and Egypt.

MAURITANIA, *pages* 195, 196.]—The general outline of Mauritanian history may be taken thus: Primitive inhabitants, *Homerites* as they are called, early migrators of the Arabian stock, inland, while the Phœnicians followed the shores of the Mediterranean, and passed the Straits, still coasting. This process of the human occupation of the globe was followed in an early day, too, by idolatrous Arab emigrants. Next followed Mussulmen in the succession of the military powers of the caliphs, of their lieutenants, of Edrissites, Ommiades, Moravidi, Moiadi, Beninesini, &c.

It may be concluded and demonstrated indeed, too, that Egypt principally influenced the destinies of Mauritania. In fact, its first conquerors, of the Mussulman creed, came thence, and it was governed by Edrissite deputies to the end of the third century, when this leading branch of Mussulmen was extirpated every where within reach by their triumphant rivals the Ommiades. In this third century, too, Africa received Christianity from Egypt by the way of Cyrene, commonly called Cairoan. The contests of the two factions (for they were no other) of Ommiades and Edrissites agitated Mauritania at an early period.

ALMORAVEDI, or MARABOUS, *page* 198.]—The word in its closest signification means a professor of religion. Those who assumed the denomination embodied and designated themselves first in the East, and at a period almost as far back as Islamism itself. They were always seceders at least, if not dissenters from the main body of this creed. Notwithstanding the presumption of the title, their habits were so gross, that they hardly could, with truth, lay claim to any religion, for they had nothing of it but its fanaticism. Their first doctor, when they had risen into some degree of note, they received from Cairo, and in the West (Cyrene): his name was Abdallah. The æra of their military consequence was that of the Hegira 462, of our Lord 1069; when they elected for their chief in the field, Abubekr Ben Omar Lamethouni, of Sus on Segelmessa, south of the western Atlas. His successor Joseph Ben Texafin pushed on his conquests. This prince built Morocco (probably on foundations much more ancient) about the year of our Lord 1080. This prince has been subjected by historians to strange misnomers: Who would suspect him under the epithet Baschkehin? He extended his conquests over Spain, which had imposed on it then the common name of Mogrebi (West Africa). The rule of the Moravedi extended for about eighty years through three reigns, to the year of the Hegira 543 or 4. At the time of this sect *starting into* political power, the Abassides reigned in Bagdat, and the Fathemites in Egypt.

Lamtlioumi was the surname taken by the Marabout chief from the place of his birth, a town of Sus, on the skirts of the Desert; the hot and dry sands whereof seem to possess a peculiar power in the rarefaction of every species of poison, whether in the head of biped or reptile. The dynasty of the Zeccids was what they found on the throne of Mauritania, and prostrated to put themselves in its place. Joseph is immortalized in history by gaining the battle of Sala near Badajos in Spain against the Christians, in which king Alphonso was killed, Anno C. 1086. The next exploit of the Almoravedi was the expelling from Spain the Ommiade dynasty of their own nation, which had flourished in that peninsula, as the Abassides did in Bagdat, and the Fathemites in Egypt. Thus we find that the Mussulman apple of discord, genealogy, had no share in the rise of the storm against the peace of the world, which was very near, in its course, carrying all before it, from Segelmessa in south Barbary.

It is commonly known the ancient Arabic alphabet was the Cufic. The early contests of the caliphats, the discussions of the respective claims of Abassides and Ommiades called out the efforts of the pen, and a more current character was the discovery, the result whereof is all the good mankind has gained by the streams of blood and ink which flowed during so many centuries. An expert vizir, (in our terms a secretary) was in those days estimated at his true value. To one of them, at a very early date of the Hegira, and to the foregoing causes, we owe the modern Arabic running-hand. A due perusal of the four 4to tomes of Herbelot will reward investigation on this subject.

Ashisha, *Page* 213.—Intoxicating ingredient; a term of most ancient radical. —Circular truncated cones: masses of precisely the same appearance and magnitude are scattered over, and at about the same intervals, the tract of plane to the south of the Cevennes, and of the present road between Carcason and Toulouse in the south of France. The composition of the summit of these last is, however, ascertained (by view) to be sandstone.

Page 225.— Dancing is against the Mohommedan law; yet they have a dance of dervises.

Page 229.—Morocco city has seventeen gates, and is seven miles in circumference.

Moiadi, *Page* 230.—The word means a director of religious opinions. This assumed direction the subsequent facts will explain. A different principle from that which roused the Moravedi lurks here. Mussulmanism was, like the quadrupeds in Phædrus, on the look-out for an ambassador from above. A tradition was extant that such a one was to re-appear, for he had once been; and an Imaun, too! in their year 255: and he was one of the numerous party of yet walkers in the world!. Of course his appearance was often assumed or assigned. This Moiadi was of the Fathemite descent—the branch of Ali: but the Moiadi of Mauritania was Mohommed

Abdalla Ben Tomrut, and his era 514 of the Hegira. He was produced and nursed in the grand hot-bed of fanaticism, Segelmessa, and claimed a descent from the holy family by Hussain the son of Ali, by the eldest daughter of Mohommed, Fathema. Of course he was of the Shiite or heretic side. This is denominated, by itself especially, a Fathemite dynasty; but the claim here to any relationship with the holy family is universally considered spurious and false. Ebn Tomrut, who now shone out in the world at the head of this sect, broke upon it from his retirement at Agsnat, a place and district represented as possessing a most delightful climate in the skirts of Mount Atlas. The 12th Imaun, the Mohommedans are told, who is to put them exactly in the true right way, (they are near it, nearer than any others, but yet not exactly alighted upon it,) is yet to be: and this personage, Ebn Tomrut, assured them, and perhaps thought himself, he was. This Mohommed Abdalmouman Ben Tomrut thus by this claim founded a dynasty of heroes, who drove the world before them for a century and a half. He himself subverted the Marabou Moravedi dynasty in the person of Tenefin Ben Ali Ben Hussuf Ben Texafin, about the year of the Hegira 539, besieging and taking Morocco, and putting that sultan to death, A. C. 1140. This Moiadi is occasionally called Obeidallah, for the sake of confusion. Little time was lost by this dynasty in pursuing their objects, the Moravedi, into the Peninsula, expelling them thence, as they (Moravedi) had done the Ommiades! But this was done by Jacob Ben Joseph, justly entitled Almanzor, the grandson of Abdalmouman, A. C. 1194.

The holy family of Mecca.—All these glorious exploits were performed, as is seen, under a forged claim. The Fathemites were the only real descendants of the Prophet; and in a creed where genealogy is every thing, they are heterodox! The office of Imaum, the pontificate of Mecca, belongs exclusively to them; and the twelfth Imaum is yet to be, as above stated. This appears to have been a main moral principle of struggle with the people of this creed. The Abassides claimed it by ascent from the prophet. All the Haschem house of the Coraisch tribe is allowed to participate in some degree in the sacred character: Yet Hassan and Hussein, the real inheritors, are daily cursed.

OMMIADES, *page* 230.] —About the year 40 of the Hegira, Moaviah, from whom this faction derives its origin and title, being appointed lieutenant of Egypt and Syria by Othman the third caliph, at his death, seceded from the caliphat in the possession of Ali. This was the origin of the contest of Edrissites and Ommiades. These Ommiades were the caliphs of Damascus. The Abbassides exterminated them wherever they were to be met, and this caused them to fly to the West. Here opportunity was given to them to pursue the same game with the Edrissites, or descendants of Hussein. This was anterior to the year of the Hegira 300.

Page 249.]—Negro slavery being a matter so much under discussion in the present day, it may be observed that their *code noire* prevents the French from seeing this outrage to human nature in its true colours. With them the Negro has something to protect him more than the correctness of the view his task-master may be competent to take of the natural fitness of things.

EDRIS is a primitive saint acknowledged by the Mohommedans, and the Enoch of Scripture: but the Edrissites of Mauritania are descendants of Ali, son in-law of Mohommed. They had rule in that country until anno Hegiræ 296, of Christ 908, when they were extirpated by the Ommiades of Egypt, or pretended Fathemites of the west (Sus). These Edrissites had then reigned here for about a century; that is, from the year of our Lord 800, of the Hegira 180. Egypt and Syria, as is well known, seceded from the great Mussulman body early under Moaviah. At that country these Ommiades, or pretended Fathemites of Sus, directed their first efforts. Succeeding there, they next eradicated the Edrissites, or descendants of Ali here. It was indeed their policy to extirpate the prophet's family.

CHARITY, *page* 278.]—Eleemosynary gift, according to the Mussulman tenet, is an act of justice, and not pure benevolence.

FEZ, *page* 314.]—Produces a numerous catalogue of literary men.

ETYMOLOGIES, *page* 340.]—The affinity and correspondence of local names, throughout Africa, with those in the more immediate vicinity of Atlas, prove that they are radicated in a most ancient language of primitive stock, and that this is the parent site of it.

AFRICA.

The people of this country, the Maurusians, probably served the state of Carthage, like their Numidian neighbours to the east, on horseback: but the cavalry of those days must have been a feeble arm in point of attack. What could so be effected by a cavalry not possessed of bridles? Yet mankind had long tamed the horse before the idea, apparently so obvious, occurred of putting a bit in his mouth. We see too, by the ancient sculptures at the heads of the Ganges, that man had not only subjugated the horse, but employed him to chase the elephant, before he made this simple discovery. So slow is mental progress.

To recur again and again to Mount Atlas, as the objects open themselves. The traveller must claim his privilege. All its importances cannot be seen at once. This mountain, as observed, impends on the ocean. It appears to have been the line taken

westward by the early progeny of Ham. Denon has proved the uniformity of language throughout it, from west to east. Another step, its primitiveness, and all is proved; this last is not difficult. Language, like population, entered at the Cataracts, and proceeded by the skirts of the mountains. Southward, it extended in undulations, and proves how population made its progress there. Language identifies by latitudes across this whole continent. Of the Breber or mountain language, that of the shepherd's race, eight words identify with Siwah in a parallel of 28. (Siwah, Ammon's temple, is two hundred miles west, one point south of Cairo). Who can deny that a primitive language, which contains such words as, *bahr azrai*, and *albiad*, "blue and white sea, or water?" The latitude of 15 north is a most important tract of Africa. The Tuorick is a primitive people, and of the first historical interest. They are both stabile and nomade, and are connected in language with the Brebers; so that this, that, and Showiah, identify like Greek, Latin, and Teutonic.—A few words as to the population of this continent, and its now different races:—They are chiefly defined into Malay on the east, Negro on the west, Hottentot on the south, and Boschman in the interior. This diminutive race last mentioned is found in general in the interior of countries and islands through the low latitudes, and is worthy of investigation. As to physical relations: The ancient statues of Egypt have the Negro, and of India the Abyssinian countenance. In regard to language: Caieta, the name by which those mountains at the heads of the Niger and Senegal rivers are designated, speaks enough. In topography, a variety of local denominations exist, which ought to be scrutinized. Atlas is a derivative from its snowy summits: thus *Gibel Atlits*, "snowy cliffs." The geographical knowledge of the ancients, couched as it was in mystery, was very great. They personified every thing. See the heads *Atlas*, *Atlantes*, *Atlantides*, how much this object made up of their crypto-moral theology. Ger, the western point, is a bold promontory; its term is of primitive root. Four-fifths of the fabulous poetizing of the ancients is nautical. Gaur, a mountain tremendous to mariners. On the south hereof is Santa Cruz. This place's name with the indigenous is Aguer; and thus the Agureni are a tribe here in the interior. Seven leagues southward Brisson (who crossed in the year preceding the date of these observations) remarked the ruins of a great town. Forests and precipices compose the features of his route through Mount Atlas here, whereby he reached Mogodor. It must have been somewhat about Cape Bogodor (every local name bespeaks antiquity), in lat. 26, that he met the alluvial vestiges. As to the islands to the west, they should always be taken as connected geologically, morally, and physically, with this country. Atlas is clothed, one-fourth at least, in snow. Teneriffe, a link of this chain, is a hundred leagues distant in the ocean. But snow does not rest on his head:—yet whence the name Nivaria? See for this and Juba's Islands, Pliny; who does not consider the visit

of the sailors to the Fortunate Islands (then inhabited) as any thing extraordinary beyond the course of nautical life. Fuertaventura is but seventeen leagues from the coast of Barbary.

The insular groups here are all interesting: Cape Verde, Azores, Canarian, and Madeira. What an idea had the philosophic Sertorius conceived of them! See Homer for the connexion of insular and and happy scenery, and all pointing to the westward. In regard to descriptive denominations, too, whence Pluvialia? But climate has changed; the progress of desiccation is very powerful. Capraria is more obvious. The islands abounded with these animals, the population being purely pastoral. But still note the affinities of this population with Egypt, and trace how mental intelligence made progress from the Indus to the Atlantic, the cataracts of Syene being the entrepôt. It is among ancient writers, however, that information as to these countries is to be picked up:—as for instance, in regard to Gætulia, Sallust,—and Virgil, (Iarbas.) —See also Pliny, Plutarch in Sertorius, Ptolemy, Statius, Cebosus, Strabo (south Ethiopian and Mer-Oe) down to Leo Africanus, and the Nubian geographer; and subsequently, the history of the Xeriffs by Diego de Torres.

"Libyæ quod fertile terræ est
Vergit in occasum:—sed et hæc non fœtibus ullis
Solvitur. Arctoos, raris aquilonibus, imbres
Accipit, et nostris reficit sua rura serenis."

AFRICA.—It is not necessary here to look to the north for atmospherical process, (yielding still due respect to the ingenious theories of the French writer on Egypt. Rarefaction and exhalation will sublimate moisture; and so sublimated it must, at its thermometrical level, condense around the head of Atlas, let the winds of our hemisphere blow as they may. Once for all, let the outlines of the vast continent o'er which this mountain towers and rules be summarily defined, as, for want of a better classification, thus:

1st, The Libyan, or north-coast tract, to the skirt of the mountain or Breber country.

2dly, The Atlantic range, from the cataracts of Syene on the Nile, to the extremity of the Canarian islands, and descending southward to the parallel of 15 north latitude.

3dly, That humid tract influenced and fertilized by the mountain atmosphere, whose rivers follow the skirts of their great parent, until merging in the ocean or the sands of the Desert, there rarefying, again to rally round his head. It is to be observed, too, Atlas follows the laws which have dictated the outlines of both Alps and Pyrenees; and it is probable, in uniformity with them, his southern is lower than his northern base.

4thly, The arenose tract, whence arises the parching wind too well known in our climates.

Proceeding southwards, this vast continent is contracted by the bight called the Gulf of Guinea, and all onwards in that direction may be considered an annexation to its antarctic point, of the great local advantages and prospects whereof no nation has hitherto condescended to avail itself.

THE END.

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